UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY

BINDING LIST NOV 1 5 1924

THE
MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

VOLUME XVIII

1923

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER
LONDON: FETTER LANE, E.C. 4

CHICAGO: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
(AGENT FOR THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA)
BOMBAY CALCUTTA AND MADRAS: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.
TOKYO: MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

VOLUME XVIII

193033
16.12.24

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1923

PB
1
M65
v.18

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

ARTICLES. PAGE

ALLEN, HOPE EMILY, Some Fourteenth Century Borrowings from 'Ancren Riwle' 1
ALLEN, L. H., Plagiarism, Sources and Influences in Shelley's 'Alastor' 133
BAUM, PAULL FRANKLIN, Judas' Sunday Rest 168
BELL, ALEXANDER, The Single Combat in the 'Lai d'Haveloc' . . 22
BELL, AUBREY F. G., The Seven Songs of Martin Codax . . . 162
BUTLER, E. M., Heine and the Saint-Simonians. The Date of the Letters from Helgoland 68
CHAPPELL, A. F., Rabelais and the Authority of the Ancients . . 29
CHAPPELL, A. F., Voulté's Rupture with Rabelais 293
CLARK, RUTH, Les Deux Demoiselles Maitteland 427
CONSTANS, ANTONY, and G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK, The Early Editions of Gomberville's 'Polexandre' 302
DODDS, MADELEINE HOPE, Gondaliand 9
DUNSTAN, A. C., The German Influence on Coleridge. II. . . . 183
ENTWISTLE, WILLIAM J., The Adventures of 'Le Cerf au Pied Blanc' in Spanish and Elsewhere 435
EVERETT, DOROTHY, The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole. III. 381
FIEDLER, H. G., Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation . . 51
GREEN, F. C., A Forgotten Novel of Manners of the Eighteenth Century: 'La Paysanne parvenue' by Le Chevalier de Mouhy . . . 309
GREG, W. W., On Editing Early English Texts 281
KRAPPE, A. H., The Legend of Amicus and Amelius 152
LEGOUIS, PIERRE, Andrew Marvell: Further Biographical Points . . 416
LINDELÖF, U., A New Collation of the Gloss of the Durham Ritual . 273
PEERS, E. ALLISON, Later Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism . . 37
RICHARDSON, MARGARET E. A., Wilhelm Müller's Poetry of the Sea . 323
ROBERTSON, J. G., The Genesis of Wagner's Drama 'Tannhäuser' . 458
SANDBACH, FRANCIS E., Karl Philipp Moritz's 'Blunt' and Lillo's 'Fatal Curiosity' 449
SIMPSON, EVELYN M., John Donne and Sir Thomas Overbury's 'Characters' 410
SISAM, K., An Old English Translation of a Letter from Wynfrith to Eadburga (A.D. 716–7) 253
WATERHOUSE, G., An Early German Account of St Patrick's Purgatory 317
WELSFORD, ENID, Italian Influence on the English Court Masque . . 394
WRENN, C. L., Chaucer's Knowledge of Horace 286

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

ASHDOWN, MARGARET, 'The Owl and the Nightingale,' ll. 385, 389–90 . 337
BELL, AUBREY F. G., The Year of Fray Luis de Leon's Birth . . 87
BIGONGIARI, DINO, Notes on the Critical Text of Dante's Epistles . . 476

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES *cont.* PAGE

DAY, MABEL, The Word 'Abloy' in 'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight' 337
ENTWISTLE, W. J., A Note on Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, 'Mar de Historias,' cap. xcvi ('Del stõ grial') 206
GOFFIN, R., Notes on Chaucer 335
GOUGH, CHARLES E., 'Ûfrîden' in 'Meier Helmbrecht,' l. 428 . . 88
HOWIE, MARGARET D., Kosegarten's 'Legenden' and Sebastian Brant . 89
LABORDE, E. D., Grendel's Glove and his Immunity from Weapons . 202
MACKELLAR, WALTER, Milton, James I, and Purgatory . . . 472
MACKIE, W. S., The Mid Front Vowel in 'Steak,' 'Great,' 'Break' . 473
PRIEBSCH, R., Two Charms in Low German 479
SEDGEFIELD, W. J., Old English Notes 471
STENBERG, THEODORE T., Blake's Indebtedness to the 'Eddas' . . 204
SWAEN, A. E. H., 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle,' Act v, ll. 193–5 . 338
TUTTLE, EDWIN H., Romanic Etymologies 474
WRIGHT, ELIZABETH M., The Word 'Abloy' in 'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight,' l. 1174 86

REVIEWS.

Alfreds Soliloquien des Augustinus, König, herausg. von W. Endter (S. J. Crawford) 481
Antologia Castellana, door G. J. Geers (W. J. Entwistle) . . . 229
Ashton, H., Madame de la Fayette (F. C. Johnson) 350
Bell, Aubrey F. G., Benito Arias Montano (W. J. Entwistle) . . . 502
Bell, Aubrey F. G., Portuguese Bibliography (W. J. Entwistle) . . 502
Bell, Aubrey F. G., Portuguese Literature (W. P. Ker) 359
Boas, F. S., Shakespeare and the Universities (G. C. Moore Smith) . 487
Bolwell, R. W., The Life and Works of John Heywood (Arthur W. Reed) 106
Borowski, B., Zum Nebenakzent beim altenglischen Nominalkompositum (Henry Bradley) 341
Cabanyes, M. de, The Poems of, ed. by E. Allison Peers (A. F. G. Bell). 500
Chambers, R. W., An Introduction to the Study of Beowulf (Allen Mawer) 96
Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor), ed. par F. L. Schoell (H. Dugdale Sykes) 214, 370
Curme, G. O., A Grammar of the German Language (J. G. Robertson) . 365
Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia, a cura di S. A. Barbi (E. G. Gardner) 119
Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, transl. by M. B. Anderson (E. G. Gardner) 354
Dechamps, J., Sainte-Beuve et le Sillage de Napoléon (Louis Brandin) . 223
Ekwall, E., The Place-names of Lancashire (Allen Mawer) . . . 219
Enterlude of Welth and Helth, An, herausg. von F. Holthausen (S. J. Crawford) 483
Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, III, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (H. B. Charlton) 349
Gild of St Mary, Lichfield, The (A. Hamilton Thompson) . . . 104
Gothaer Mittelniederdeutsche Arzneibuch und seine Sippe, Das, herausg. von S. Norrbom (R. Priebsch) 230

REVIEWS *cont.* PAGE

Grierson, H. J. C., Lord Byron, Arnold and Swinburne (Oliver Elton) . 111
Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, Vie de St Thomas le Martyr (Claudine I. Wilson) 491
Hauvette, H., Études sur la Divine Comédie (Edmund G. Gardner) . 224
Havens, R. D., The Influence of Milton on English Poetry (G. C. Moore Smith) 345
Henriquez Urena, P., La Versificación irregular en la Poesía castellana (W. P. Ker) 226
Holmqvist, E., On the History of the English Present Inflexions (Henry Bradley) 339
Holthausen, F., Altsächsisches Elementarbuch (R. Priebsch). . . 230
Jespersen, O., Language: its Nature, Development and Origin (W. E. Collinson). 91
Kellner, L., Shakespeare-Wörterbuch (W. W. Greg) 213
Kluckhohn, P., Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (W. Rose) 503
Laws of the Earliest English Kings, The, ed. by F. L. Attenborough (K. Sisam) 98
Lucas, F. L., Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy (H. B. Charlton) . . 110
Lüdeke, H., L. Tieck und das alte englische Theater (J. G. Robertson). 234
Menéndez Pidal, R., Poesía popular y Poesía tradicional en la Literatura española (William J. Entwistle) 357
Morf, H., Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen, III (A. H. Krappe) 490
Morsbach, L., Der Weg zu Shakespeare (G. C. Moore Smith). . . 486
Owl and the Nightingale, The, ed. by J. W. H. Atkins (G. G. Coulton). 342
Pecock, R., The Donet, ed. by E. V. Hitchcock (J. H. G. Grattan) . 105
Pepysian Garland, A, ed. by H. E. Rollins (A. E. H. Swaen). . . 215
Pollard, A. W., The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text (E. K. Chambers) 484
Reul, P. de, L'Œuvre de Swinburne (C. H. Herford) 346
Rhodes, R. Crompton, Shakespeare's First Folio (E. K. Chambers) . 485
Rhodes, R. Crompton, The Stagery of Shakespeare (E. K. Chambers) . 485
Schiller, F., Die Räuber, ed. by L. A. Willoughby (Marshall Montgomery) 363
Schreiber, A., Neue Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte Wolframs von Eschenbach (M. F. Richey) 360
Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt, The Tragedy of, ed. by W. P. Frijlinck (G. C. Moore Smith) 343
Stammler, W., Mittelniederdeutsches Lesebuch (R. Priebsch) . . 230
Studi danteschi diretti da M. Barbi, VI (Edmund G. Gardner) . . 354
Torraca, F., Nuovi studi danteschi (Edmund G. Gardner) . . . 354
Torraca, Studi di storia letteraria (Edmund G. Gardner) . . . 354
Winstanley, L., Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History (C. H. Herford) 209
Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Texts, ed. by K. McKenzie and W. A. Oldfather (John Orr) 112

MINOR NOTICES.

Atkins, E., The Poet's Poet 507
Bald, M. A., Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century . . . 506
Baum, F. P., The Principles of English Versification 367

MINOR NOTICES *cont.* PAGE

Bruns, F., Modern Thought in the German Lyric Poets from Goethe to Dehmel 369
Damon, S. F. and R. Hillyer, A Book of Danish Verse 370
Dante Alighieri, La Vita Nuova, ed. by K. McKenzie 508
De' Lucchi, L., An Anthology of Italian Poets 368
Fischer, W., Die Briefe R. M. Milnes' an Varnhagen von Ense . . 237
Foligno, C., Dante the Poet 238
Galimberti, A., Dante nel pensiero inglese 368
Gartner, Th., Ladinische Wörter aus den Dolomitentälern . . . 509
Gayley Anniversary Papers, The 240
Geijerstam, G. af, The Book about Little Brother 370
Greene, R., A Notable Discovery of Coosnage; the Second Part of Conny-Catching 504
Gudde, E. G., Freiligraths Entwicklung als politischer Dichter . . 510
Guyer, F. E., The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes . . . 240
Hallström, P., Selected Short Stories 370
Harvey, G., Foure Letters and certeine Sonnets 504
Hauptfragen der Romanistik 240
Hurtada, J. J. and A. González Palencia, Historia de la Literatura española 369
Hutton, E., Some Aspects of the Genius of Boccaccio 238
Hyamson, A. M., A Dictionary of English Phrases 238
Idealistische Neuphilologie 240
Johnson, E. F., Weckherlin's Eclogues of the Seasons 369
Kelly, J. A., England and the Englishman in German Literature . . 239
Köster, A., Die Meistersingerbühne des 16. Jahrhunderts . . . 239
Lamborn, E. A. G. and G. B. Harrison, Shakespeare: The Man and his Stage 505
Lee, Sir S. and F. S. Boas, The Year's Work in English Studies . . 367
Morgan, B. Q., Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation 509
Paues, A. C., Bibliography of English Language and Literature, 1921 . 120
Schuchardt-Brevier, Hugo 240
Schücking, L. L., Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays . . 236
Serra, R., Esame di coscienza di un letterato 238
Shears, L. A., The Influence of Walter Scott on Theodor Fontane . 510
Sisson, C. J., Le Goût public et le Théâtre Élisabéthain . . . 505
Soffici, A., Sei saggi di critica d'arte 238
Toynbee, P., The Bearing of the 'Cursus' on the Text of Dante's 'De Vulgari Eloquentia' 508
Uhrström, W., Pickpocket, Turnkey, Wrap-rascal 238
Vaganay, H., Lodge and Desportes 504
Watson, F., Luis Vives 239
Weekley, E., An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English . . 121
Willey, B., Tendencies in Renaissance Literary Theory 240

NEW PUBLICATIONS 122, 243, 371, 511

SOME FOURTEENTH CENTURY BORROWINGS FROM 'ANCREN RIWLE'

I

THE *Chastising of God's Children* is a well-known Middle English theological treatise addressed to a nun, which was printed by Caxton and exists in various manuscripts (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6615, Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 305, Magdal. Coll. Camb. Pepysian MS. 2125, etc.). It was early brought to notice because of its reference to the use of the Scriptures in English, and Miss Margaret Deanesly, in quoting the section in question[1], points out that the work is cited in the *Clensing of Man's Soul*, of which a copy belonged in 1401 to an abbess of Barking[2]. The *Chastising* therefore was written before that date. She also points out that it was bequeathed to the Carthusians of Shene by the first recluse there about 1415: she lists two later legacies in which it occurs[3]. It was therefore apparently a work of some popularity in its time.

It has escaped notice that the *Chastising of God's Children* takes its theme and title from a section of the *Ancren Riwle*. This it incorporates in the first chapter, with no sign that it is quoting. With the *Ancren Riwle*[4] should be compared the Caxton edition of the *Chastising* as follows:

Ancren Riwle:

Ure Louerd, hwon he iðoleð þet we beoð itented, he plaieð mid us, ase þe moder mid hire ȝunge deorlinge, vlihð from him, and hut hire, and let hit sitten one, and loken ȝeorne abuten, and cleopien, Dame! dame! and weopen one hwule, and þeonne mid ispredde ermes leapeð lauhwinde uorð, and cluppeð and cusseð, and wipeð his eiem. Riht so, ure Louerd let us one iwurðen oðer hwules, and wiðdraweð his grace, and his cumfort, and his elne, þet we ne iuindeð swet-

Chastising;

Also, whan our lord suffreth vs be tempted in our beginnynge, he playeth wyth vs as the moder wyth the chylde, whiche somtyme fleeth away and hideth her, and suffreth the chylde to wepe and crye; and besely to seke hir wyth sobbyng and wepyng, but thenne cometh the moder sodenly wyth mery chere and laughinge, beclippyng her chylde and kyssyng and wipeth away the teres. Thus fareth our lorde wyth vs, as for a tyme he wythdraweth his grace and comfort fro

[1] *The Lollard Bible*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 338.

[2] This is Bodl. MS. 923 (27,701). The note appears at the end: 'Iste liber constat Sibille de ffeltoun Abbatisse de Berkyng.' A contemporary hand writes above: 'Anno domini 1401.' On f. 145ᵛ of this volume appears the mention (first pointed out by Mr Madan, in his catalogue): 'Of this mater ȝe haue in a boke of englisch I trowe, which is cleped amonges ȝow þe chastising of goddes children.'—The catalogue of the Harleian MSS. notes that Harl. MS. 6615 differs from the text of the *Chastising* printed by Caxton.

'Vernacular Books in the 14th and 15th Centuries,' *Modern Language Review*, Oct., 1920.

[4] Camden Society, 1853.

nesse in none þinge þet we wel doð, ne sauur of heorte...And six ancheisuns beoð hwi God, for ure god, wiðdrauhð him oðerhwules: þet on is, þet we ne bicumen prude, etc....(pp. 230 ff.).

vs, In somoche that in his absence we ben al colde and drye, swetnesse have we none, ne sauour in deuocyon (Fol. 1)....Of vi pryncypal causes why our lorde wythdraweth his comfortes fro his chyldern... One cause maye be that the louer sholde falle not by pryde, etc. (Fol. 2)....

The *Chastising* goes on to enumerate the six causes given in the *Riwle*, but amplifies them. Nothing in the former after this point is directly derived from the latter, but the *Riwle* has perhaps given a hint to the later treatise in the following:

An oðer wise, þench 3et þet hwose euer hermeð þe, oðer eni wo deð þe, scheome, grome, oðer teone, þench þet he is Godes 3erd, and tet God bet þe mid him, and chasteð, ase ueder deð his leoue child, mid ter 3erde...(p. 184).

Chapter V of the *Chastising* follows up the theme already introduced by describing how the mother beats the child as it grows older for its own good—the greater the rod, the older he is. She brings him home when he runs away, and beats him to make him stay at home. A religious application is then given to this example. Though most of the later discourse shows no connexion with the simile of the mother and child, it is obvious that the section taken from the *Riwle* is considered to be the key-passage, since it gives the title to the whole.

Though no borrowings have been noted in the latter part of the *Chastising*, the sentences directly preceding those already quoted seem to be founded on a section of the *Riwle* far removed from that just quoted. The relation may be illustrated as follows:

Ne wene non of heie liue þet heo ne beo itempted. More beoð þe gode þet beoð iclumben an heih itempted þen beon þe woke, and þet is god riht. Vor euer so þe hul is more and herre, so þe wind is more þeron. Se þe hul is more and herre of holie liue and of heie, so þe ueondes puffes, þet beoð þe windes of fondunges, beoð strengure þeron and more. 3if eni ancre is þet ne veleð none uondunges, swuð drede hire iðet point, þet heo beo ouer muchel and ouer swuðe ivonded. Vor so Seint Gregorie seið: *Tunc maxime impugnaris, cum te impugnari non sentis.* (p. 178.)

Ffor soth it is to good men and wymen that traueyle to be perfygh to ben more tempted than other whyche be recheles of liuynge. And a cause why is for a mountayne the hyer he is there is the gretter wynde. In the same manere the hyer a mannus liuyng is the strenger is the temptacion of his goostly enmys. Wherfore yf men or wymen of religyon or of ony perfeccyon fele noo temptacions, thenne oughte they sorest to drede, for thenne they ben moost tempted whan they fele hem not tempted. Therefore sayth saynt gregory: Thenne art thou most assaylled whan thou felest the not assayled. Also whan our lord, etc. (Fol. 1.)

II

The sections of the *Ancren Riwle* used in the *Chastising* are quoted in a short piece found in Latin amongst other theological scraps in the Bodl. Laud Misc. MS. 111, of the early fifteenth century, f. 187 (following

the *Judica me Deus* of Richard Rolle), and in Lincoln Cathedral MS. C. 4. 6, of the middle of the fifteenth century (between the *Incendium Amoris* and the *Oleum Effusum* of Rolle). Both manuscripts retain the child's exclamation 'Dame! dame!,' though otherwise in Latin. No *verbatim* comparison has been made, but my notes seem to show that the passage in question is identical in the two manuscripts. Since it brings together the same two widely separated portions of the *Riwle* as are found in the *Chastising*, it was probably used by the author of that work. The following would suggest that it had borrowed from the *Riwle* directly: 'Unde si heremita vel anachorita non sentiat temptationes tum multum timeat'...(f. 172). The equivalent sentence in the *Chastising* does not mention hermits or anchorites (*v. supra*).

III

The section of the Laud MS., already cited, begins with the words: 'Quandocumque tribularis vel temptaris, memento'...(f. 187), and it appears to be the same piece in English which, in the highly popular Middle English compilation known as the *Poor Caitiff*, makes the chapter on temptation (beginning 'Whanne þou art temptid eiðir troublid, haue mynde of þilke remedie þat oure sauyour seið in þe gospel,' Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 38, f. 104). The *Poor Caitiff* is made up of sections brought together from several quarters[1]. For example the chapter immediately preceding that just mentioned ends with the words: 'Al þis sentence seið a seint in his book,' and actually the source is Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* (cap. vi). It is likely that the chapter on temptation is borrowed from the Latin piece already cited. The agreement is close, except that the English text is slightly abridged. No word of hermits or anchorites appears.

We have no clue as to the date when the Latin piece in question was put together, but the *Poor Caitiff*, which seems to give it in English, probably belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century. Several manuscripts date from this time (*e.g.* Bodl. Douce MS. 13, Lambeth MS. 541, Hunterian Mus. Glasgow, MSS. 496, 520 etc.). The work evidently circulated in the same circles as the *Chastising of God's Children*, for Magdal. Coll. Oxford MS. 93, which contains a partial text, belonged in 1438 to the fifth recluse at Sheen, where the first recluse, as we have seen, owned the *Chastising*. There is an immense number of manuscripts: one not hitherto noted is New York Public Library MS. 68.

[1] The *Poor Caitiff* is described and quoted from by Miss M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, pp. 346–7.

An interesting copy is Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 2336, which attaches to the conclusion a colophon stating that the volume is made for a 'common profit,' and is to pass from one owner to another as long as it lasts (for similar notes see Bodl. Douce MS. 25, Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. VI. 31, etc.). The very general use which this implies is also testified to by the Stowe MS., from which quotations are made here. In this copy the treatise seems to be treated as a primer: no other work was copied into the original book, and a calendar is prefixed. The prologue uses the phrase 'Poor caitiff' to describe the author, and no manuscript known gives any information as to his identity. A late note on the fly-leaf of Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 2336 states that 'the bishop of Chichester' (by whom it is thought that Reginald Pecock is meant) said that the author was a Friar Minor, who 'compiled this book in his defense,' but the origin of this information cannot be found. The work (like most English compositions of the time) was once ascribed to Wycliffe, and the greater part of it will be found (in a modernized text) printed in the edition of his works brought out by the Religious Tract Society in 1831. The order of the material varies in the different manuscripts, but a correct order was evidently recognized, for a contemporary hand has annotated Bodl. MS. 938, because 'þe materes of þe forseyd book pore caytiif stondyn not here in ordre' (f. 39^{v}). An edition of this work is promised by the Early English Text Society.

The reminiscences of the *Ancren Riwle* in the *Poor Caitiff* are as follows:

For þe hiȝest and holyest in lyuynge han moost temptacioun: for how myche þat an hil is hiȝer, so myche þe wynd is þere þe greettir: so how myche þe lyf is hiȝer, so myche þe temptacioun of þe enemy is moore strong. God pleieþ with his child whanne he suffriþ him to be temptid, as a modir riseþ fro hir myche loued child and hideþ hir, and leueþ hym alone, and suffriþ him to crie 'dame, dame' so þat he biholde aboute, crie and wepe at atyme, and at þe laste whanne þe child is in poynt to be ouersett with wepingis and disesis, þanne sche comeþ aȝen þerto and biclippiþ it in hir armes, and kissiþ it and wipiþ awey þe teres. So oure lord suffriþ his loued child to be temptid and troublid at a tyme...(Stowe MS., f. 104^{b} f.)

This section is generally chapter 7 of the *Poor Caitiff*.

IV

A puzzling Middle English text is the religious tract, or series of tracts, printed by Horstmann[1], both from Brit. Mus. Ar. MS. 507 (dated *c.* 1400) and from the Thornton MS. (of the early fifteenth century). The order and general text vary greatly in the two versions, and it is hard to

[1] *Yorkshire Writers*, London, 1895, I, pp. 132–156, pp. 300–321. Miss G. E. Hodgson modernizes this, and ascribes it to Rolle in her edition of modernized texts of his *Form of Perfect Living* and other pieces (London, 1910).

determine which is the original: the Ar. text, though abridged, contains material not in the Thornton, and the latter ends at two points with an '&c.' (pp. 305, 321). The two segments thus given appear in the Thornton MS. in reversed order (according to the Ar. text); but the text of the latter is in its own way disturbed, since extraneous material is thrust into the midst of the treatise (ff. 47^{b}–54^{b})—including a duplicate text of one section of the work itself (marked by Horstmann '3^{a},' p. 136). A manuscript sold at Sotheby's October 21, 1920 to Mr Maggs the bookseller of Conduit St., and kindly shown to me by him, seems to contain a text of the work in the original order. The volume in question when in the possession of the Ingilby family at Ripley Castle, Yorkshire, was mentioned by Miss A. C. Paues[1] because it contained a copy of Richard Rolle of Hampole's *English Psalter*. She was not able to examine it, and it has not been pointed out that it also contains various English prose treatises.

The Ingilby MS., as it is now bound, contains in the first pages, in a hand not that of the rest of the book, an English treatise headed: 'Here beginnes þe holy boke gratia dei.' This is a somewhat enlarged form of the treatise found in the Thornton MS. (printed Horstmann, pp. 305–21). No break occurs at the point (p. 310) where Horstmann prints one to mark a shift of subject from 'Grace' to 'Daily Work' (because the abridged text in the Ar. MS. seems, by the introduction of the extraneous material already mentioned, to make two tracts at this point). The discussion of prayer, which in the Thornton MS. has occurred earlier in the volume (pp. 300–5), follows that on Daily Work without break in the Ingilby MS., as it does (in an abridged form) in the Ar. (pp. 142–5). The Ingilby MS., however, though it continues the text to the bottom of p. 151 of the Ar. version (beyond the first '&c.' of the Thornton), does not continue to the end (p. 156), and thus cuts off the entire 'Tercia pars libri' found in the Ar. text—and more.

Thus, the Ingilby MS. is apparently shortened at the end, but it gives the text of the treatise as far as it goes in a form sufficiently coherent to make it seem likely that we have to do with a definite unit, 'the holy book Gratia Dei.' This was apparently of Northern origin, since the manuscripts are all Northern. Miss Deanesly[2] notes several occurrences in medieval wills of a 'Grace Dieu,' all of which she takes to be English versions of de Guilleville's *Pèlerinage*. I would suggest that the following Yorkshire bequest may refer to the present treatise: 'Liber vocatus

[1] *A Fourteenth-Century English Biblical Version*, Cambridge, 1902, p. xxxiv.
[2] *Modern Language Review*, *loc. cit.*, p. 356.

Gracia Dei et de Vitis Patrum in Anglico' (in the will of 'Dominus William Normanvile de Kelyngwike, miles,' 1449[1]). This conjecture is supported by the fact that the Ingilby MS. contains 'Sayings of Fathers' probably related to the *Vitæ Patrum*[2], and similar to those printed by Horstmann[3] from Rawl. MS. C. 285, other articles of which printed by Horstmann (pp. 112–25) are repeated in the Ingilby MS. There is evidently some relation between all the manuscripts of this group.

The *Gratia Dei* seems to be a compilation: it inserts (pp. 144, 304) a few sentences from the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*[4], also printed by Horstmann from the Thornton MS. (*cf.* p. 335); as also a section from another Thornton item, the *Mirror of St Edmund* (p. 145, cf. *ibid.* p. 221). Two extended borrowings have also been noted from the *Ancren Riwle*; more perhaps might be traced, for a *verbatim* examination has not been made. The borrowings in question are as follows:

Sicut urbs patens et absque murorum ambitu, etc....þe veond of helle mid his ferd went þurh þe tutel þat is euer open into þe heorte, etc.... Hwose wule wilnen þat Godes eare beo neih hire tunge, fursie hire urom þe worlde, elles heo mei longe ȝeien er God hire ihere; auh he seiȝ þurh Isaie, *Cum extenderitis manus uestras*, etc. (*Ancren Riwle*, pp. 74–6).

Sicut urbs sine murorum ambitu, etc...þe fende of helle with his hoste gase thurgh þat mouthe þat euer es opyne with euyll speche, etc.... For-þi wha so will þat goddes ere be nere his mouthe when he to hym prayes, drawe his herte fra þe werlde, elles may he lange cry or god hym here, als he thurgh þe prophet Ysaye sayse: *Cum extenderitis manus vestras, etc.* (Thornton MS., Horstmann, pp. 316–7; a shortened form may be found in the Ar. text, p. 140).

Eihte þinges nomelich munegeȝ and laȝieȝ us to wakien i sume gode, and beon wurchinde—þis schorte lif—þes stronge wei, etc....þe eihtuȝe þinc is hu muchel is þe mede iȝe blisse of heouene (*A. R.*, p. 144).

For viii thinges aght vs to wake and eauer be doand gode: þis schorte life; þe straite wai we haf to ga, etc....þe viii is þe ioie of heuen (Ar. MS., pp. 145–6: the Thornton text stops short of this point).

Both sections borrowed from the *Ancren Riwle* appear in the Ingilby MS., and my notes indicate that the second appears there in an enlarged text.

V

In the first of the two passages of the *Ancren Riwle* used in the *Gratia Dei* occurs a striking sentence which may be quoted from the two works, as follows:

þe tunge is sliddri, uor heo wadeȝ ine wete, and slit lichtliche uorȝ from lut word into monie (p. 74). Two thirteenth century manuscripts give 'slides,' and 'slideȝ,' respectively, for 'slit.'

þe tung es sleper, for it wades in wate, and glyddes lyghtly furthe fra faa wordes to many (p. 317). The Ar. text is abbreviated at this point. It should be noted that Horstmann emends 'wate' to 'water,' but the source of the passage shows that the original reading is correct.

[1] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, II, p. 138, Surtees Society, 1836.
[2] Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus*, 73, c. 741 ff.
[3] I, pp. 125–8.
[4] This was pointed out by Konrath in his review of Horstmann, Herrig's *Archiv*, 96, p. 368.

The *Ancren Riwle*, or a common-place book quoting from it, has evidently contributed the following to the *English Psalter*[1] of Richard Rolle of Hampole: 'Oure tonge is in wate, forthi lightly it slippis, as we doe when we ga in sklither way' (p. 142). It might be argued that we have to do with a proverbial saying, but the similarity of the image to countless others found in the *Riwle* would make it likely that it originated in the vivid imagination of the author of that work.

Mr G. C. Macaulay, in his invaluable studies of the text of the *Ancren Riwle*[2], states it as his belief, after a detailed study of the French and English versions, that the former, though we have it only in a late and corrupt form, represents the original of the treatise. It cannot be said that the quotations above made throw any light on this question; they do not follow the English text closely, but a detailed comparison with the French and Latin versions would be necessary to tell whether they follow either of the others more carefully: it is very possible that they follow corrupt versions of the English, or in some cases are made from memory.

Mr Macaulay's descriptions of the manuscripts of the *Ancren Riwle* have already shown the fourteenth century circulation of the work; beside the five English copies of the first half of the thirteenth century (the earliest of them already elaborately interpolated), we have from the early fourteenth century one French text and one Latin, and from the late fourteenth century one English fragment, one English text elaborately rewritten, and (in the Vernon MS.) one of the usual sort fairly complete. Mr Macaulay also cited one Latin text of *c.* 1400, and I have since discovered another[3], more complete than any other, which Dr Poole (who was kind enough to examine it for my purposes) dated as 'probably of the early fourteenth century.' In all, therefore, we have seven fourteenth century copies of the *Riwle* still extant, in one form or another. The present quotations would seem to show that many copies of the *Ancren Riwle* must have circulated in the fourteenth century, and that the treatise must have enjoyed at that time a popularity as great as that of a new work. The fourteenth century mystical movement probably gave it a new lease of life. The original composition of the piece was formerly put *c.* 1200, because our earliest group of manuscripts dates from 1230–50, but in my article on the *Origin of the Ancren Riwle* I have pointed out[4]

[1] Ed. H. R. Bramley, Oxford, 1884. [2] *Modern Language Review*, 1914, *passim*.
[3] See my note in the *Modern Language Review*, April, 1919. The second Latin manuscript which I point out (*Modern Language Review*, October, 1922) belongs to a later date.
[4] *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, October, 1918.

the remarkable series of coincidences which seem to connect it with the three young women who were put into Kilburn hermitage about 1134. The work (whether in English or French) must therefore, if my theory is correct, have been written a few years after that date—that is, more than two generations before the time to which it has usually been ascribed, and from which we preserve the earliest copies. The details just given of its popularity in the fourteenth century show the vitality of the *Ancren Riwle* in an age far removed from that of its composition—whether that be placed in the twelfth century or the thirteenth. We have now actual evidence of a greater circulation for the treatise in the fourteenth century than in the thirteenth, and we evidently have to do with a production which many generations found sympathetic. It would be very likely that the first copies of so popular a piece would be worn out; in any case obviously its vogue in the thirteenth century does not necessarily mean that it was composed then.

HOPE EMILY ALLEN.

LONDON.

GONDALIAND[1]

CERTAIN of Emily Brontë's poems appear in every anthology, but the reader who is tempted by their beauty to find more of her work is sometimes discouraged by a difficulty in interpreting her meaning. It is not that either the language or the thought is obscure; on the contrary the poems are particularly simple, direct and vivid. But the greater number refer to places, persons and events existing only in the author's imagination, which she never pauses to explain.

Some of the poems, of course, require no explanation. We can enjoy *The Old Stoic* without asking who he was or why he was stoical; it is the expression of a mood which we can recognise within ourselves. But very many are narrative poems, of vigorous and thrilling interest in themselves, but having reference to events and persons of which the reader knows nothing. That is all very well now and again,—for instance, in Browning's *How They Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix*, when our bafflement as to what was the good news is simply part of the high spirits of the whole affair. But readers do not willingly accept a whole body of poetry written on the same principle.

Speaking for myself, I was so much attracted by the beauty of the writing and at the same time puzzled by the mystery of the narrative that I tackled the problem by the absurdly prosaic method of a card index. I noted all the names of persons and places, and all the allusions to events. I grouped together the poems which referred to persons of the same name, and out of my groupings I seemed to evolve one fairly regular train of events, to be described hereafter, with a good many minor and more doubtful groups. It is all uncertain, and probably another reader might have worked out the sequence differently. In fact I afterwards discovered that Miss May Sinclair had made some different interpretations, though she was chiefly interested in another of the groups. I have set out the cycle of poems which seem to me to deal with a certain portion of the history of Gondaliand—the reign of King Julius and his daughter Augusta. I have not hampered the narrative

[1] Works of reference: Charlotte Brontë, *The Professor*, with *Poems* by Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë. 1860. Clement Shorter, *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*. 1896. *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë*, ed. Shorter, with an Introduction by W. R. Nicoll. 1910. May Sinclair, *The Three Brontës*. 1912. J. C. Smith, *Emily Brontë* (*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. v). 1914. *Brontë Poems*, edited by A. C. Benson. 1915.

by continually writing 'probably' and 'we may suppose,' but it must be understood that the interpretation is merely conjectural.

Naturally the first question is, 'What was or were Gondaliand?' and to understand this we must turn to the life of its creator.

Emily Brontë once wrote in her diary:

> I am quite contented for myself:...merely desiring that everybody could be as comfortable as myself and as undesponding, and then we should have a very tolerable world of it.

At first sight it does not appear that this was to wish any excessive degree of happiness for the rest of the world. Emily Brontë was a woman of genius, but she had not yet published a single book, and there seemed to be no prospect that she would ever do so. In her narrow home she did all the work of a general servant. She had no friends; the sisters whom she loved dearly were forced to leave her for uncongenial work, and she herself was saved from the same fate only by ill-health. Her father was losing his sight; her brother was a perpetual burden and disgrace. Certainly her idea of Utopia was not extravagant.

Nevertheless Emily was happy; she loved life,—she was reluctant to die. It ought to be easy to discover the secret of her content, seeing that so much has been written about the Brontës; their clothes, their friends, their money matters, their family, all have been minutely described. Yet none of these particulars explain Emily's happiness. Perhaps no one has cared much about it, for Charlotte is the famous sister, and it is she who started the hunt after the external facts of her life. Charlotte's genius was essentially lyric. She poured herself out into her novels as Shelley poured himself out into his poems, and the matter-of-fact reader is continually tempted to trace in the events of her life the experience she describes with such fervour. Emily's mind, on the other hand, was dramatic. She felt with each of her characters in turn, but she herself remained apart from them. She created circumstances altogether unlike those which surrounded her, and made herself a kingdom of her own.

The Brontë children instituted their play of *The Islanders* on a winter night in 1826. Emily chose for her island Arran, and for her chief men Sir Walter Scott, Lockhart, and Johnnie Lockhart; in this choice lay the beginning of Gondaliand. In their general play each particular island was merged into 'The Island' which belonged to them all collectively, but 'best plays mean secret plays,' wrote Charlotte. Emily began a best play of her own at this time, which she shared only with Anne. The kingdom of the Gondals, founded on that winter

evening, remained her secret abiding place until within three years of her death.

All that the sisters acknowledged about this kingdom of their dream is contained in passages from their journals. The first was written by Emily on July 30, 1841:

> Gondaliand[1] are at present in a threatening state, but there is no open rupture as yet. All the princes and princesses of the Royalty are at the Palace of Instruction. I have a good many books in hand, but I am sorry to say that as usual I make small progress with any.

Anne wrote at the same date:

> How will it be when we open this paper and the one Emily has written? I wonder whether the Gondaliand will still be flourishing, and what will be their condition. I am now engaged in writing the fourth volume of Solala Vernon's Life.

Emily wrote on July 30, 1845:

> Anne and I went our first long journey by ourselves together, leaving home on 30 June.—And during our excursion we were Ronald Macalgin, Henry Angora, Juliet Augusteena, Rosabella Esmaldan, Ella and Julian Egremont, Catharine Navarre and Cordelia Fitzaphnold, escaping from the palaces of instruction to join the Royalists who are hard driven at present by the victorious Republicans. The Gondals still flourish bright as ever. I am at present writing a work on the First War. Anne has been writing some articles on this, and a book by Henry Sophona. We intend sticking firmly by the rascals as long as they delight us, which I am glad to say they do at present.

Anne wrote at the same date:

> Emily is engaged in writing the Emperor Julius's life. She has read some of it, and I want very much to hear the rest. She is writing some poetry too. I wonder what it is about! I have begun the third volume of Passages in the Life of an Individual. I wish I had finished it.—We have not yet finished our Gondal Chronicles that we began three years and a half ago. When will they be done? The Gondals are at present in a sad state. The Republicans are uppermost, but the Royalists are not quite overcome. The young sovereigns with their brothers and sisters are still at the Palace of Instruction. The Unique Society above half a year ago were wrecked on a desert island as they were returning from Gaul. They are still there, but we have not played at them much yet. The Gondals in general are not in first rate playing condition. Will they improve?

In the autumn of 1845 Charlotte found Emily's poetry, and the spell was broken. Perhaps, as Anne's journal suggests, they were wearying of their plaything even before Charlotte's discovery. After the sisters died, Charlotte seems to have destroyed the Chronicles of Gondal. Nothing remains but the fragmentary poems which Emily wrote about the land and its people. Some readers enjoy the very uncertainty of the legends upon which they are based. They have the strange charm of dreams, the charm of something vivid and yet half-seen. But to most people

[1] The nomenclature is difficult to work out. The principal country is called Gondal; its inhabitants are the Gondals. But there are other countries connected with Gondal, for instance the Islands of the South. Gondaliand may mean 'all the countries connected with Gondal,' but it has been suggested that it should be read 'Gondaliad,' formed on the analogy of 'Iliad,' and meaning 'the stories relating to Gondal.'

this elusive quality is merely exasperating. The obscurity has been increased by the editors of the poems, who habitually print merely what they consider the best verses, omitting the connecting narrative. Moreover Emily Brontë's poetical reputation is lowered by the publication of poems by the other members of the family with hers. It is unfortunate that, instead of the printing and reprinting of their effusions, one careful and complete edition of all Emily Brontë's poems has not been prepared. The good work in them is powerful enough to carry the bad. Mr Clement Shorter's *Complete Poems of Emily Brontë* 1910, though much the fullest, is still incomplete, as is proved by Mr A. C. Benson's publication of additional passages in his *Brontë Poems* 1915.

Hitherto the history of Gondaliand has found only one student, Miss May Sinclair, who, after remarking apologetically, 'it does not look, I own, as if this hunt for Gondal literature could interest a single human being,' traces the first outlines of *Wuthering Heights* in the Gondal poems. Now that she has pointed it out, the connexion is clear, but I think she makes the Gondal stories appear too continuous. The stories of the Doomed Child, of the Duke of Zamorna and of Fernando, do not seem to be different episodes in the career of one man; I think that they had three different heroes, who each contributed something to Heathcliff.

Most writers on the Brontës adopt an apologetic tone in speaking of Gondaliand. They want real events, debts and love affairs and soul crises, and they are given instead the shadows of dreams. Emily herself encountered some of these practical-minded critics, and several of her poems are apologies, or, in another mood, justifications, for her choice:

> And am I wrong to worship where
> Faith cannot doubt, nor hope despair,
> Since my own soul can grant my prayer?
> Speak, God of visions, plead for me,
> And tell why I have chosen thee.

She took with her into the world of dreams the few treasures of her everyday life. One of these was her love of animals, but it is significant that while cats and dogs were her living intimates—one cannot degrade them by calling them pets—in Gondaliand horses took the first place. She took with her also her passionate love of the moors. Indeed it is not easy to distinguish in her poems between the real moors of Haworth and the dream moors of Gondaliand, nor to say of which she was thinking when she wrote fragments delicate and suggestive as Japanese *uta*:

> What is that smoke that ever still
> Comes rolling down the dark brown hill?

and again:

Only some spires of bright green grass
Transparently in sunlight quivering.

The poems grew out of embryos such as these. Sometimes we can see the evolution. The fragment

Loud without the wind was roaring
Through the wan autumnal sky;
Drenching wet the cold rain pouring,
Spoke of stormy winter nigh.

All too like that dreary eve
Sighed without repining grief.
Sighed at first, but sighed not long:
Sweet, how softly sweet it came,
Wild words of an ancient song,
Undefined, without a name,—

became the poem which begins:

Loud without the wind was roaring
Through th' autumnal sky;
Drenching wet, the cold rain pouring
Spoke of winter nigh.
All too like that dreary eve,
Did my exiled spirit grieve.

The song in the wind, 'undefined, without a name,' haunts the Gondal poems. Many people, especially those who walk on the moors, must know the feeling that there is a voice singing somewhere, a great way off. The music of Gondaliand may be likened to that strange, half-heard song.

Through all its history Gondal retained traces of its origin as the Isle of Arran, with Sir Walter Scott as its principal inhabitant. It was a sea-girt country, a land of mists and snows and grey skies,—

Coldly, bleakly, dreamily,
Evening died on Elbe's shore;
Winds were in the cloudy sky,
Sighing, mourning ever more.

There were great forests of ancient trees, where a wanderer might stray:

The night is darkening round me,
The wild winds coldly blow,
But a tyrant spell has bound me,
And I cannot, cannot go.

The giant trees are bending
Their bare boughs weighed with snow,
And the storm is fast descending,
And yet I cannot go.

Clouds beyond, clouds above me,
Wastes beyond wastes below;
But nothing dread can move me—
I will not, cannot go.

There were lakes with strange musical names, Eldenna, Arden, Werna:

> Cold, clear and blue the morning heaven
> Expands its arch on high,
> Cold, clear and blue Lake Werna's water
> Reflects that winter sky;
> The moon has set, but Venus shines,
> A silent, silvery star.

But above all it was a land of moors. Even the cities were pervaded by the fragrance of the heather:

> 'Tis evening now, the sun descends
> In golden glory down the sky;
> The city's murmur softly blends
> With zephyrs breathing gently by.—
>
> And yet it seems a dreary moor,
> A dark October moor to me,
> And black the piles of rain-clouds lour
> Athwart heaven's stormy canopy.

Such was the land of Gondal. Its history vanished when Charlotte burnt the Chronicles, but in Emily's poems there are glimpses of the wild legends of the country, and of the strange passionate race which dwelt there. The chief character mentioned by Emily and Anne in their diaries is the Emperor Julius, whose history is shadowed forth in many of the poems. Emily's method of developing a theme, as far as it can be traced, seems to have been somewhat as follows. She wrote a ballad giving the tale impersonally, and then a number of songs and fragments telling the same events from the point of view of the different actors. The central ballad in this cycle is *King Julius left the south country*, which records an outstanding event in the history of Gondaliand, the murder of Julius. Then there are three other poems about the same event, *The night of storms is past*, which is a prophecy of the murder; *Rosina*, describing how the news was broken to Julius' widow, and *Gleneden's Dream*, the meditation of one of the assassins. Many others fall into this cycle, among them Emily's best known and most beautiful poem, *Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee*, which is the lament of Rosina for King Julius.

In Gondaliand, as in England, a nobleman had three names, his Christian name, his family name and his title. As Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, might be called Henry, or Percy, or Northumberland, so Julius seems to have been of the house of Brenzaida, and to have taken his title from the hills of Angora. He belonged to a royal house, but his claims to the throne were set aside and the rival family of Erina was established in power. For twenty years Julius was an outcast and a wanderer; then in the tropical islands which lay far to

the south, he fell passionately in love with Rosina—a strong, beautiful, ambitious woman. They married, and she urged him to claim the Gondal throne as his right. Julius imagined that she had accepted him only to gratify her ambition:

> Yet have I read those falcon eyes,
> Have dived into their mysteries,
> Have studied long their glance, and feel
> It is not love those eyes reveal.
> They flash, they beam with lightning shine,
> But not with such fond fire as mine;
> The tender star fades faint and wan
> Before Ambition's scorching sun.

But he did his wife an injustice; how passionately she loved him she revealed in her lament long after his death:

> No later light has lightened up my heaven,
> No second moon has ever shone for me;
> All my life's bliss from thy dear life was given,
> All my life's bliss is in the grave with thee.

It was her love and her pride in him which made her urge him upon his stormy career, and so, all unknowingly, she sent him to his death.

In pursuit of his new ambition Julius made a compact with the reigning king of Gondal in the great cathedral of the capital. Someone standing in the empty cathedral recalls the day when the oath was taken:

> O look again, for still on high
> The lamps are burning gloriously;
> And look again, for still beneath
> A thousand thousand live and breathe,
>
> All mute as death beyond the shrine
> That gleams in lustre so divine,
> Where Gondal's monarchs bending low,
> After the hour of silent prayer,
> Take in heaven's sight their awful vow,
> And never-dying union swear.
>
> King Julius lifts his impious eye
> From the dark marble to the sky,
> Blasts with that oath his perjured soul,
> And changeless is his cheek the while—

for the oath was taken only to be broken. By the persuasion of Rosina he undertook the invasion of Gondal. His general Almedore made the first successful onset, and the King celebrated the victory:

> Our souls are full of gladness; God has given
> Our arms to victory, our foes to death.
> The crimson ensign waves its sheet in heaven,
> The sea-green standard lies in dust beneath.

King Julius followed this attack himself, and won triumph after triumph. The decisive battle was on the plain of Zamorna, and after

it he composed a poem to the horse Black Eagle which had borne him in the field:

Rest now in thy glory, noble steed;
Rest! all thy wars are done;
True is the love and high the meed
Thou from thy lord hast won.

It is characteristic of Emily Brontë that she never took sides in Gondaliand. She celebrated the triumphs of Julius, but she was equally moved by the sufferings of the Gondal patriots:

All our hearths were the mansion of distress,
And no one laughed, and none seemed free from care,
Our children felt their fathers' wretchedness;
Our homes, one, all, were shadowed with despair.

Against the song of triumph for Almedore's victory is set the misery of the vanquished:

It was the autumn of the year,
The time to labouring peasants dear;
Week after week, from noon to noon,
September shone as bright as June;
Still, never hand a sickle held;
The crops were garnered in the field,
Trod out, and ground by horses' feet
While every ear was milky sweet;
And kneaded on the threshing floor
With mire of tears and human gore.

Against King Julius's profession of a high moral purpose stands:

Why ask to know what date, what clime?
There dwelt our own humanity,
Power-worshippers from earliest time,
Feet-kissers of triumphant crime,
Crushers of helpless misery,
Crushing down Justice, honouring wrong,
If that be feeble, this be strong.

Shedders of blood, shedders of tears,
Fell creatures avid of distress;
Yet mocking heaven with senseless prayers
For mercy on the merciless.

The final victory of the invaders is told entirely from the standpoint of the conquered. This was the fall of Zalona, the capital of the country:

This day might be a festal day;
The streets are crowded all,
And emerald flags stream broad and gay
From turret, tower and wall.—

What do these brazen tongues proclaim?
What joyous fête begun,
What offering to our country's fame,
What noble victory won?

Go, ask those children in the street
Beside their mother's door;
Waiting to hear the lingering feet
That they shall hear no more.

Ask those pale soldiers round the gates
With famine-kindled eye.
They say, 'Zalona celebrates
The day that she must die.'

Julius carried away the captured Gondal patriots to the southern isles, where they pined for their country in dreamy prisons. The rival King Harold died in his captivity:

His land may burst the galling chain,
His people may be free again,—
For them a thousand hopes remain,
But hope is dead for him.

But the hour of conquest was also the hour of peril to Julius. In a ghostly poem the banshee of his house wails over his coming death:

Woe for the day! With gory tears
My countless sons this day shall rue;
Woe for the day! A thousand years
Cannot repair what one shall do.

Julius made his entry into the capital. He took possession of his palace in royal state. But

While princes hang upon his breath
And nations round are fearing,
Close by his side a daggered death
With sheathless point stands sneering.

The assassin struck home, and Julius fell. Rosina never enjoyed her victory. While her husband conquered Gondal she was lying unconscious in a fever. When she recovered, the first news she received was of his death.

The murder of Julius did not at once free Gondal. The assassin was killed on the spot. One of the other conspirators, Gleneden, was seized and imprisoned, when he dreamt that he had himself killed the tyrant, and awoke to remember the truth:

Shadows come! What means this midnight?
O my God, I know it all!
Know the fever-dream is over,
Unavenged, the Avenger's fall.

Julius was succeeded by his daughter Augusta. It was perhaps at her coronation that an old comrade-in-arms of the King, maybe Almedore himself, reproved the gay court for forgetting their master so soon:

The organ swells, the trumpets sound,
The lamps in triumph glow,
And none of all those thousands round
Regard who sleeps below.

The story of Augusta throws more light on the murder of Julius. Two children were brought up with the little princess, a boy and a girl, Amadeus and Angelica. They seem to have been brother and sister, the

orphan children of some noble house. When they grew up, Amadeus fell in love with Augusta, and Angelica pleaded his suit, but the princess scorned him, and the two were banished. Angelica told the tale long afterwards:

> We both were scorned, both sternly driven
> To shelter 'neath a foreign heaven;
> And darkens o'er that dreary time
> A 'wildering dream of frenzied crime.
>
> I would not now those days recall;
> The oath within that caverned hall,
> And its fulfilment; these you know,
> We both together struck the blow;
> But you can never know the pain
> That my lost heart did then sustain,
> When, severed wide by guiltless gore,
> I felt that *one* could live no more!
> Back, maddening thought! the grave is deep
> Where my Amadeus lies asleep,
> And I have long forgot to weep.

This deed, in which Amadeus fell, was the murder of King Julius, which must therefore have been the outcome of a private feud, not the avenging act of a Gondal patriot. Angelica escaped to the moors, where she met Douglas, a man of noble birth outlawed for his crimes. Douglas loved her, but she treated him with contempt, until one day she discovered Augusta sleeping on the moor, with only two companions, Lord Lesley and Fair Surry. She resolved to avenge herself and her brother, but a curious pang of hesitation prevented her from killing Augusta:

> My hand was raised, my knife was bare;
> With stealthy tread I stole along,
> But a wild bird sprang from his hidden lair,
> And woke her with a sudden song;
>
> Yet moved she not; she only raised
> Her lids and on the bright sun gazed,
> And uttered such a dreary sigh,
> I thought just then she should not die,
> Since misery was such misery.

Angelica returned to Douglas, and promised him her love if he would help her in her revenge. He agreed, but in the execution of the deed Augusta fought hard for her life and wounded the outlaw. Seeing him helpless, Angelica mocked him and left him to die; but the wound was not mortal, and alone he made his escape.

Late at night Augusta's body was found by Lord Eldred and the royal guards. They traced the bloodstained track of the murderer, and set out in pursuit. Douglas had found a coal-black steed, and the most exciting of the Gondal poems described his flight, and the stratagem by which he overpowered his pursuers.

After the murder of Augusta the Gondals rose and drove out their conquerors. There was a great battle in a mountain glen:

There swept adown that dreary glen
A wilder sound than mountain wind—
The thrilling shouts of fighting men,
With something sadder far behind.

The patriots were victorious, but their losses were heavy. The exiles of Julius's wars returned to find many empty places in their houses, and their joy was clouded by memories:

—In the red fire's cheerful glow
I think of deep glens, blocked with snow;
I dream of moor and misty hill,
Where evening closes dark and chill;
For, lone among the mountains cold,
Lie those that I have loved of old.

After this it is impossible to trace any further connected history of Gondaliand, but there is a series of poems which may contain another of Augusta's love stories. *Aspin Castle* tells how Lord Alfred, the first chief of Aspin, had 'one fair daughter and no more,' a beautiful child whom he neglected, because he was entirely devoted to the black-haired queen. For a time she encouraged his passion. In one poem she pours forth her ardent love for Alfred, in another she gives him her miniature with the inscription:

Dearest, ever deem me true.

But soon she wearied of him and cast him off. In short she treated him as she had treated Amadeus:

First made her love his only stay,
Then snatched the treacherous prop away.

Lord Alfred wandered away in his despair to England, and killed himself on an English moor, holding her miniature in his hand and cursing her treachery. When Lord Eldred bent over Augusta's murdered body, he recalled this story:

Like sudden ghosts, to memory came
Full many a face, and many a name,
Full many a heart, that in the tomb
He almost deemed might have throbbed again,
Had they but known her dreary doom,—
Had they but seen their idol there,
A wreck of desolate despair,
Left to the wild birds of the air
And mountain winds and rain.

The lonely daughter seems to be described in a fragment:

What made her weep, what made her glide
Out of the park this dreary day,
And cast her jewelled chains aside
And seek a rough and lonely way,

And down beneath a cedar's shade
On the wet grass regardless lie,
With nothing but its gloomy head
Between her and the showering sky?

There are many more Gondal poems, some connected with the history of Julius and Augusta, others with new heroes and heroines, others again which are too fragmentary to tell any story.

The literary quality of the poems is not fairly represented in these quotations, as, in order to piece together the fragments of the story, I have been obliged to choose narrative passages which are on the whole weak, and to omit the outbursts of passion in which Emily's genius is shown. The best of the poems have an unusual quality of excellence; the worst are very definitely bad; but all are serious and completely different in atmosphere from the drolling references to Gondaliand in the journals. There is an utter discrepancy between the intensity of *The Prisoner*:

But, first, a hush of peace—a soundless calm descends;
The struggle of distress and fierce impatience ends;
Mute music soothes my breast—unuttered harmony,
That I could never dream, till earth was lost to me.

Then dawns the Invisible; the Unseen its truth reveals;
My outward sense is gone, my inward essence feels:
Its wings are almost free—its home, its harbour found,
Measuring the gulf, it stoops and dares the final bound.

Oh! dreadful is the check—intense the agony—
When the ear begins to hear, and the eye begins to see;
When the pulse begins to throb, the brain to think again;
The soul to feel the flesh, and the flesh to feel the chain.

and the adventures of the Unique Society on their desert island.

The two sisters intentionally made their kingdom a grotesque. But merely as a literary exercise, Gondaliand proved better than correspondence courses. In writing these fantastic chronicles Emily learnt to use words, to control and apply her imagination. As her powers developed Gondaliand came alive in her hands. Her poems were her own secret. She did not show them even to Anne, and while Anne was regretting that the Gondals were not in good playing condition, Emily found that they delighted her as much as ever, because she had discovered a new development in them. But, like the water fairy of the legend, as soon as an immortal soul had been breathed into the land, it perished. Gondaliand lay too far into the world of shadows to bear prolonged stress of emotion. Moreover it must not be overlooked that a good deal of the country was mere pasteboard. When she had achieved results so perfect as *The Visionary* and *Remembrance*, Emily consciously turned from her kingdom

to devote her growing strength to a more difficult task. She expressed the change in a poem, not wistful but determined:

To-day I will not seek the shadowy region;
Its unsustaining vastness waxes drear;
And visions rising, legion after legion,
Bring the unreal world too strangely near.

. . . . . .

I'll walk where my own nature would be leading:
It vexes me to choose another guide:
Where the grey flocks in ferny glens are feeding;
Where the wild wind blows on the mountain-side.

What have those lonely mountains worth revealing?
More glory and more grief than I can tell:
The earth that wakes one human heart to feeling
Can centre both the worlds of Heaven and Hell.

She reaped the fruits of the hard work she put into her child's play in *Wuthering Heights.*

MADELEINE HOPE DODDS.

GATESHEAD

THE SINGLE COMBAT IN THE 'LAI D'HAVELOC.'

THE suggestion has been made in a recent number of this *Review*[1] that the account of the meeting of Canute and Edmund Ironside at Olney, given by Henry of Huntingdon and others, is not due primarily to a simple misunderstanding of the phrase 'comon togædere' of the A.S. Chr. s.a. 1016; that a tradition of an earlier and equally decisive single combat was a predisposing factor in the choice of the hostile rather than the friendly sense of the phrase; and that this tradition is to be sought amongst those which had gathered round the historical and romantic figure of Anlaf-Haveloc. Though the evidence there (*l. c.* pp. 119 ff.) adduced from a consideration of the battles of Brunanburh and Vinheith renders the existence of such a tradition possible, it is on a passage in the *Lai d'Haveloc*—and apparently on that alone—that the conclusion is reached: 'there is no good reason to doubt that the single combat formed part of the original story' (*l. c.* p. 118). When, however, this is based on the statement that 'the earliest version of the Haveloc story which has come down to us appears to be that of the French *Lai d'Aveloc*, which probably belongs to the first half of the twelfth century' (*l. c.* p. 116), there seems to be some confusion between the extant version of the *Lai* and the earlier one from which it and Gaimar's account have been supposed to derive.

In the course of my work on the *Estoire des Engleis* I have been led to review the whole question of the relations between Gaimar and the *Lai*, and, as a result of a detailed investigation which I hope soon to publish, I very much doubt whether the passage in the *Lai d'Haveloc* cited by Miss Ashdown has quite the evidential value she ascribes to it.

In the first place it is not correct to say that the existing *Lai d'Haveloc* is the earliest version of the story, for that honour belongs to the one of which Gaimar is the author. The exceptional regularity of the language and the absence of dialectical features make it extremely difficult to date the *Lai* on linguistic grounds alone, but, so far as this evidence goes, it points to a period later than Gaimar, i.e. in the second half of the twelfth century. This result was arrived at long ago by

[1] M. Ashdown, 'The single combat in certain cycles of English and Scandinavian tradition and romance.' *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII, p. 113.

Kupferschmidt[1], though the phenomenon on which he chiefly relied—the use of *-eit* in imperfects of the first conjugation—is shown by a critical study of the text to have been unknown to the author. The date is supported, and defined more closely, by other considerations: the rule of the couplet is no longer strictly observed, and not only is the technique of the 'lai' adopted, but there has been some measure of direct influence by those of Marie de France; and the nature of the local allusions suggests the period of the revival of the Scandinavian trade in Lincolnshire and the consequent rivalry of the seaports of that county—say *c.* 1200—as the date of composition.

Secondly, as the single combat is related neither in Gaimar nor in the English *Havelok* but only in the *Lai d'Haveloc*, which is not the earliest version, it becomes essential to determine the position of the latter in the Haveloc tradition. If—which is the generally accepted view—it and Gaimar are both derived independently from an earlier French poem of the first half of the twelfth century, then it is conceivable that the former retained and the latter omitted the account of the combat, and there is thus some justification for the assumption that such a combat originally formed part of the Haveloc story. If, on the other hand (which is the conclusion I have arrived at), the *Lai* is derived, entirely or in the main, from the Haveloc episode in Gaimar, then this passage must be carefully scrutinised before it is taken as evidence that the incident belongs to the Haveloc story.

Premising that my results are based on a study of both MSS. of the *Lai d'Haveloc*, whereas the printed editions follow one only, and that the later of the two, my grounds for asserting the dependence of the *Lai* on Gaimar are, briefly stated, as follows:

(i) At least one reading of the *Lai* seems incompatible with the existence of the common source, and two of the names in the *Lai*—'Achebrit' and 'Sigar l'Estal'—seem to derive from the text of Gaimar.

(ii) Of the numerous parallel passages in the two texts, a marked proportion are confined to two sections of the narrative which are peculiar to the French versions—Argentille's dream and the battle between Haveloc and Edelsi—and their differences of expression seem to be due to the author of the *Lai* rather than to Gaimar.

(iii) Since the later text is written in the form of a 'lai,' there must necessarily be some changes in the order of the narrative, and reasons of technique are sufficient to account for the varying explanations of Haveloc's presence at Edelsi's court, and the only difference which could

[1] M. Kupferschmidt, *Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar. Rom. Studien*, IV, p. 411.

be held to prove the independence of the *Lai* is its use of the 'strongest man' motive[1], which is also found in the English version. Careful study of the text of Gaimar suggests that this motive was unknown to him and could not have been omitted by him, but that it is probably a later development of the story in local tradition.

(iv) One difference appears to be due directly to a misunderstanding of Gaimar's text. On two occasions in the French versions Haveloc makes use of an axe in self-defence. In Gaimar, after his arrival in Denmark and appeal for protection to the Danish lord, Sigar, he is attacked in his lodging by some of the latter's servants who abduct his wife; he seizes an axe which he finds hanging up in the house, rushes out into the street, rescues his wife and kills most of the assailants; later, when he is to be presented to an assembly in Sigar's hall, he is apprehensive of punishment and seizes an axe from one of the bystanders in order to defend himself if necessary. In the *Lai* the ambush takes place in the street and the axe is there seized from one of the assailants, but, in Sigar's hall, Haveloc passes undisturbed through the bystanders and, still unhindered, takes down an axe from the wall. I suggest that the author of the *Lai*, misunderstanding the phrase 'dans la ruelle' used by Gaimar with reference to the scene, not of the abduction but of the subsequent rescue, imagined the whole affair as taking place in the street, adopted the second of the two methods of obtaining an axe as more suitable and, consequently, had to do the best he could with the other when he came to the scene in Sigar's hall.

(v) There are four features peculiar to the French versions which, as they fit in with Gaimar's sources of knowledge and methods of composition, appear to have been introduced into the story by him. They are:

(*a*) Argentille's dream. This is made the turning point of the first part of the story, is quite different from the English account, seems reminiscent of Iseult's dream in the Forest of Morrois and has evidently been composed with the finish of the French versions in view. As there is some evidence from the *Estoire des Engleis* that Gaimar was acquainted with the Tristan story, the innovation may be due to him.

(*b*) The Capture by 'outlaws.' In the English *Havelok* Grim and his companions are driven by an unexpected storm to England; in the French he is a regular traveller between Denmark and England, and is attacked by 'outlaws.' As these do not appear to have been familiar to

[1] Edelsi promises his dying brother-in-law to protect Argentille, then an infant, and, when she is of fit age, to marry her 'al plus fort home' in his kingdom; in order to deprive her of her inheritance, he adheres to the letter of his promise by giving her to his scullion, Haveloc, because of his prowess in wrestling and other feats of strength.

the author of the *Lai*, whereas there is ample evidence that Gaimar was well acquainted with their existence, it would seem that he is responsible for their introduction.

(*c*) The Geography of the poems. In Gaimar the two kingdoms concerned—of Edelsi and of Adelbrit—are very definitely in East Anglia, and the bounds of the former agree very closely with those of the South-umbrian realm subsequently described by him in his *Estoire*. In the *Lai*, though the author does not appear to have a very clear conception of the relations of the kingdoms with which he has to deal, to each other and to England as a whole, yet Edelsi's kingdom is described in the same detail as in Gaimar. It seems probable that this does not represent the original state of affairs and that Gaimar is responsible for their reduction in status from national to local sovereigns, though residence in Lincolnshire most likely accounts for the greater detail in describing Edelsi's realm, as opposed to Adelbrit's, noticeable in the *Lai*.

(*d*) The Chronology of the poems. Both in Gaimar and the *Lai* the events are ascribed to the period following the death of Arthur, and, though a general reference to that monarch might not be out of place in a 'lai,' actually he is referred to in the *Lai* in the same terms—historical rather than romantic—as in Gaimar, but with no obvious purpose. As there is in Gaimar a clear intention of linking up the events of the story with that period in order to provide a basis for the subsequent Danish claim to have reigned in England prior to the arrival of the English, and as his appeal to Gildas (v. 41) appears to be not entirely a mere literary device for securing credence, it is highly probable that he is responsible for attaching the story to this period.

If these features have been introduced by Gaimar—the arguments only have been outlined and no attempt has been made here to adduce evidence in their support—and if they are also found, as they in fact are, in the *Lai*, it follows that the latter must have derived them from the former. Consequently, in view of these and other points in which the *Lai* has been shown dependent on Gaimar and of the lack of proof to the contrary, it can no longer be regarded as representing an independent version of the Haveloc story, and the presence of an incident in the *Lai* cannot be accepted as proof of its occurrence in the original unless other evidence is forthcoming in support.

Thirdly, a distinction must be made between the motive for the combat and the combat itself. Of the former Miss Ashdown remarks (*l. c.* p. 117): 'the humanitarian note is curious, and one might be inclined to see in it the refining tendency of French romance'; but,

holding, as she does, that the *Lai* is older than Gaimar, she rejects this possibility and seems thereby to regard the motive as well as the combat as part of the original Haveloc story. There does not appear to be any compelling need to do this, for, in her own words (*l. c.* p. 124, n. 3), 'the fact that a certain motive is suggested in the version which has come down to us does not destroy the possibility that the original version implied a different motive'; and the mere fact that the story has been rewritten as a 'lai,' and has been influenced by their technique, renders it *a priori* probable that the motive is derived from French romance rather than from Scandinavian tradition. Moreover, the concern for the common people attributed to Haveloc by the author of the *Lai* seems to me to have been introduced by him partly from the same literary considerations as the additional touches whereby he makes of Edelsi a model leader, who goes out on personal reconnaissance before calling on his followers to do battle, and to suggest that no adequate motive for the combat was offered by the form of the story from which he derived his account.

If we turn to Gaimar's description of the battle between Haveloc and Odulf, we are at once struck by the fact that there is no explicit mention of the latter's fate and that it is uncertain whether he was killed or pardoned, though Gaimar's language—'Li reis Odulf fud dunc vencuz Kar Haveloc si se cuntint Il sul en ocist plus de vint' (vv. 742–4) —seems rather to imply the former. On the other hand, Gaimar lays considerable stress on Haveloc's clemency after the battle; he pardons two enemy princes—apparently Gaimar's own invention—and 'del pais la menue gent Vindrent a merci ensement E Haveloc lur fist parduns Par le cunseil de ses baruns' (vv. 749–52). As he usually evinces some interest in the outcome of the battles he describes, even to the extent of turning an indecisive into a decisive engagement (e.g. vv. 1417 ff.), it seems reasonable to assume that a single combat between the two monarchs did not figure in the story as Gaimar knew it. Neither does it appear probable, in this case, that the author of the *Lai* developed the combat from the uncertain data at his disposal in Gaimar's text, though, if he knew in addition another form of the story in which such a combat figured, Haveloc's clemency in Gaimar would supply him with a motive for it.

That he was acquainted with the tradition in some other form than Gaimar—very possibly oral—is shown especially by his treatment of Sigar's recognition of Haveloc. In Gaimar, Sigar first sees Haveloc when besieged in the church tower, and his resemblance to the late king—his

father—is so great that the Danish lord grants him a truce, takes him to his hall, learns his name and story, in consequence of which he has him watched in expectation of the mystic flame, and this convinces him of Haveloc's identity. In the *Lai*, the same events, in slightly different order, lead up to the same conclusion, but even more stress is laid on the physical resemblance. Yet, in spite of this being so great that it strikes Sigar in the conflict round the church tower, when, a short time before, Haveloc had sat as an honoured guest at his table, the resemblance passes unnoticed. In the English *Havelok*, the recognition depends entirely on the mystic flame, there is no question of resemblance, and consequently Haveloc attracts no special attention when at the Danish lord's hall prior to the attack on his lodging. These agreements show that the *Lai* is combining Gaimar's account with one derived from some other source; for, just as he sought to provide a motive for his introduction of Argentille's visit to the hermit, so he provides one for Haveloc's visit to Sigar in view of a version of the recognition which he does not adopt.

In favour of this suggestion, that the author of the *Lai* found mention of a single combat in his second source, it may be urged that, whilst he has throughout shown a decided tendency—under the influence, as I believe, of the *Lai des deux amants* of Marie de France—to make Argentille play a more important part in the story and to make Haveloc more than ever disinclined to act save at the instance of others, in this case he is made to show unwonted decision of character in proposing the single combat with Odulf entirely on his own initiative.

We have seen that this combat was probably unknown to the tradition used by Gaimar, but as probably known to that used by the author of the *Lai* to supplement the former's account, and the problem arises: was this combat an original feature of the story or is it an addition made in the later twelfth century? The evidence collected by Miss Ashdown seems, as far as I can judge, to render it likely that such a combat did figure in the Anlaf-Haveloc traditions; but, in seeking to link it up with that related in the *Lai*, is it not possible that she has overlooked one consideration? Assuming the correctness of her deductions from Brunanburh and Vinheith, we should expect the combat, which is to decide the fate of a kingdom and of which Anlaf-Haveloc is a protagonist, to take place in *England*, but the one thing clear about the battle between Haveloc and Odulf is that it occurs in *Denmark*. In the English *Havelok*, however, though no single combat in the sense of this discussion takes place, yet, because 'Havelok saw his folk so brittene' (v. 2700), he makes

for his opponent, Godrich, fights and captures him; the details are in full accord with the boisterous nature of this poem and its rough-and-tumble hero, but there is also the suggestion of a single combat and the battle takes place in England.

It is well known that the conclusion of the story in the French version is very different, involving as it does the account of the dead men set up on stakes to personate the living, but it has not, to my knowledge, been ascertained—I have been concerned only with the two French texts and not with the wider problems of the Haveloc tradition—which of the two versions represents more closely the original ending, though I cannot be sure, in my own mind, that the ruse of the dead men was not introduced into the story by Gaimar. There can be little doubt that, in addition to his interest in the Haveloc story for its own sake, he had in mind its importance for strengthening the Danish claim of prior possession of England put forward, in his account, by Canute at his celebrated meeting with Edmund Ironside; and that claim would be strengthened if Haveloc obtained Edelsi's kingdom by the latter's free gift rather than by right of conquest. Also, if the ending underlying that of the English *Havelok* be the original one, the outcome of the combat was probably fatal to Haveloc's opponent.

Therefore, if Gaimar knew the dead men ruse from another source—and he was not unacquainted with Danish traditions—it would, with his purpose in view, supply him with a better and more striking ending, and, to judge by his methods on other occasions, he would not have scrupled to adopt it instead of the original combat ending. Further, when both Gaimar and the second source conflict, the author of the *Lai* seems to prefer the former but likes to make use as well of any additional features from the latter. Hence, assuming that the single combat figured in his second source—here representing the original tradition—he would have a very striking incident at his disposal, after deciding to adopt the ruse ending from Gaimar, which he could use to good purpose in the, as yet, rather colourless Haveloc-Odulf incident.

Thus, though I have taken away from Miss Ashdown with the one hand in showing that this passage of the *Lai* cannot safely be used as direct proof of her contention, yet I have returned her somewhat with the other, and, should it be possible to substantiate the hypothesis of the preceding paragraph, it may be that she will consider herself the gainer, rather than the loser, by the exchange.

ALEXANDER BELL.

PETERBOROUGH.

RABELAIS AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE ANCIENTS.

So much Renaissance work was vitiated by blind obedience to classical authority that it has been well said that that great movement gave birth to nothing. Nevertheless it seems probable that only in that time of upheaval may we hope to discover demarcation lines between the medieval and the modern, for, since all ideas spring from actual tentatives, the workers for modernity in the seventeenth century, whose work came upon the world with a sudden blaze, must have had predecessors in the preceding age. Moreover, all authorities offer mutual support, and it is at a time when authority was weakened and still more weakened by an enthusiastic search for knowledge which drove men to seize upon every observable fact, it is at such a time probable that men should throw off the authority of Greece and Rome, if and when they found it irksome. Intellectual and other eccentricities, indeed, may be but the indications that the germ of future development is active during a certain period, and no age so abounds in these excesses as Rabelais' age. To what extent can Rabelais be shown to move with the current of his day? how far did his powerful nature assert itself against such passivity? The question is not whether he availed himself of his classical studies: that he did so is in the nature of things; but rather—and this is ascertainable—what use he made of his reading. That is the all important point, and, when we contrast the wide appeal of his works to men of every subsequent age with the neglect of his contemporaries' writings, we cannot hesitate to infer that the romance possessed distinguishing qualities which have sustained, and even increased, its value.

In contradistinction with the medieval scholars, those of the Renaissance preferred perfection of form to perfection of idea, and this preference should have dissociated the new thought from the mass of traditions on man and life. Nevertheless it did not. Just as the Scholastics had distorted classical teaching and reconciled irreconcilable philosophies by subordinating them to Christian teaching and patristic literature[1], so wherever, during this period in France, we find reverence for authority,

[1] Lefèvre d'Etaples curiously mingles Aristotle and Plato, while lesser men, like Rabelais' Homenas claiming Diogenes as a Decretalist, are most naïvely learned, cp. Polydor Vergil, *De Inventoribus Rerum*.

or for the letter of authority, we may trace an association of pagan and Christian ideas which results (to their mutual loss) in rendering both almost unrecognisable. The Rabelais of *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* (1532–5) presents no exception to the rule. Generally speaking, in spite of an amusing reference to Pliny ('Et toutesfois je ne suis point menteur tant asceuré comme il a esté'—*Garg.* 6), he was at that time quite uncritical; indeed even in this passage appear a large tolerance and a complacent sense of superiority to an admired authority; and this learned vanity finds ample scope in his fond use of reference and quotation, to and from curious and obscure writers[1]. He makes no statement without this form of justification, and illustrations of such support for the most commonplace utterance abound. Of the colours of Gargantua's dress (*Garg.* 9) he says, 'Bien aultrement faisoient en temps jadis les saiges d'Egypte, quand ilz escrivoient par lettres qu'ilz appelloient hieroglyphiques...lesquels un chascun entendoit qui entendist la vertu, proprieté et nature des choses par icelles figurées. Desquelles Orus Apollon a en grec composé deux livres, et Polyphile, au Songe d'Amours, en a davantaige exposé.' Of the same nature is his affirmation concerning St Aignan's bell (*Pant.* 7), which could by no méans be pulled from the earth, 'combien que l'on y eust applicque tous les moyens que mettent Vitruvius de architectura, Albertus de re aedificatoria, Euclides, Theon, Archimedes, et Hero de ingeniis, car tout ny servit de riens.' After the Limousin student episode he quotes Aulus Gellius and Caesar in support of purity of language, and of the great drought he writes, 'Les aultres gens sçavans disoyent que c'estoit pluye des Antipodes: comme Senecque narre au quart livre questionum naturalium, parlant de lorigine et source du fleuve du Nil.' He had not yet begun to speculate upon such matters, and his learning adds a meretricious ornament which betrays Rabelais as little greater than the pedantic author of *De Inventoribus Rerum.*

In *Gargantua* the dominant influence is certainly Plato. Picrochole, a type of Injustice, begets Discord and Strife among his followers, who contend, like Thrasymachus in the *Republic*, that the justice of the State should subserve the interests of the great; while Grandgousier, as the embodiment of Justice, the Platonist king-philosopher, is served by Concord and Harmony, and maintains that the kingly function exists to protect the weak and the inferior. Moreover, Touquedillon's injustice being granted, his being rewarded was the only treatment possible in a Platonist's eyes (since punishment of an unjust man would render him

[1] Secret writing, virtues of precious stones and the significance of colours are thus supported.

still more unjust), although to the practical bourgeois mind Grandgousier's benevolence must have seemed as absurd as the Abbey of Thelema. The basic fact of that airy structure[1] is the Platonic relation of sex with sex : the sympathy existent between the ladies and gentlemen dictates their manner of life even to questions of dress and amusements, and each man, compelled by circumstances to quit the Abbey, married the lady with whom he felt the closest affinity. It would be difficult to believe that Rabelais did not know that the ideal freedom of Thelema could not produce such harmony, did we not consider that at this stage Rabelais was a convinced Platonist whose duty was to yield unswerving devotion to his master. Even the characterisation of the two books may have been Platonist if, as seems probable, for Rabelais was at the 'single quality' stage, the grossly amusing Panurge, followed in creation by the admirable spirited Friar who lacks even his later coarseness, were intended to form the sensual part of the Platonist trinity of sensual, active, and rational. We may conclude that between *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, when the influence of Lyons society was strong upon the author, some attempt at diffusing Platonism was planned. Thence result not only the perplexing inconsistencies between the prince and his forebears, but also the blending of Platonic philosophy with Christian teaching in Grandgousier's statecraft, the authority for which is chiefly Plato. This element is the chief charm of the book, it made the wavering reformers who sought the truth in Platonism enthusiastic admirers of Rabelais' genius, and Plato was the force which raised his work to a nobler plane. Nevertheless, at a time when Heroët's version of the *Symposium* (*La Parfaicte Amye*, 1542) was the admiration of the sadly stricken Third Party, we know that Rabelais, having re-studied Plato[2], was planning the *Tiers Livre*, the thought of which, amid profuse quotation of his one-time master, is decidedly hostile. Even the quotations appear to be changed in intention in the work of 1546 onwards, and notwithstanding the large unacknowledged borrowings of thoughts which impressed him, and which he uses with accuracy, he became deplorably careless in regard to authors whose views he could not share. In the period 1535 to 1546 he had possibly stood aside from the humanist movement, and his attitude had fundamentally changed.

The times were not ready for critical appreciation, or for distinction between Platonism and Neo-Platonism, and it must be remembered

[1] Rabelais later appears to have rejected Thelema, for he despatches unreal pictures thither (*Q.L.* 2) and devises absurd exercises for the Thelemites (*Q.L.* 62).

[2] Letter to Antoine Hullet.

that Rabelais' scholarship has been seriously brought in question. That he dissociated himself from the contemporary school of Neo-Platonists, mainly feminist, for which he was attacked by them, is consequently of some importance. Not only did he deliver shrewd blows in the weakest parts of their armour, but he also ridiculed many of the currently accepted doctrines. He described Panurge's women associates in Salmigondie as Platonists and Ciceronians; he invoked Plato's support of doubts whether woman be an animal or a reasoning creature, although 'Rondibilis' has a loftier opinion of her[1] ('Certes Platon ne sçait en quel rang il les doibve colloquer, ou des animans raisonnables, ou des bestes brutes'—*T.L.* 32); and with an analogous intention he wrote, 'aucuns Platoniques disent que qui peut voir son Genius peut entendre ses destinées. Je ne comprends pas bien leur discipline, et ne suis d'advis que y adherez.—Il y a de l'abus beaucoup' (*T.L.* 24), and 'Le serpent qui tenta Eve estoit andouillicque: ce nonobstant est de luy escrit qu'il estoit fin et cauteleux sus tous les aultres animans. Aussi sont andouilles. Encores maintient on en certaines academies que ce tentateur estoit l'andouille nommée Ityphalle, en laquelle fut jadis transformé le bon messer Priapus' (*Q.L.* 38). Possibly these passages imply merely a criticism of Platonism as taught, in itself a great advance, but elsewhere Rabelais uses one of his commonest satirical methods against a more profound principle.

In his examination of dream interpretation occurs this satire of Plato's metaphysics: 'Ja n'est besoin plus au long vous le prouver. Vous l'entendrez par exemple vulgaire, quand vous voyez, lorsque les enfants, bien nettis, bien repuz, et alaictés, dorment profondément, les nourrices s'en aller esbatre en liberté comme pour icelle heure licentiées à faire ce que voudront, car leur presence autour du berceau semblerait inutile. En ceste façon, nostre ame, lorsque le corps dort...s'esbat et revoit sa patrie qui est le ciel' (*T.L.* 13). In the conclusion all doubts whether this argument is serious must disappear, seeing that the philosophic views quoted are overwhelmed by Panurge's whimsical objection to light suppers. In each attempted research the author's plan is the same: the authorities counselling the particular method are martialled, the trial is made with all observance of the conditions, and finally the problem is brought to the test of the individual judgment, implying a certain discredit of traditional beliefs. The *Tiers Livre* treats not only of marriage, not only of the futility of divination. In fact the satire on classical writers wearies the author, and at least once he refuses to proceed: 'Toutesfois, dist Pantagruel, Ciceron en dit je ne sçay quoy au

[1] See his praise of the 'preudes femmes,' *T.L.* 32.

second livre de Divination' (*T.L.* 20). Indeed the whole book suggests that the author principally desired to envelop the authority of the Ancients in absurdities which the new generation were coming to regard in a new light, in traditional ways of thought which bourgeois common sense, the fount of 'libertinism,' was soon to discredit. In this book, too, occur two passages illustrative of how Rabelais may have thus developed: in regard to the consultation with the dumb the various authorities were matched one against the other; and when Panurge described and justified his Utopia of Debtors and Borrowers, he was refuted by Pantagruel's quotation of Plato's Laws. It appears in the highest degree probable that not only wider reading but chiefly a richer experience and deeper thought had made his earlier enthusiasm for transcendental systems unsatisfactory, and had led him to weigh evidence and to discriminate.

What renders the demonstration difficult is his decided preference for undermining rather than directly attacking his opponents' position. Nevertheless, the inference is clear when Jupiter, busy settling human disputes, not merely has no leisure to decide between Ramus and Galland, the Platonists and Aristotelians, but proceeds to deal with the woodcutter's loss (*Prol. de l'Auteur*, *Q.L.*). Aristotle is held responsible for Queen Entelechie's strangeness and for the false knowledge of those caught spying upon him in the Pays de Satin; and his authority supports the sheep's propensity to follow a leader (*Q.L.* 8), as that of Averroes demonstrates a monk's attraction towards the kitchen (*Q.L.* 11). Even Plutarch, whom Rabelais certainly admired, becomes a disseminator of false knowledge: 'Et dorenavant (he writes), soyez plus facile à croire ce qu'asceure Plutarche avoir experimenté. Si un trouppeau de chevres s'en fuyoit courant en toute force, mettez un brin de eringe en la gueule d'une dernière cheminante, soubdain toutes s'arresteront' (*Q.L.* 62). Plato is repeatedly turned to ridicule in as subtle a manner. The coarse[1] Isle of Ennasin becomes intelligible only when the alliances are considered as between Platonist affinities, and the whole episode as a pseudo-commonwealth based on principles of relationship found in the *Republic* and the *Symposium*. Numerous references to 'Ideas' are found: in an episode destined to serve the cismontane cause (*Q.L.* 50) the Pope figures as the Idea of God upon earth, an ingenious and powerful inversion; the hovering terror of the Andouilles is the Idea of Mardigras (*Q.L.* 42); and Ideas are among the paintings[2] purchased in the Isle of Appearances

[1] The later Rabelais habitually relapses into coarseness before unreality.

[2] Of Echo, Plato's Ideas, Epicurus' Atoms, Philomela and Tereus. Of the most probable subject Rabelais says we must not expect a realistic picture. 'Cela est trop sot et trop lourd.

(Medamothi), an incident which must have lost point as art became more and more symbolical. Finally in the battle with the Andouilles as a result of the ingenious discussion on names and Rhizotome's vehement oath that he will read the *Cratylus*, so often commended, we almost lose sight of the arbitrariness in the names of Tailleboudin and Riflandouille, which are hailed by Pantagruel as happy omens, until our faith is dissipated by the ensuing conversation. Yet Rabelais obviates misunderstanding, adding, 'Vous truphez ici, beuveurs, et ne croyez que ainsi soit en vérité comme je vous raconte....Croyez le, si voulez; si ne voulez, allez y voir. Mais je sçay bien ce que je vis....' The manner is certainly more involved, but the purpose is that of the *Tiers Livre*. Throughout his later work Rabelais did more than attack contemporary Platonism.

Yet this is not the whole truth. His solemnest moments are those when his thought so closely resembles the well-known utterances of the Dialogues that at first borrowing appears to be the only explanation. There are, however, important if minor divergences: 'Je sens, dist Pantagruel, en mon ame retraction urgente, comme si fust une voix de loing ouie, laquelle me dit que n'y debvons descendre. Toutes et quantesfois qu'en mon esprit j'ay tel mouvement senty, je me suis trouvé en heur refusant et laissant la part dont il me retiroit, au contraire en heur pareil me suis trouvé, suivant la part ou il me poussoit: et jamais ne m'en repenty.—C'est, dist Epistemon, comme le demon de Socrates, tant célèbre entre les Academicques' (*Q.L.* 66). The *Apologia* (XIX) definitely states that the Socratic demon never urged to actions, as the intuitive element here does: yet Rabelais gladly compares his observed phenomenon with the greater example. In a similar delicate manner he will not dispute Socrates' noble thought that death is not in itself evil, nor to be feared, for to this life-loving being death in any form, but especially 'this kind of death by shipwreck,' appears terrible: the helplessness of the drowning man horrifies him, and philosophy, called to mind on a sudden confrontation with death, gives consolation in vain (*Q.L.* 22). Tentatively adopting Plato's psychogony, he seeks to divest death of its terrors by depicting it accompanied by angels, heroes and good spirits who welcome the dying man to a troubleless existence (*T.L.* 21)[1]. Stoical theories fail to convince in face of G. du Bellay's life and death, there must be a hereafter since life is so incomplete. Therefore

La peincture estoit bien autre et plus intelligible. Vous la pourrez voir en Thelème, à main gauche, entrans en la haulte galerie.' Thelema became Rabelais' repository for impossibilities, cp. *Q.L.* 62.

[1] It must be noted that both this passage and that in *Q.L.* 26–28 are occasioned by the death of G. du Bellay, with which they are linked. That actual incident is reflected in the romance. It probably *caused* Rabelais' visit to the old Macrobes, that is, classical philosophy.

Pantagruel answers Friar John's request for more light with an emendation of Plutarch: 'Je croy que toutes ames intellectives sont exemptes des cizeaux de Atropos. Toutes sont immortelles: anges, demons et humaines' (*Q.L.* 27). The transparent legend of Pan's death, culminating in Pantagruel's emotion and the company's awe, is a combination of Plutarch with a fine human pity for the dying Christ (*Q.L.* 28): and we may conclude with justice that the old disciple of Lucian has first experienced the emotions his words inspire before recalling some similar passage of his reading. Where he adopts passages, it is because he is convinced of their truth.

From Pliny he borrowed parts[1] of the famous description of Pantagruelion, hemp as commonly understood, but preferably (from its close association with Pantagruel) of much deeper import. His reasons for the selection of Pliny on hemp remain somewhat obscure, but an examination of the borrowed portions reveals the following important passage, composed of translation and additions: '*Mais estainct en l'homme la semence générative,* qui en mangeroit beaucoup et souvent. Et, quoy que jadis entre les Grecs d'icelle l'on fist certaines especes de fricassées, tartes et bignetz, lesquels ilz mangeoient après souper par friandise, et pour trouver le vin meilleur, si est ce qu'elle est de difficile concoction, offense l'estomac, engendre mauvais sang, et par son excessive chaleur ferit le cerveau et remplit la teste de fascheuses et douloureuses vapeurs' (*T.L.* 49). Pliny's report ('semen ejus extinguere genituram virorum *dicitur*') becomes a statement of fact; this, however, appears to be of infinitely less importance than the challenged comparison with chapter 31 of the same book wherein 'Rondibilis[2]' had propounded five such methods of restraint. It cannot be doubted, moreover, that this comparison points to 'fervent study' alone as a possible hidden meaning of Pantagruelion, and this explanation will be found to unravel the obscure allegory which follows (c. 51) exceedingly well. Enquiry has produced all the conveniences of civilisation enumerated; it cannot be destroyed by fire (a remarkable allusion to contemporary burnings), 'le feu qui tout devore, tout degaste et consume, purge et blanchist ce seul Pantagruelion Carpasien Asbestin' (c. 52); it would enable humanity (the author hopes) to attain truth to the consternation of the gods; and it was the guiding principle of the new Pantagruel (c. 48). Hemp is as inadequate an explanation as it is doubtless the subject of Rabelais' original. Once

[1] Cp. articles by M. Sainéan, 'L'histoire naturelle dans Rabelais' (*Revue du XVI^e Siècle*, 1916).

[2] That is, Rabelais, whom François de Billon attacked under this name.

more Rabelais is seen to have resorted to classical authors only for materials wherewith to furbish forth his new ideas.

The passage is not yet exhausted, for he adds: 'Et m'esbahys comment l'invention de tel usaige a esté par tant de siècles celé aux antiques philosophes'; and, as so frequently happens with Rabelais' main ideas, we find an amplification or a particularisation of this suggestion in Bacbuc's speech (*Quint Livre*, c. 48). 'Vos philosophes (she says), qui se complaignent toutes choses estre par les anciens escrites, rien ne leur estre laissé de nouveau à inventer, ont tort trop evident.' These are the utterances of a man who feels the widest difference between himself and his contemporaries, who realises their weakness in their being fast bound by tradition, and whose whole life from a certain point urged upon him the necessity for independent activity. He must have largely freed himself from the shackles of the past, as we see his works give evidence, except in the all-important perplexities of human destiny which, after his independent reflexion, forced him back upon the thought of others. For the first time classical authority is weighed in the balances (of experience) and found wanting, for the first time a visionary foresees the race advancing by research; and this change, brought about by Rabelais' life and experience between 1534 and 1546, is mainly important in that the mature work was addressed to the growing bourgeois class—hence probably his change from quotation of authority to unacknowledged borrowing of thoughts—to that class from which the kindred spirits, Molière and La Fontaine, were to spring.

A. F. Chappell.

Manchester.

LATER SPANISH CONCEPTIONS OF ROMANTICISM.

In an earlier article[1] we discussed some representative conceptions of Spanish Romanticism held by leading literary men in Spain and by contributors to its leading periodicals during the formative period of the movement. We saw how gradually one new constructive element after another was added to the growing concept, and how for the vague cosmopolitanism of the *Europeo* with its zeal for 'conciliation' and for Schlegel's 'vermittelnde Kritik' there was substituted a national ideal, gaining somewhat, as time went on, in clearness and power, though partly obscured by the influence of French Romanticism, and wholly ignored by those uncompromising opponents who identified the Romantic movement with 'lawlessness in literature.'

One would naturally expect, with the establishment of Romanticism in Spain, to meet no more vagueness, no more fundamental misconceptions as to the aims and ideals of that school. Opposition to it there might still be, but both of the conflicting parties would be presumed to know what they were fighting about. Those inimical to Romanticism might exaggerate their opponents' claims, as happens in all controversies, or misinterpret their ends or motives: the surprising thing would be if the Romantics themselves were divided as to the falsity or truth of those interpretations. Nor would one look for much indifference: those who identified themselves with Romanticism might be expected to support it whole-heartedly—to believe in it—to write about it—to labour its principles and aims until all but wilful misunderstandings were cleared away. The object of this article is to show that such a state of affairs was never reached at all[2].

Who can wonder if there is confused and loose thinking among present-day writers on Spanish Romanticism, when the very protagonists of the movement were openly at variance with each other over its principles, and the contemporary critic could never be sure if his friendly

[1] *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 281–296.

[2] In both this and the earlier article I have endeavoured to select as representative quotations as possible from a comparatively large number which I have gathered from different sources. I hope in the future, after treating more fully the general literary ideas of this period, to contrast the real nature of Romanticism in Spain, as judged by the works it produced, with what its various contemporary critics supposed it to be. As this will involve preceding articles also I shall add to it a full bibliography illustrating conceptions and the nature of Romanticism in Spain.

and often flattering articles would be approved by more than a small proportion of the men whose work they praised? Who can tell when the Romantic movement ended, if we find men who were considered as Romantics, whether five, ten or twenty years after its first appearance, still advocating the 'vermittelnde Kritik' and pointing out rather pathetically the virtues of the other side. We are driven to two conclusions: first, that no general understanding or agreement was ever reached on the nature of the national type of Romanticism—that its full possibilities were never realised, except by an insignificant minority; secondly, that militant, constructive and self-conscious Romanticism in any form lived but for a few years in Spain and never, as a movement, really dominated literature at all. The freedom which it had brought was accepted; the patriotic impetus which belonged to it continued—for the rest, men fled to the *justo medio* and returned to the 'vermittelnde Kritik.' There were surpassingly great individual Romantics in Spain, but there was no surpassing greatness in the movement known as Spanish Romanticism.

A complete justification of these views would require chapters where we have only pages, but the following notes are offered as an indication of the path to be pursued. We shall begin our investigations at the year of *Don Alvaro*, when, as *El curioso parlante* put it shortly afterwards, 'la palabra *romanticismo* parecería ser la dominante desde el Tajo al Danubio, desde el mar del Norte al estrecho de Gibraltar[1].' And we shall carry them some twenty years forward, to a point of time at which Juan Valera could say: 'El romanticismo, por lo tanto, no se ha de considerar, hoy día, como secta militante, sino como cosa pasada, y perteneciente a la historia[2],' and Gerónimo Borao: 'Ociosa parece hoy la cuestión, no ha muchos años debatida, entre los sistemas clásico y romántico, y raros son a la verdad los escritores que, ni aun por incidencia, se ocupan ya de ambas escuelas[3].' Both these statements might probably have been made as truly in the preceding decade, but even those who would grant the Romantic movement a longer life than we are prepared to do would allow that it was dead by 1854. Great Romantics still lived, it is true, but whatever individuality Romanticism in Spain had possessed had completely disappeared.

[1] 'El Romanticismo y los románticos,' September 1837 (in *Escenas matritenses*).

[2] Juan Valera, 'Del Romanticismo en España y de Espronceda,' in *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1854, Vol. II, p. 613.

[3] Gerónimo Borao, 'El Romanticismo,' in *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1854, Vol. II, p. 801.

I.

That all the elements inherent in Romanticism, together with certain specific traits attached to it in various European countries, were present when the Spanish movement matured, will hardly be disputed. Two or three representative periodicals and the preface to the *Moro expósito* should make so much certain. The writers quoted in our earlier study are sufficient evidence that these elements were in 1835 inextricably confused and that no definite Spanish theory of Romanticism had emerged from them. A satirist two years after the production of *Don Alvaro*—none other than Mesonero Romanos—describes the state of popular opinion thus:

> ¿Qué cosa es romanticismo? les ha preguntado el público; y los sabios le han contestado cada cual a su manera. Unos le han dicho que era todo lo ideal y romanesco; otros por el contrario, que no podía ser sino lo escrupulosamente histórico; cuales han creído ver en él a la naturaleza en toda su verdad; cuales a la imaginación en toda su mentira; algunos han asegurado que sólo era propio a describir la edad media; otros le han hallado aplicable también a la moderna; aquellos le han querido hermanar con la religión y con la moral; estos le han echado a reñir con ambas; hay quien pretende dictarle reglas; hay por último quien sostiene que su condición es la de no guardar ninguna[1].

But the appearance of several striking dramas since 1835 had suggested that a clearly Spanish type of Romanticism was slowly evolving: 'a Romanticism entirely our own, as befits a nation of so Romantic a character. Let our drama be as Romantic as we ourselves are[2].'

It is easy to understand that so fervent a champion of Spanish Romanticism as Ochoa should think of it in 1835–6 as a revolution, and that he should, in rather a one-sided way, emphasise its debt to France. He has eyes and ears for little more in 1836:

> La revolución literaria que empezaba a formarse cuando salió a luz este periódico, y que nosotros abrazamos con entusiasmo y convicción, ha sido ya coronada por el más brillante triunfo. A las piececitas de Mr. Scribe, que antes reinaban despóticamente en nuestra escena, han succedido los dramas de Victor Hugo, de Casimir de la Vigne, de Dumás y muchas producciones de ingenios españoles: la poesía lírica nacional ha tomado un carácter muy diferente del que antes tenía: el buen gusto en las artes ha hecho progresos evidentes, la afición a ellas y a la literatura ha aumentado de un modo casi increíble[3].

We should expect, too, that the opponents of Romanticism would continue to make capital out of its negative side, as in fact they did. Want of constructive principles is always an excellent weak spot in

[1] 'El Romanticismo y los románticos' (September 15, 1837) in *Escenas matritenses*. It will be remembered that the author went so far as to read his satirical sketch in the Liceo de Madrid.

[2] See *Revista española*, Aug. 27, 1835. Review of *Angelo*: '...Un romanticismo español, enteramente nuestro, el del pueblo donde todo lleva el carácter del romanticismo; romántica es nuestra historia, romántico nuestro cielo...romantícese también nuestra escena.'

[3] *El Artista*, Vol. III, p. 1. *Cf.* Vol. II, p. 6.

one's opponent's armour, and, in most controversies, it yields to the feeblest attack. It is not surprising, then, to find Lista, even after the highly moral, religious and monarchical works of Rivas had appeared—the *Moro expósito*, *Don Alvaro* and the *Romances históricos*—speaking thus of Romanticism:

> El romanticismo actual, antimonárquico, antireligioso y antimoral, no puede ser la literatura propia de los pueblos ilustrados por la luz del cristianismo, inteligentes, civilizados...[1].

The negativeness of Romanticism, whether French or Spanish, obsesses him even more than its 'horrors':

> El actual drama francés, llamado vulgarmente romántico, pinta el hombre fisiológico como el de Atenas, sin someterse a sus reglas[2].

He attacks its love of freedom, endeavouring to turn it against its own exponents:

> Se dice que el romanticismo es el sistema de la *libertad literaria*. Si esto es así, preciso será...coronar a Horacio como al primer proclamador conocido de este sistema con su célebre *quidlibet audendi*[2].

After which he returns to the old thesis: *lo clásico* = *lo bueno*—an easy assumption[3]!

> Para nosotros es *clásico* todo lo que está bien escrito[2].... Nosotros designaremos las composiciones con los títulos de *buenas o malas*, sin curarnos mucho de si son *clásicas o románticas*, y este es en nuestro entender el mejor partido que pueden tomar los hombres de juicio, naturalmente poco aficionados a dejarse alucinar por palabras ni frases[4].

His is a comfortable doctrine for the middle-aged, if unsatisfying (as one would think) to the youth of Spain: 'Las escuelas denominadas clásicas y románticas pueden ser buenas a la vez, pero nunca los extremos de ambos[5].'

But emphatically one would not expect such a shallow and negative conception of Romanticism as Lista's from those who were Romantics in sympathy. And yet we can find articles like one by Alcalá Galiano in the *Revista de Madrid* for 1838 (I, pp. 41–55). Alcalá Galiano had indeed fled from the name of Romanticism in 1834, but much had happened since then; it is surprising, at the least, to find him in 1838 showing unmistakable signs of fleeing from the reality.

[1] 'De lo que hoy se llama romanticismo,' p. 39. In Volume II of Lista's *Ensayos críticos y literarios* (Sevilla, 1844). This article was first published in *La Colmena* for 1842 (Vol. I, pp. 72–5).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 42.

[3] See *Modern Language Review*, *art. cit.*, XVI, p. 294.

[4] 'De lo que hoy se llama romanticismo,' p. 43.

[5] *Revista española*, June 16, 1836, from a report of Lista's inaugural lecture to the Ateneo. Cueto (see Appx. to *Memorias de un Setentón*, Madrid, 1881, Vol. II, p. 232) declares that the reactionaries read the works of the great Romantics with as much avidity as any.

After commenting upon the confused state of opinion with regard to Romantic drama, he propounds three questions: (1) Is the division made between Classical and Romantic drama accurate? (2) If so, is the distinction merely one of forms or not? (3) What are the essentials of a *good* drama? The conclusions he comes to are, briefly, that the division is not accurate, and that, except in certain questions of form, it is a distinction without a difference. In such matters only as observance or neglect of the unities can a line be clearly drawn between Classical and Romantic[1]. It is not possible to say that Romanticism alone draws its plots from Spanish history or from the Middle Ages[2]; still less is it a question of metre[3]. Then comes the astounding conclusion (for with the third of his questions we are not here concerned):

> Bien mirado, pues, el romanticismo de hoy consiste en el quebrantamiento de las reglas adoptadas e impuestas por el clasicismo francés del siglo de Luis decimocuarto, y la época a él siguiente[4].

Comment is surely needless; and if we remember that the writer was a convert to Romanticism and an intimate friend of more than one great Romantic, comment is hardly possible!

Three years after this—in the *Pensamiento* for 1841—we find Cayetano Cortés complaining of vague and loose literary thinking, uncertainty in literary aspirations, and the like, so that 'grave and serious minds' are turning to history and the literatures of the past[5]. It was not to be wondered at: opinions were as diverse and as conflicting as ten years earlier, when the greatest Romantics were in exile and no considerable work had appeared to inaugurate the movement.

Later still, in 1847, Hartzenbusch makes a speech to the Ateneo on the state of contemporary literature[6]. Several of his contemporaries, he says, have treated this matter, but they were quite unable to agree as to what the state of literature was. He can only say that their opinions fall into two classes:

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 51: 'La observancia de las tres unidades, y la uniformidad de estilo, esto es, el cuidado de no mezclar lo serio con lo festivo, son los distintivos del drama hoy llamado clásico. Por abrazar muchos años y pasar de un lugar a otro; y por usar de un estilo desigual, y alternar alguna vez escenas jocosas o pedestres con otras patéticas o elevadas, se llaman románticas otras composiciones.'

[2] *Ibid.*: 'Dicen, por ejemplo, que drama romántico es el que trata de asuntos de las edades medias y de la historia respectiva de la nación donde está compuesto.'

[3] *Ibid.*: 'Dicen también que la tragedia romántica debe estar escrita en prosa o verso libre, y la clásica en metro más artificioso, contra lo cual sirve de argumento que en prosa compuso Perez de Oliva sus dramas clásicos; y que en versos de mucho artificio, y por lo general aconsonantados o asonantados, están escritas todas nuestras comedias antiguas.'

[4] *Ibid.* p. 51.

[5] The passage is quoted in Le Gentil, *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne*, p. 116.

[6] 'Sobre el carácter de la literatura contemporánea,' in *Siglo Pintoresco*, 1847, Vol. III, pp. 149–152.

De estas dos opiniones la una es negativa; afirmativa la otra: por la una se establece que la literatura contemporánea carece de carácter propio o tiene por distintivo la confusión y la anarquía; por la otra, se le atribuye un carácter formado ya, o por lo menos en camino para formarse.

And what does he say of Romanticism? we may ask. The reply is that he says nothing at all!

Another prominent critic, though still a young man—Juan Valera—held tenaciously to the idea of Romanticism as 'una feliz revolución literaria' and very little more. The essence of the movement, he writes, twenty years after its first successes, is its opposition to French preceptists and pseudo-classicism[1]. Upon this he insists with great vigour, and passing on to consider extraneous phenomena which have been called 'Romantic' he disposes of most of them (of some very properly) as unessential additions, mainly from abroad. 'Our Romanticism,' he says in effect, 'came to us from France, and we added so much to it from various sources that Germany, whence it first sprang, would not have known the product':

Nosotros...como los franceses, añadimos a estos elementos del romanticismo, no sólo cuanto nos pareció romántico en nuestro propio país, que no fué poco, sino otro romanticismo venido de un país diferente, y que por sí solo imprimió un carácter singular a la nueva literatura. Hablo de las obras de lord Byron...y de las de Walter Scott...[2].

As soon as Valera touches the question of form we feel that he is tending to exaggerate the negative side of Romanticism once more[3]. It is, however, near the truth to say that the Spanish Romantics paid little attention to form, nor have we any quarrel with Valera's remarks on the melancholy, the Satanism and the rehabilitation of Christianity in literature which he thinks of as non-essential to Romanticism. More disputable, perhaps, though not of course peculiar to himself, is his description of the 'idealisation of the criminal' as a Romantic trait: his argument is full of exceptions[4] and somewhat crudely put. But the fundamental misfortune of the article is its limited outlook: misunder-

[1] In *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1854, Vol. II, pp. 610–630: 'El romanticismo ha sido una revolución, y sólo los efectos de ella podían ser estables. Entre nosotros vino a libertar a los poetas del yugo ridículo de los preceptistas franceses, y a separarlos de la imitación superficial y mal entendida de los clásicos; y lo consiguió. Las demás ideas y principios del romanticismo fueron exageraciones revolucionarias, que pasaron con la revolución; y de las cuales, aun durante la revolución misma, se salvaron los hombres de buen gusto.' (p. 613.)

[2] *Ibid.* p. 614.

[3] 'En cuanto a la forma, los románticos la desatendían, presumiendo de espiritualistas, y poniendo la belleza en lo sustancial y recóndito. El poeta no escribía ni debía escribir por arte, sino por inspiración; su existencia debía tener algo de excepcional y de extravagante; hasta en el vestido se debía diferenciar el poeta de los demás hombres; y el universo Mundo le debía considerar como un apóstol, con *misión* especial que cumplir en la tierra.'

[4] He has to admit that the same thing occurs frequently in Classical drama, cites examples, and endeavours to distinguish them as a class from those of Romantic drama.

standing the true nature of Spanish Romanticism, Valera places a false emphasis upon its revolutionary side, and throws his picture into confusion.

To illustrate the diversity of opinion regarding Romanticism, as late as 1854, we may quote from a striking article by Gerónimo Borao in the same review and the same volume. It might, indeed, have been called forth by Valera's exposition, for it represents as nearly as possible the complement of it: Valera's and Borao's conceptions of Romanticism, if combined, form a full and a not unworthy one.

Beginning, like so many others, with a comment upon the need for a study of Romanticism[1], Borao devotes the greater part of his space to analysing it as it had appeared in Spain. He first clears away misconceptions by demonstrating the 'futility of the charges made against Romanticism' and the 'chapter of crimes for which it has been excommunicated.' Some of these charges are merely rhetorical efforts: 'sofistería de la argumentación,' and 'tendencia depresiva contra los príncipes y sacerdotes,' for example, speak for themselves. The others, namely, non-observance of the unities, mingling of the sublime with the mean or grotesque and of prose with verse, the idealisation of vice, violence in characterisation and plot, and familiarity of style, describe, sometimes well, sometimes badly, reforms or the exaggeration of reforms which Romantics of every country found it more or less necessary, as the case might be, to advocate. This is the less important part, however, of the article.

We may wish that what follows had been written by a Spaniard of influence twenty years earlier. For Borao goes on to establish three principles of Spanish Romanticism, in refutation of Lista and others who would make it merely destructive. It is enough to say that these principles, which he expounds at length, are Nationality, Christianity and Liberty. How far are we here from Lista and even from Valera! Romanticism is no more essentially an imitation than it is essentially a revolt[2]. It is a national literary 'system'; it is even a 'necessity.' And yet there are those who can call it a 'colección de todos los extravíos y libertades de cerebros calenturientos y de escritores disolventes'! The

[1] *Revista española de ambos mundos*, 1854, Vol. II, pp. 801–842: 'Hay...pocas cosas menos a fondo examinadas que el romanticismo literario, en cuyo examen detenido vamos a empeñarnos' (p. 801).

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 832: 'Hemos dicho que el romanticismo es por una parte la nacionalidad, y todos saben en efecto, que sólo se llama clásica la obra dramática que imita a la antigüedad, o mejor, a los remedos de ella. Hemos dicho también que el romanticismo no era una invención, tal cual nosotros le concebimos, sino una reproducción del hecho verificado en siglos de oro modernos en donde la lucha actual era todavia más sensible que hoy entre la poesía popular y la erudita.'

fact is—he concludes, as he began—*Romanticism has never been understood*[1].

II.

Yet, however many and diverse opinions there might be in Spain, three men, above all others, might be expected to have held worthy conceptions of that national type of Romanticism which the *Revista española* had looked for in 1835; they, if any, should have championed their conceptions, and, by precept as well as by example, commended them to the Spanish people. For all three—Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla—were thorough-going Romantics, by whatever criterion Romanticism may be judged: in their actual works we undoubtedly have a wider and a more generous ideal than any which we have yet found in the theory of any one writer. If, then, we find that they made any contributions to an understanding of the subject, we must at once follow them up, and ask why they proved ineffective.

In point of fact, they made none. Espronceda was an individualist through and through. Brought up in the school of Lista and Hermosilla, it was natural that, when he reacted against it, the reaction should be a strong one, as it was. But his work was profoundly personal: he had no idea of solidarity, nor of a constructive Romantic movement. And this though he lived in the Paris of 1830, and, returning to Spain, joined the Parnasillo in which met nearly all the great Romantics of a later day. Perhaps Mesonero Romanos' sketch of him throws some light upon his attitude[2]: he could launch epigrams, but he could not lay down principles; he could satirise[3] but not generalise; he could declaim against a school but he could not found one.

Zorrilla was born into Romanticism, or, at the least, grew up into it. Coming to manhood just as the movement of 1835 was winning success, he might well have stabilised it, set it on a broader basis, and given it reality. He himself realised the significance to letters of the date of his birth:

> Yo era el primero y débil eslabón de la nueva época literaria, el atropellador desaforado de la tradición y de las reglas clásicas, el fuego fatuo, leve e inquieto, personificación de la escuela del romanticismo revolucionario[4].

But how disappointing is the way in which he speaks of the time when he began his career:

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 841.

[2] *Memorias de un Setentón*, II, p. 59: 'Allí Espronceda, con su entonada y un tanto pedantesca actitud, lanzando epigramas contra todo lo existente, lo pasado y lo futuro.'

[3] *Cf.* 'El Pastor clasiquino' in *El Artista*, Vol. I, p. 251.

[4] *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo* (Barcelona, 1880), Vol. I, p. 226.

Comencé yo el primer año de mi carrera dramática, con asombro de la crítica, atropello del buen gusto y comienzo de la descabellada escuela de los espectros y asesinatos históricos, bautizados con el nombre de dramas románticos[1].

His early love for the great Romantics[2], his admiration of Espronceda[3], his friendship with the Duque de Rivas[4]—all were powerless to make him a Romantic by conviction, as he was undoubtedly one by temperament and by the accident of the age in which he lived. One phrase in which he speaks of Espronceda illuminates the whole attitude of both poets. Espronceda, according to Zorrilla, is:

lanzado, Luzbel-poeta, en el infierno insondable y nuevamente abierto del romanticismo[5].

No: in this Romantic we shall find no constructive Romanticism. He welcomes the movement as a liberating force: it is 'necessary' and 'spontaneous'; its success makes a reaction in favour of classicism, with its unwanted mythological deities, impossible[6]. But once that revolution is accomplished, Zorrilla wants nothing further with 'Romanticism.' It would not do to press him too closely as to the force of his adjective when he attributes his fame to the '*romantic* inspiration of Toledo[7].' He has two ('romantic') principles and only two: we are never in danger of forgetting them:

Cristiano y español, con fe y sin miedo
Canto mi religión, mi patria canto[8].

By these lines, he says proudly near the end of his life, he has always been guided[9].

And what of Rivas, the protagonist of Romanticism in Spain? We have seen how the writer of the preface to his *Moro expósito* developed: the author of the poem itself takes an almost equally reactionary position. First, he re-enters politics, and literature becomes for him mainly a diversion: he is primarily the popular ambassador at Naples, or the genial Sevillan, or the famous peer of the realm. His pronouncements on Romanticism are few and disappointing: he never

[1] *Ibid.* I, p. 59.
[2] Cf. *ibid.* I, p. 19.
[3] *Ibid.* I, pp. 46 ff.: 'Yo creía,' he says, 'yo idolatraba en Espronceda.'
[4] *Ibid.* I, pp. 127 ff.
[5] *Ibid.* I, 48.
[6] *Ibid.* II, 33: 'Así sucedió con nuestra fogosa y desatalentada, pero necesaria y espontánea, revolución romántica.... La reacción clásica no pudo cuajar; el romanticismo había echado de nuestra poesía popular a las divinidades mitológicas....'
[7] *Ibid.* I, 51: 'Yo debía mi fama a mis inspiraciones románticas de Toledo.'
[8] *Granada.*
[9] *Recuerdos*, II, 187–8: 'Porque yo ¡vive Dios! he vivido once años en América como español y como cristiano, fiel al lema con que encabecé mi poema de *Granada*...y en el estrecho círculo de poeta, en el cual me he constituido por mi propia voluntad y por conciencia de no servir para más, he cumplido con mi deber y he cantado a mi patria y a mi religión, hasta que he perdido la voz y la fuerza, pero sin perder la fe; porque yo soy cristiano a pies juntillos y español a macha martillo.'

advanced beyond the position of Alcalá Galiano's preface. His later works show clearly his own inclinations for narrative poetry. In the *Romances históricos* and *Leyendas* he follows those two principles which were also Zorrilla's. In his later dramas he goes back more or less completely upon the Romanticism of *Don Alvaro*: in reading them we can understand why he left the arena in 1835. His true Romanticism is that of the *Romances históricos.*

Such were the poets who might have been leaders of a national Romantic movement. Would Larra, we may wonder, have done their work, had he lived?.....

III.

With the greatest writers evincing such lukewarmness or unconcern for the fortunes of Romanticism as a school in Spain it was only to be expected that the lesser men would follow suit. Just as they have no clear conception of what Romanticism is, so they have no enthusiasm for whatever they conceive it to be. There is still a party, no doubt, holding doctrines:

> Do toda regla es traba ignominiosa,
> Que la pedantería al genio impuso.
>
> * * * * *
>
> El romancesco es por esencia triste,
> El horror es el mote de su secta;
> Horror es a sus ojos cuanto existe.

The well-known writer who gives us this testimony in 1847 implies that there were still those (discredited, but persevering) who were faithful to eighteenth-century traditions and regarded the *Moro expósito,* with horror, as 'romantic':

> Si a las máximas clásicas te rindes
> Y te convida un clásico a su mesa,
> No por el Moro de Savedra (*sic*) brindes[1].

But all respectable writers, it would seem, now follow the custom (set, after all, by the *Moro expósito* itself) of disclaiming connection with either party. Mora, in the preface to his *Leyendas españolas* (1840) combines respectability with self-esteem when he says:

> En una palabra, no desea [el autor] que las Leyendas sean juzgadas como clásicas, ni como románticas, sino como *suyas*[2].

But did all the minor Romantics acquiesce in this convention? Let us hear a few. Here, for example, is Enrique Gil y Carrasco, undoubtedly a Romantic in practice, an ardent admirer of Espronceda, whom he followed so soon to the grave, a reader of the great Romantics of England,

[1] J. J. de Mora: 'Mis opiniones,' in *Revista de España*, Vol. XI (1847).
[2] *Op. cit.* p. xiv.

Germany and France, a student and perhaps an imitator of Sir Walter Scott. Yet Gil, as early as 1839, when reviewing Zorrilla's poetry for *El Semanario pintoresco*[1], and writing of 'Classicism and Romanticism,' could go back quite complacently to the old *Europeo* doctrine of 'some of each[2].' Four years after *Don Alvaro*, a man whose sympathies were entirely with the Romantics, could call Sophocles and Shakespeare, Calderón and Molière, Byron and Cervantes, 'brothers[3],' and write of the opposing schools thus:

> Y si variamos de época añadiremos que aceptamos el clasicismo por entero entre nosotros durante todo el siglo XVIII, como una idea poderosa de orden y de disciplina, única capaz de corregir la anarquía y confusión que se introdujo en la literatura hacia la postrera mitad del siglo XVII; y que aceptamos el romanticismo aun con sus extravíos a principios del siglo presente, como único medio de emancipar el genio de las injustas cadenas de los reglistas[3].

A 'reconciling criticism,' indeed, and perhaps a salutary one. But how far removed is this Romantic from the Romantics of France, Germany or England!

Another contribution to the 'moderate' side is made by Gil y Zárate in the *Revista de Madrid* ('Teatro antiguo y teatro moderno,' 1839). Here he scouts the idea of a return to classicism, but is equally sure that the 'revolution' of the past few years has no longer the confidence or the support of reasonable men. The same views he expresses in later articles, notably in his inaugural speech to the Academy 'Sobre la poesía dramática[4].' He wishes to see a new *género* in drama which shall combine the best qualities of the drama of many nations—his own included—and thus be truly eclectic, both cosmopolitan and patriotic.

It might have been supposed that Hartzenbusch, after the success of his greatest play, in 1837, and the ultra-Romantic qualities of certain others, would have been an enthusiastic apologist and exponent of Romanticism. Yet we find him, commending it not at all, but adopting a tone of half-hearted acquiescence which indicates that if the movement is not doomed he certainly thinks it to be[5]. In discussing the Unities[6],

[1] The article is reproduced in volume II of Gil's works, ed. 1883.

[2] 'Así que, nosotros aceptamos del *clasicismo* el criterio de la lógica; no de la lógica de las reglas, insuficiente y mezquina para las necesidades morales de la época; sino la lógica del sentimiento, la verdad de la inspiración; y del *romanticismo* aceptamos todo el vuelo de esta inspiración, toda la llama y el calor de las pasiones.'

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 39–40.

[4] *Revista de Madrid*, 1839, Vol. III, pp. 147–157. Here he speaks most disrespectfully of 'La revolución que ha acontecido últimamente en esta clase de literatura, y que espantada ya el aspecto de su inmoralidad y funestas consecuencias, va cediendo en fuerza de una reacción provechosa.'

[5] *El Panorama*, 1839, Vol. I, p. 230.

[6] The revival of interest in the two discredited unities of time and place, as well as the general acceptance of the unity of action, and the animated discussions on all three from 1838 onwards, are most significant indications of the impotence of Romanticism in Spanish drama at that time.

though he ventures mildly to say a word for the French Romantics, his conclusions are distinctly in favour of the Rules, and his language suggests that the tide of opinion in Spain has turned against Romantic drama. In 1845 the *Revista de España* prints a speech delivered by Hartzenbusch in the Ateneo on the relative merits of Classical (Greek) and mediæval types in modern literature[1]. The judgment which he gives upon the two is the familiar one of the 'moderate' man: each has certain advantages over the other. In 1847, as we have seen, he writes on the state of contemporary literature without mentioning Romanticism as such at all. The period for him is one of conflicting ideas; the only clear fact which emerges is that a great change has come over Spanish literature since 1800.

Another Romantic, in fact, has deserted, and when we find Hartzenbusch playfully counselling a Romantically-minded lady to leave sighing for sewing[2], he seems to be speaking from the opposing camp.

After these examples of eclecticism, it is no surprise to find Donoso Cortés, whose liberalism in literature was even less pronounced than in politics, following the same line of thought. Yet he was, after all, something of a progressive in both. In 1838, a young man of less than thirty, he is searching for an eclectic solution to the differences between the two schools. In the *Correo nacional*[3] he analyses the respective virtues of classicism and Romanticism, and the opinions which the one school had of the other. He spends much unnecessary space in showing, in his serious way, that neither can contain 'absolute' error, which is 'absolutely an impossibility,' nor for that matter 'absolute truth.' Each, however, contains much truth; each school must be studied in the period of its greatest glory to be understood, and in its social, political and philosophical bearings. Two summary quotations will show the attitude of Donoso Cortés when Spanish Romanticism was achieving its greatest triumphs:

> Se deducen las consecuencias siguientes: 1ª. Que si por clasicismo se quiere significar la poesía de las sociedades antiguas, y por romanticismo la de las sociedades modernas, el clasicismo y el romanticismo son dos escuelas legítimas, porque están fundadas en hechos históricos irrecusables: 2ª. Que esas dos escuelas se diferencian profundamente entre sí, como quiera que el clasicismo se distingue por la perfección de las formas, y el romanticismo por la profundidad de las ideas; el clasicismo por la riqueza de las imágenes; el romanticismo por la elevación de los sentimientos. De donde se sigue, que los clásicos y los románticos, cuando se niegan mutuamente

[1] '¿Son preferibles en el estado actual de la literatura y de las artes los tipos de la edad media a los del gusto clásico griego?' (*Revista de España*, Vol. XI, 1845, *cit.* Le Gentil, p. 125).

[2] Sonnet 'A una romántica' in *Poesías*, p. 379.

[3] Reprinted in *Obras*, ed. 1854 (Vol. II, pp. 5–41).

el derecho de ciudadanía en la república literaria, se insurreccionan contra la razón y se sublevan contra la historia.

* * * * *

...Si por clasicismo se entiende la imitación exclusiva de los poetas antiguos, y por romanticismo la emancipación completa de las leyes artísticas que los antiguos encontraron, el romanticismo y el clasicismo son dos escuelas absurdas. Pero si el clasicismo aconseja el estudio de las formas en los poetas antiguos, y el romanticismo aconseja el estudio de las ideas y de los sentimientos en los poetas modernos, el clasicismo y el romanticismo, son dos escuelas razonables.

So, concludes Donoso Cortés,—three years after Ochoa had proclaimed with a shout the triumph of Romanticism,—let us be classics and romantics at once: '*Entonces la perfección consiste en ser clásico y romántico a un mismo tiempo.*'

These quotations show us the direction which literary thought had begun to take even before 1840. The so-called Romantic revolution was hardly more than a flash in the pan: even Romanticism in its wider sense burnt fitfully and unsurely for reasons some of which we have seen. The first effects of *Don Alvaro* had hardly passed away when eclecticism in literature came into renewed favour, strongly coloured by patriotism[1]. Nowhere is its popularity better seen than in that important review, *El Semanario pintoresco* (1836–1857), as M. Le Gentil has already admirably demonstrated[2]. 'We are neither romantics in the classical sense, nor classicists in the romantic sense,' begins one of its typical articles in 1837. 'Let us, then, avoid further disputes[3].' The *Liceo artístico*, in the next year, lays down its position thus:

No será el Liceo...*clásico* ni *romántico* en el sentido común de estas palabras; pero no combatirá tampoco al clasicismo, porque respeta las obras de Solís, de Racine, del Tasso y de Milton; ni al romanticismo, porque no desprecia a Calderón, a Shakespeare, a Byron, ni al Ariosto[4].

The moderately-inclined *Revista de Madrid*, in which Gil y Zárate had written in so conciliatory a tone, is full of similar articles. We find López Pelegrín, for instance, extolling the *justo medio*, condemning both the excesses of the one school and the tyranny of the other[5]. Lista[6] and Gallego expound their familiar views freely; Martínez de la Rosa discusses in academic fashion 'the influence of the spirit of the age on

[1] See, among other periodicals, *Revista de España*, Vol. II, *passim*, and *El Pensamiento*, which started life as a Romantic journal in May 1841, and came to an end in the following October.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 57–60.

[3] Critique of *Bárbara Blomberg*, p. 387, 1837.

[4] *Liceo artístico y literario español*, Vol. II, p. 5.

[5] Vol. III, 1840: 'Entre el desbordamiento de esta escuela (*sc.* romántica) y la rígida tirantez de Moratín hay un medio que consiste en dar amplia libertad al genio, etc.'

[6] 'De la moderna escuela sevillana de literatura' (1838, Vol. I, p. 251).

literature'; no one comes forward to defend the theories of the out-and-out Romantics, though the works of such are occasionally printed or praised.

To discuss in detail the general literary theories of these years is beyond the scope of an article which is concerned only with their conceptions of Romanticism. Enough has probably been said to show that by a date not far from 1840 few writers troubled about conceptions of Romanticism at all. Literature had changed very greatly since 1800; certain influences were clearly perceived; new forces were at work and classicism no longer held sway. But Romanticism was a name. It had come, had done its work, and—as an entity—with meaning and principle—had gone.

In a future article I shall endeavour to describe the literary ideas which exercised the Spanish mind after the nature and merits of Romanticism had ceased to occupy it.

E. Allison Peers.

Liverpool.

GOETHE'S LYRIC POEMS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

THE two most notable contributions within recent years to the study of Goethe's influence on English thought and literature have come from America and France[1]. Unfortunately their authors have both been labouring under considerable disadvantages. Miss Simmons, unable to visit the great libraries of this country, had to rely, in a large measure, on the help of correspondents for the collection of the necessary bibliographical material. Professor Carré had his work interrupted by the war, and on resuming found it often difficult to verify such notes as he had made during a visit to England, and in some cases even to recall their exact meaning or bearing.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that the bibliographical data given in these publications should be incomplete and not always accurate. It is the object of this article to supplement and, where necessary, to correct the writers' information, so far as the English translations of Goethe's lyric poems prior to 1860 are concerned[2].

On pp. 91 to 103 of her thesis Miss Simmons gives a 'list of anthologies and other books containing translations from Goethe,' in chronological order. She has numbered them consecutively from 1 to 82, marking sixteen of them with an asterisk to indicate that she has not been able to examine and verify them. Two of them (*1 and *75) do not exist, as will be shown later. Two others (*51 and *69) are American publications which I have not seen,—they should be easily procurable in the United States. Six (*7, *17, *21, *56, *70, *74) do not contain any translations from Goethe. Of the remaining six I can give the following particulars from copies in my possession.

*5. *The German Museum, or Monthly Repository of the Literature of Germany, the North and the Continent in general.* 3 vols. Jan. to June 1800, July to Dec. 1800, Jan. to June 1801. London: C. Geisweiler.

[1] Lucretia van Tuyl Simmons, *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation Prior to* 1860 (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 6), Madison, 1919. Jean Marie Carré, *Goethe en Angleterre: Etude de littérature comparée. Bibliographie de Goethe en Angleterre.* Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1920.

[2] The *Werther* portion of Professor Carré's bibliography has been reviewed and largely added to by Mr Arthur E. Turner, *Modern Language Review*, XVI, pp. 364–370.

The name of the editor, the Rev. Peter Will, does not appear on the title-pages but is given on the covers of the first six parts. He was Minister of the Reformed Church in the Savoy, London, and before starting the *Museum* had published *The Secret Journal of a Self-Observer, or Confessions and Familiar Letters of the Rev. J. C. Lavater*[1], and *The Suffering of the Family of Ortenberg, a Novel, translated from the German of August von Kotzebue.* His publisher, Constantin Geisweiler, was the author of a German translation of Sheridan's *Pizarro*, and carried on the business of a foreign bookseller in Pall Mall and later at No. 42 Parliament Street, bringing out numerous translations from the German, including English versions made by his wife, Maria Geisweiler, of several plays by Iffland and Kotzebue, and the translation of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* by J. C. Mellish.

In each volume of the *Museum*, facing the title-page, there is a portrait of a contemporary German writer, Wieland's (after A. Graff) in vol. I, Klopstock's (after Jens Juel) in vol. II, and Goethe's in vol. III. The Goethe portrait is an engraving by William Nutter after the water-colour painting made in 1795 by Johann Heinrich Meyer, and is minutely described on p. 102 of H. Rollett's *Goethe-Bildnisse*, Vienna, 1883. A list of subscribers to the *Museum* is given on the cover of Part V, among them M. G. Lewis, Esq., M.P. ('Monk' Lewis), and W. Render, the translator of Schiller's *Räuber*[2].

The *German Museum* attracted some attention also in Germany. Klopstock sent several contributions to it (printed in vols. II and III), and Wieland's periodical *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur*, 3. Stück, März 1801, recommended it in a notice concluding: 'Geisweiler hat mit seinem German Museum anfänglich offenbar zugesetzt. Nun aber hebt es sich auf einmal sehr stark und wird gewiss bald ein herrliches Vehikel für die teutsche Literatur in England werden, die wirklich durch die neuesten Uebersetzungen grosser teutscher Dichter eben nicht gefördert worden ist.'

The *German Museum* contains translations of the following poems by Goethe: *Herzog Leopold von Braunschweig* ('Dich ergriff mit Gewalt'), *Philomele* ('Dich hat Amor gewiss'), *Mignon* ('Kennst du das Land'), *Der Sänger, Der Fischer.* The last three with the music by Reichardt are reprinted from *The German Erato.*

On p. 524 of vol. I there is a short note on Goethe's translation of

[1] A translation of Lavater's *Geheimes Tagebuch von einem Beobachter seiner selbst.* Leipzig, 1771–73.

[2] The copy of the *German Museum* in the British Museum is defective. The Goethe-portrait, the title-page, index and pp. 449 to 512 of vol. III, and the covers of all the parts are wanting.

Voltaire's *Mahomet*, which Miss Simmons (*l. c.* pp. 16 and 149), apparently relying on information derived from the index only, has mistaken for a translation of *Mahomets Gesang* ('Seht den Felsenquell')[1].

*12. *The Literary Souvenir, or Cabinet of Poetry and Romance*, edited by Alaric A. Watts. London: Hurst, Robinson and Co. Vol. I, 1825, vol. II, 1827[2]. Contains vol. I, p. 24: 'Knowst thou the land where sweet the citron blows.' This is signed R., and is the version printed in Robert Robinson's *Specimens of the German Lyrics*, London, 1828. Vol. II, p. 394: 'I watch for thee when parting day.' This is an imitation rather than a translation of *Die Nähe des Geliebten*[3].

*14. *Stray Leaves, including Translations from the Lyric Poets of Germany, with brief notices of their works.* London: Treuttel. 1827.

Dedicated to Thomas Campbell. On the title-page there is a translation of a stanza from *Des Sängers Fluch*, the *Epigraphe de Uhland* referred to by Prof. Carré (*Bibl.* p. 90), beginning: 'They sing of love and spring-time, of the happy golden age.' The author is John Macray, who was born in Aberdeen 1796, was Librarian of the Taylor Institution, Oxford, from 1847 to 1871, and died at Ducklington Rectory, Oxfordshire, 13 Aug. 1878. Contains p. 65: 'The waters flow down' (from *Jery und Bätely*). p. 81: *Soliloquy of an Amateur*, 'Of what avail are nature's charms' (*Monolog des Liebhabers*). p. 149: *Consolation in Grief*, 'What hangs upon thy brow so dark' (*Trost in Tränen*).

The note on Goethe begins: 'This mighty *name* is well known in England; not so, however, the varied strains of his exhaustless *Muse*, for with the exception of Lord F. L. Gower's translation of *Faustus*, scarcely anything has been done to familiarise English readers with that mastermind.'

*28. *Translations from the Lyric Poets of Germany, with brief notices of their lives and writings*, by John Macray. Oxford: J. H. Parker; London: Black and Armstrong. 1838.

This is an enlarged and revised edition of the anonymous *Stray Leaves* (No. *14). The stanza from Uhland has been omitted from the

[1] On p. 69 of Prof. Carré's *Bibliographie* several articles on Goethe and Weimar are mentioned as having appeared in vol. I of the *German Museum*. Only the first of them is in that volume, the rest appeared in vol. II.

[2] The frontispiece to vol. I is an engraving by T. M. Wright after the outline-drawing by Retzsch (Margaret on Faust's arm in the garden, Martha with Mephistopheles in the background).

[3] Imitations of this poem are frequently met with in the magazines and anthologies of that time. There is one ('I think on thee') in M. McDermot's *Beauties of Modern Literature* (London, 1824) reprinted from the *New European Magazine* with the editorial note: 'These lines are in the manner of Moore, and worthy of him.'

title-page, the notes have been re-written and several new translations have been added, among them the following from Goethe: p. 6: *To the Moon,* 'Wood and vale thou cloth'st again'. p. 31: *On Hearing of my Songs being translated into English,* 'A meadow garland once I sought' (*Ein Gleichnis,* 'Jüngst pflückt' ich einen Wiesenstrauss').

The note on Goethe now begins: 'With the exception of some translations of *Faustus,* but little has been done to acquaint the English readers with his Poems. Dr Anster's translation of *Faustus,* in the opinion of the best critics, is by far the ablest hitherto published, although Lord F. Egerton's possesses distinguished beauty in many places.'

*76. *The German Lyrist; or, Metrical Versions from the Principal German Lyric Poets.* By W. N. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1856[1].

The author is William Nind, who was born in London 1809, was Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, from 1836 to his death 28 Aug. 1856, and Vicar of Cherryhinton near Cambridge from 1838 to 1851. He also published *Odes of Klopstock,* translated from the German (Cambridge, 1848). Contains pp. 42–60: *The Dedication of Faust, The King of Thule, Margaret at the Spinning-wheel, Margaret before the Mater Dolorosa, The Minstrel, Mignon longing for her home* ('Kennst du das Land'), *Mignon anticipating early death* ('So lasst mich scheinen'), *The Violet, The Fisher.*

In his Preface the author dwells on the difficulty of translating Goethe: 'No poet is in danger of losing so much by translation as Goethe. The fineness of his artistic touch, the exceeding beauty of his forms, the profusion of poetic ideas only glanced upon and not developed ...render his lyric poems peculiarly difficult of reconstruction in another tongue. To rival Goethe's poetic forms would call for the highest effort of our most exquisite living poet—writing freely, and not under the trammels of translation.'

A passage from his 'Note on *Faust*' deserves reprinting: 'Goethe has done little moral or dramatic justice upon Faust himself, but poor

[1] Prof. Carré (*Bibl.* p. 154) includes in his list W. M. Cambridge, *German Lyrist or Metrical versions from Schiller, Goethe, Fouqué,* Londres, 1856. This is, no doubt, W(illiam) N(ind)'s book, the name of the place of publication having been mistaken for that of the author. The source of the mistake may be C. Meuel's secondhand catalogue to which here, as in many other places, Prof. Carré refers. Another mistake in the *Bibliographie* and its source may here be mentioned. On p. 152 Goethe's poem *Vanitas! vanitatum vanitas!* is described as 'tiré de la Foire de Plundersweilern,'—apparently because Sarah Austin (*Characteristics of Goethe,* pp. 225–227) gives a rendering of the poem after having discussed the *Jahrmarkts-Fest,* or, as she has it, the *Jahrmarkt, zu Plundersweilern.*

Margaret is led to the *dénouement* with an inflexible severity of art and retribution, enough to make Aristotle rejoice and a Christian weep.'

*78. *German Ballads and Poems, with an English Translation.* By A. Boyd. London: Houlston and Wright. 1860. Contains p. 256: *Gretchen's song at the spinning-wheel*, 'My rest is gone, My heart is sore.'

We will now return to the first item on Miss Simmons' list, viz.: *1. *Specimens of German Lyric Poets* (Beresford). 1798 (?). Miss Simmons tells us (p. 15) that 'thus far no record of this volume has been found, either in the book-lists of the time or in the magazine reviews.' Nevertheless she assumes its existence 'prior to 1798,' believing that in this year there appeared a book entitled: '*German Erato.* A Collection of favorite songs translated into English with original music by Reichardt. The translator is the author of *Specimens of German Lyrics.* Berlin. C. Falk. 1798.'

As a matter of fact the book was published anonymously in 1797, the title being: *The German Erato*, or A Collection of Favourite Songs translated into English, with their Original Music. Berlin. 1797. (4to.) 2nd edition 1798; 3rd edition 1800. The sentence 'The translator is the author of *Specimens of German Lyrics*' does not appear on the title-page, and is most likely a note added by the compiler of the catalogue or bibliography on which Miss Simmons was relying.

The volume contains sixteen songs, including the following from Goethe: p. 24: *Song*, 'Unnotic'd in the lonely mead' (*Das Veilchen*). p. 26: *Song*, 'Know'st thou the land, where citrons scent the gale.' The music of only three, including the two from Goethe, is by Reichardt.

The German Erato was quickly followed by two similar collections:

The German Songster, or A Collection of Favourite Airs, with their Original Music, done into English by the Translator of The German Erato. Berlin: H. Frölich. 1798. (4to.) 2nd edition 1800. Contains p. 12: *Moon-Light*, 'Scatter'd o'er the starry pole' (*An den Mond*).

A Collection of German Ballads and Songs, with their Original Music, done into English by the Translator of The German Erato. Berlin: H. Frölich. 1799. (4to.) 2nd edition 1800. Contains p. 18: *The Fisher*, 'In gurgling eddies roll'd the tide' (*Der Fischer*). p. 20: *The Harper*, 'What melting strains salute my ear' (*Der Sänger*).

The great success of these three books induced the publisher to issue the translations they contained, together with their German originals but without the music, in one small volume.

Translations of German Poems, extracted from the Musical Publications of the Author of The German Erato. Berlin: H. Frölich. 1801. (12mo.) Again the name of the translator is not given on the title-page, but the publisher's 'Advertisement' indicates that he was an Englishman living in Germany. In some of the reviews he is spoken of as Mr Beresford, and the writer of an article headed 'The Rev. —— Beresford,' in the first number of *The German Museum* (Jan. 1800), describes him as 'a native of this country who for some years has been resident at Berlin, where he has the honour of instructing the Queen of Prussia in the English language.' A poem 'addressed by Mr Beresford to the Queen of Prussia on her birthday' (March 10) was printed in *The German Museum* for March 1801.

About twenty years later these translations were reprinted by an English publisher on account of 'their popularity, their scarcity and unquestionable merit,' with the title:

Specimens of the German Lyric Poets: consisting of Translations in Verse, from the Works of Bürger, Goethe, Klopstock, Schiller etc. Interspersed with Biographical Notices, and ornamented with Engravings on Wood by the first Artists. London: Boosey and Sons. 1822. (8vo.)[1] The Preface states that these translations are 'from the pen of an Englishman of the name of Beresford, who was long resident in Germany.' The Lines addressed by him to the Queen of Prussia, and seven translations, including *The King of Thule*, taken from a volume published by J. C. Mellish in 1818 (see below, p. 60), have been added.

In his *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, London, 1828–30, William Taylor of Norwich repeatedly refers to the *Specimens* and reprints several of the versions they contain[2], among them one of Schiller's *Hero und Leander*, which he introduces as 'so beautifully rendered by the Rev. "J." Beresford.' It was probably this note in W. Taylor's *Historic Survey* which led subsequent writers to confuse our author with the Rev. James Beresford who at that time was well known as the author of *The Miseries*

[1] Miss Simmons says that at Harvard University there is a copy dated '1822, second edition.' I believe it will be found that this is a copy of the first edition, and that the words 'second edition' are a wrong note in the catalogue. The copies of the second edition in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library (they have no copies of the first edition) are both dated 1823. My copies of the first and second editions are dated 1822 and 1823 respectively. On the title-page of the second, 1823, edition the words 'ornamented with' are omitted to make room for the words Second Edition between the title and the wood-cut. Otherwise the two editions are identical.

[2] *Historic Survey*, II, p. 90: 'Stolberg's ballad entitled Rudolph, of which a satisfactory translation occurs in the *Specimens of German Lyric Poetry*.' *Ibid.* p. 160: 'I do not willingly borrow the translations of others, but, not possessing Jacobi's poems, I transcribe one of them, nearly as rendered in the *Specimens of German Lyric Poets*.' In vol. III, pp. 349–351, Taylor prints, without acknowledgment, Beresford's versions of *Mignon* and *Der Sänger*, and Mellish's version of *Der König in Thule*

of Human Life and a number of translations from Latin, French, and Icelandic[1]. Other authorities, beginning with Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Edinburgh, 1824, keep the two apart and give the name of the author of *The German Erato* etc. as the Rev. Benjamin Beresford.

Miss Simmons has taken great pains to clear the matter up. She is inclined to believe that the correct name is Benjamin Beresford, but considers it possible that the two writers are identical. It can, however, be proved that they are not.

To begin with, the life of the Rev. James Beresford is well known[2]. When *The German Erato* appeared, he was a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; when the *Specimens* appeared, he was Rector of Kibworth Beauchamp in Leicestershire, and there is no record of his ever having resided in Germany.

On the other hand Johann Friedrich v. Reeke and Karl Eduard Napiersky in their *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon*, Mitau, 1827, give the following account of Benjamin Beresford, with a list of his publications, including *The German Erato*, *The German Songster*, and *A Collection of German Ballads and Songs*:

> Beresford (Benjamin), Dr der Phil., war früher Geistlicher in England, dann Lektor der englischen Sprache auf der Universität Dorpat vom 18 Mai 1803 bis 22 April 1806, und zuletzt bis an seinen Tod Professor der englischen Sprache an der Berliner Universität. Geb. zu ..., 1750, gest. am 29 April 1819.

That he was teaching English at the University of Berlin for several years is confirmed by the list of the teaching-staff printed in *Die Kgl. Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität Berlin in ihrem Personalbestande seit ihrer Errichtung Michaelis 1810 bis Michaelis 1885*, which mentions his appointment to a University Lektorship in 1815 and his resignation at Michaelmas 1819[3].

In his *Alumni Oxonienses* Jos. Foster mentions a Benjamin Beresford (son of James, of Bewdley) who matriculated from St Mary Hall on Jan. 14, 1772, aged 22. As this fixes 1750 as the year of his birth, we may assume that he is the Benjamin Beresford who became English Lektor at the University of Berlin and the first translator of Goethe's lyric poems.

[1] A. Brandl, *Goethe-Jahrb.* III, p. 71, refers to the *Specimens*, describes the author as 'Rev. J. Beresford, Englischlehrer der jungen Königin von Preussen,' and includes among his translations 'The King of Thule' which is by Mellish. Goedeke, *Grundriss* (1912), IV, iii, p. 52, mentions James Beresford as author of the *Specimens*. Similarly G. Herzfeld, *William Taylor of Norwich*, p. 57.

[2] See *D.N.B.*, and Jos. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, London, 1888.

[3] Prof. Carré describes Benjamin Beresford as 'chapelain de l'ambassade d'Allemagne (? de Grande-Bretagne) à Berlin,' without stating his authority.

Finally, seven of the translations contained in the anonymous publications we have discussed are printed over the signature of B. Beresford in *The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry*, vols. III and V (London, 1804 and 1807), and 'The Lines addressed to the Queen of Prussia,' headed 'by the Rev. B. Beresford' and signed 'B. Beresford, Berlin, March 1801,' in vol. VIII (1814) of the same annual.

Another spurious title in Miss Simmons' list is *75. *Lyrical Poems from the German.* J. E. Reade. London: Longmans. 1856. The only book by J. E. Reade published by Longmans in 1856 is *Man in Paradise, with Lyrical Poems.* This does not contain any translations. The few pieces which J. E. Reade translated from Goethe were printed together with *The Drama of a Life* in 1840.

On the whole, Miss Simmons' list is more complete than the corresponding portion of Prof. Carré's *Bibliographie*, although the latter contains a few items which have been overlooked by her. Thus, Miss Simmons fully describes the important German Anthology by James Clarence Mangan, identifies most of the articles and translations he contributed to the *Dublin University Magazine*, and does full justice to this Irish poet who among the early translators of Goethe's lyric poems was probably the most gifted, and in his own work shows German influence more clearly than almost any other British writer[1]. Prof. Carré, however, does not even mention him.

In the following additions and corrections I propose to deal only with such publications as have been either omitted or insufficiently described by both Miss Simmons and Prof. Carré.

The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1801. London: Rivington. 1802. Contains p. 256: 'Flow still, ye tears of sorrow' (*Wonne der Wehmut*). Prof. Carré, *Bibl.* p. 89, says it contains *The Hour of Love.* This is an original poem signed A. M. and printed on p. 257, immediately following the translation from Goethe.

Selim & Zaida, an Oriental Poem: with other Pieces. Second Edition. London: J. Cumming; Edinburgh: A. Constable. 1802. According to Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1824), the first edition was published the same year by Longman and Rees, London, but I have not seen this edition. Contains p. 89: *A Morlachian Funeral Song, on*

[1] See *D.N.B.* and D. J. O'Donoghue, *The Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan.* Edinburgh, 1897.

the death of the illustrious wife of Asan Aga. From the German of Goethe. Begins:

> What shines so white in yonder verdant forest?
> Snow, is it? or the Swans' unspotted plumage?

Prof. Carré, *Bibl.* p. 89, accepting a note in C. Meuel's catalogue, attributes this to Sir Walter Scott. There is, however, strong evidence against Scott's authorship. If he wrote this version of the *Klaggesang*, he must also be the author of *Selim and Zaida* and of the other pieces in the volume (*Emma, To Fortune, The Decline of the Year, The Approaching Storm, The Return of Spring, Song* 'Bear, oh ye Breezes,' *Invocation to Venus*), but none of these are included in any collection of his poems published in his life-time nor in *The Poetical Works*, edited by J. G. Lockhart in 1833.

That Scott some time between 1795 and 1797 did 'versify Goethe's Morlachian Ballad' is stated by Lockhart in *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. I, p. 247. Unfortunately he only quotes the first line, viz. 'What yonder glimmers so white on the mountain,' but this is sufficient to show that the version he saw, apparently in a MS. copy, was not the same as that printed in *Selim and Zaida.*

It is indeed more than doubtful whether Scott's version was ever printed. Prof. Brandl was, I believe, the first to assume that it was included in Scott's *Apology for Tales of Terror*[1]. This hypothesis, it is clearly no more, obviously rests on Lockhart's account (*l. c.* I, p. 316) that Scott in autumn 1799 'took some of his recent pieces, designed to appear in Lewis's collection, to Ballantyne,' that the latter 'was charmed with them, especially with the Morlachian fragment after Goethe,' and that Ballantyne printed for private circulation 'twelve copies of William and Ellen, The Fire-King, The Chase, and a few more of those pieces, with the title (alluding to the long delay of Lewis's collection) of *Apology for Tales of Terror*, 1799.'

It is evident, however, that Lockhart had never seen or, at any rate, had never examined the *Apology*, for his description of the contents is quite inaccurate. Only four copies are known to be extant. The Abbotsford copy (with Walter Scott's autograph on the title) was shown at the Scott Centenary Exhibition at Edinburgh in 1871, and in the enlarged edition of the catalogue issued in 1872, under the joint editorship of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, James Drummond, and Dr David Maxwell, a whole page is devoted to it. Another copy, which turned up at

[1] *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, III, p. 50. According to Brandl the title of the pamphlet is *Apology for Tales of Wonder*, an obvious slip which, however, has been repeated by both Prof. Carré (*l.c.* p. 54) and Miss Simmons (p. 14).

a book-sale in 1893, has been minutely described by George P. Johnston in a paper 'The First Book Printed by James Ballantyne' (*Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* for 1893/4, No. III)[1], and a third, which is in the Harvard Library, has recently been collated by Miss Elizabeth Church[2]. All three copies were found to contain only three pieces by Scott, viz. *The Erl-King*, *The Chase*, *William and Helen* —not *The Fire-King*, and not *The Morlachian Ballad*[3].

Gedichte von Joseph Charles Mellish, Esq^re^. Perthes and Besser, Hamburg, 1818[4]. In a letter, written in German, the author dedicates his book to the Grand Duchess Luise of Weimar[5], signing himself 'Ew. Königlichen Hoheit unterthänigster Diener, Königlich Grossbritannischer General-Consul in Niedersachsen und der freien Hansestädten, Königlich Preussischer, auch Grossherzoglich Sachsen-Weimarscher Kammerherr.' Contains: Deutsche Gedichte, pp. 1–82; *Hours of Idlesse*, Gedichte aus dem Deutschen in's Englische übersetzt, pp. 85–116; Englische Gedichte, pp. 119–152; Uebersetzungen aus dem Deutschen in's Lateinische, pp. 153–164, followed on pp. 167–182 by a series of English Translations of passages from Greek and Latin authors, selected and submitted to him in 1797 by Klopstock, who was anxious to learn, 'ob die englische Sprache dasselbe Sylbenmaass mit derselben Kürze und Genauigkeit zuliess[6].' Among the *Hours of Idlesse* are three translations

[1] Prof. Carré refers to this paper in another connection (*Bibl.* p. 51), ascribing it, however, to Mr L. L. Mackall, whom he also credits (*ib.* p. 54) with contributions to *Notes and Queries* as far back as 1866!

[2] *Modern Philology*, XIX, 3 (February 1922), 'A Bibliographical Myth.'

[3] *An Apology for Tales of Terror*, 'A thing of shreds and patches.' Kelso: Printed at the Mail Office, 1799. 4°, pp. 76. p. 1: *The Erl-King* [Walter Scott], 'O! who rides by night thro' the woodlands so wild?' p. 4: *The Water-King* [M. G. Lewis]. p. 10: *Lord William* [R. Southey]. p. 19: *Poor Mary, the Maid of the Inn*, by Mr Southey. p. 27: *The Chase* [Walter Scott], 'Earl Walter winds his bugle horn.' p. 41: *William and Helen* [Walter Scott], 'From heavy dreams fair Helen rose.' p. 58: *Alonso the Brave and the Fair Imogine* [M. G. Lewis]. p. 64: *Arthur and Matilda* [?]. p. 73: *The Erl-King's Daughter* [M. G. Lewis]. The authors' names are not given, except in the one case of *Poor Mary, the Maid of the Inn*. See also *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* (drawn up by J. G. Cochrane, sometime editor of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*), Edinburgh, 1838. Quite recently the Abbotsford copy has been inspected by Mr D. H. Low, with the same result. He 'found no trace of the Morlachian Fragment.' See the footnote on p. xiii of his translation of *The Ballads of Marko Kraljević*, Cambridge, 1922.

[4] The book is sometimes quoted as *Deutsche Gedichte eines Engländers*. This title, which does not describe the contents accurately, appears on the fly-leaf only. On Mellish see: *Transactions of the Manchester Goethe Society* (1894), p. 140, *Goethe-Jahrb.* XXVI, p. 285, and *Modern Language Review*, IV, p. 90.

[5] The letter begins: 'Die Erinnerung an die Zeit, wo ich mich unter dem erhabenen Schutz Ew. Königlichen Hoheit des Umgangs eines Herder, eines Wieland, eines Göthe (*sic*), eines Schiller erfreute, geht wie ein seeliger Traum an meinem inneren Gesicht vorüber.'

[6] Klopstock apparently worked at this subject for several years. In June 1800 he sent an article entitled 'Die Kürze der deutschen Sprache durch Beyspiele gezeigt' to the editor of *The German Museum*. In this he compared his own translations of a number of passages from Homer, Virgil, and Horace with those by Pope, Dryden, and P. Francis. It appeared in three instalments in vols. II and III of *The German Museum*. Gödeke does not mention it.

from Goethe, p. 91: 'How comes it that you seem so sad' (*Trost in Tränen*); p. 94: *The Spirit's Salutation*, 'High on the antient Turret stands' (*Geistesgruss*); p. 101: *The King of Thule*, 'There liv'd a King in Thule.'

An Autumn near the Rhine. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1818.

In a series of letters the author gives the impressions he received during a tour through 'some of the German States bordering on the Rhine.' At Darmstadt he was invited to several court-functions and was presented to the Grand Duchess Luise of Weimar who was on a visit to her brother, the Grand Duke of Hesse[1]. He also made the acquaintance of the Hereditary Princess of Hesse, who talked to him of Byron and Ossian, then 'idolised by every German reader of poetry,' and he records how 'he incurred a reproach from the Princess for hinting the possibility of her favourite rhapsodies being the manufacture of a certain Mr Macpherson, the late member of Parliament for Camelford.'

In the second edition which was published by John Murray, London, 1821, after the author had revisited Germany, a letter (No. XIII) was inserted, giving some account of German opinion of Goethe and Schiller and containing a translation of *Der Gott und die Bajadere*, beginning 'Mahadeoh, lord of Earth, For the sixth time comes below.'

The author is frequently referred to by contemporary writers as Mr Dodd[2], and a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, 7 August 1858, p. 117, claims to know that he was Charles Edward Dodd, Esq., Barrister of the Middle Temple, 'who died very soon after the publication of this, his first attempt at authorship.'

Poems, with some Translations from the German, by John Anster, Esq. Edinburgh, 1819. Contains p. 221: *The Bride of Corinth*, 'A stranger youth from Athens came.' p. 234: *Stanzas*, 'Again, fair Images, ye flutter near.' p. 237: *To my Absent Mistress*, 'And is she then no longer here?' (*An die Entfernte*).

The anonymous *Bride of Corinth* in *Blackwood's Magazine*, March 1819, is Anster's.

[1] 'Surrounded by ladies, who had all the flaunty air of a gay modern Court, the Grand Duchess had something of the character of a simple and respectable *bourgeoise*. With her plain, high, mob-cap, brought down under her chin, her white handkerchief folded neatly across her bosom, and her matronly slate-coloured silk-gown, she would have formed a fine figure for the pencil of Hans Holbein.'

[2] *E.g.* by William Sotheby on p. 225 of *Italy and other Poems*, London, 1828, and Dr Bisset Hawkins on p. 110 of *Germany, the Spirit of her History, Literature, etc.*, London, 1838. In the notes to his *Faustus* (London, 1835) J. Anster reprints two long passages from the *Autumn near the Rhine* apparently without knowing the author's name.

Janus; or, The Edinburgh Literary Almanack. Oliver and Boyd, [Edinburgh] 1826. This was re-issued in 1833 by the same firm with the title *The Literary Rambler*[1]. Contains p. 149: *The Return,* 'Farewell, dear sheiling, lone and low' (*Die schöne Nacht*). p. 219: *Serenade,* 'From thy white pillow, gentle Maid' (*Nachtgesang*). Both unsigned.'

The Last Autumn at a Favourite Residence, with other Poems by Mrs Lawrence. Second edition with many additions. Liverpool: G. and J. Robinson; London: Longman. 1829. Contains p. 45: *Inscription under a Picture of Cupid Sleeping,* 'Disturb him not! he softly rests' (*Warnung*). p. 73: *The Divorce; or the Wife of Hassan Aga,* 'What glistening white thro' the dark shadowy woods' (*Klaggesang von der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga*). p. 85: *The Forsaken One,* 'Flow still, ye tears of sorrow!' (*Wonne der Wehmut*). p. 90: *Anacreon's Grave,* 'Whose yon grave, where rose and myrtle.' p. 105: *The Gold Chain,* 'Beloved memorial of departed pleasure' (*An ein goldenes Herz, das er am Halse trug*).

To the third edition, published in 1836, the author added her *Recollections of Mrs Hemans,* and p. 209: *The Hindoo God and the Bayadera,* 'The Indian God has left his radiant bower.'

In a note she points out that Goethe's poem is the original of a ballet by Taglioni, of a French opera *La Bayadère*[2], and of an English opera then performing at Covent Garden under the name of *Maid of Cashmere.*

Mrs Lawrence, née Rose D'Aguilar, was a daughter of Captain Joseph D'Aguilar who, after retiring from the army, had settled in Liverpool. One of her brothers was General Sir George Charles D'Aguilar, sometime Adjutant General, of Ireland. She is the author of an anonymous translation of Goethe's *Götz* which appeared in the same year as Walter Scott's version, of a Translation of Salomon Gessner's works, and of several collections of biblical, mythological and historical tales[3]. After her marriage she resided at Wavertree Hall in the village of Wavertree near Liverpool. During the years (1828–31) Felicia Hemans was living in Wavertree, the two women became much attached to each other, and it was, in some measure, due to her friend that at that time Mrs Hemans

[1] See *Archiv,* CXXI, p. 130.

[2] This is *Le Dieu et la Bayadère* by Auber, words by Scribe. Paris, 1830.

[3] *Gortz of Berlingen, with the Iron Hand.* An Historical Drama, of the Fifteenth Century. Translated from the German of Goethe, the Author of Werter. Liverpool, printed by J. M'Creery. *The Works of S. Gessner.* Translated from the German with some Account of his Life and Writings. Liverpool, J. M'Creery, 1802. Two letters addressed by Mrs Lawrence to Goethe have been printed by Prof. F. Baldensperger, *Modern Language Review,* IV, pp. 515 ff.

turned with renewed interest to German literature and particularly to the works of Goethe[1].

The Song of the Bell and other Poems. From the German of Goethe Schiller, Bürger, Matthison, and Salis translated by John J. Campbell, Esq., B.A. of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Blackwood. 1836. Contains translations of sixteen poems by Goethe. Miss Simmons gives a list of them, mistaking however the *Prologue to the Bride of Messina* on pp. 54–56 ('O Heart oppress'd! by storming troubles pent') for a translation of *Die Braut von Korinth.* It is a rendering of a passage from the *Maskenzug* 1818 (*Braut von Messina,* 'Bedrängtes Herz! umstürmt von Hindernissen'), Weim. Ausg. XVI, pp. 288, 289.

Xeniola. Poems including Translations by John Anster, LL.D., Barrister at Law. Dublin, 1837. Contains p. 165: *Gipsy Song,* 'In foggy drizzle.' The German original was first printed in England by Sarah Austin (*Characteristics of Goethe,* II, 159), who described it as untranslatable. Reviewing her book in the *Dublin University Magazine,* September 1836, Anster offered his rendering as 'an imperfect imitation, attempted long ago.' He had, however, been forestalled by J. M. in a review of the same book in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* August 1833. J. M.'s and Anster's attempts are the earliest, though in Miss Simmons' list (p. 128) two others are mentioned as having appeared as early as 1799. In assuming that these are to be found in the translations of *Götz* by Walter Scott and Mrs Lawrence, she forgets that the German version of *Götz* which contains the poem was not published till after Goethe's death[2].

Collection of Select Pieces of Poetry containing 'the Lay of the Bell' and 'Leonora' by George Ph. Maurer. Darmstadt: Lange; London: Black and Armstrong. 1840.

Miss Simmons describes the contents correctly but knows only the second edition, published in New York, 1848.

The author was a Hessian officer who made the translations when, as

[1] Prof. Carré mentions Mrs Hemans' translation of a few short passages from *Iphigenie,* but ignores an article on *Tasso,* containing translations of over 200 lines, which she contributed to the *New Monthly Magazine* for January 1834. It was the first of a series of German studies she was planning. The translations from *Iphigenie,* printed after her death (in *Poetical Remains,* Edinburgh, 1836), were intended for a second article in continuation of the series.

[2] *Geschichte Gottfriedens von Berlichingen* in *Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand,* Bd 42, Cotta, 1833. Sarah Austin printed the poem in the form in which it appeared separately in Einsiedel's *Neueste Vermischte Schriften,* 1784, and Goethe's *Werke,* 1815. Both J. M. and Anster introduce rhyme.

prisoner of war, he was quartered at Lauder in Scotland from 1812 to 1814.

Illustrations of German Poetry, by Elijah Barwell Impey, Esq., M.A., Faculty Student of Christ Church, Oxford. Clapham: David Batten. 1841. 2 vols. A second edition was published, after the author's death, by Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., London, 1850. Contains p. 225: *The Wedding Song*, 'We sing of the Count, who, as chronicles say.' p. 231: *The Minstrel*, 'From chain-drawn bridge to Castle-gate.' p. 234: *Song*, 'Thrill'd with delight, or distracted with care.' p. 235: *The Rat Catcher*, 'State minstrel is my style and station.' p. 237: *Prologue to Faust*, 'Once more, ye fond delusions!'

Miss Simmons only mentions *The Magician's Apprentice*. This, however, according to the author's own note, is 'no translation but rather a *jeu d'esprit* in the style of Coleman's parody on Lewis' ballad of *Alonzo the Brave*.' It begins:

> Old Pancrates, priest of Osiris—alack!
> Was a wicked idolatrous wizard:
> And he sailed in a sieve, and he rode on the back
> Of a Cayman, which he had the wonderful knack
> Of making as tame as a lizard.

The Student-Life of Germany. By William Howitt, from the unpublished MS. of Dr Cornelius. Containing nearly forty of the most famous Student Songs, with the original music. Illustrated by Sargent, Woods and other eminent artists. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1841. Contains p. 346: *Table-Song*, 'Heavenly joy entrances me Far beyond exploring.'

William Howitt, the husband and literary associate of Mary Howitt, was born in 1792 and died in 1879. In 1840 he went with his wife to Heidelberg, remaining in Germany for two years. He also published *The Rural and Domestic Life of Germany* (1842) which contains (pp. 464 ff.) an account of his visit to Weimar and (p. 54) the translation of a long passage from *Hermann und Dorothea*, and a translation of Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl* (1843).

The Maid of Orleans, and other Poems. Translated from the German by E. S. and F. J. Turner. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1842. Contains p. 238: *Song*, 'I think of thee, when o'er the ocean glancing' (*Nähe des Geliebten*). p. 239: *Consolation in Tears*, 'How is it that thou art so sad.' p. 241: *To one far away*, 'Have I then for ever lost thee?' (*An die Entfernte*).

Poems Original and Translated by John Herman Merivale, Esq., F.S.A. A new edition. 2 vols. W. Pickering, London, 1844. The first edition, published in 1839, in addition to original poems contained translations from the Greek, Latin and Italian only. In this new edition translations from the German have been added to vol. II. They include versions of Goethe's *Zauberlehrling*[1], *Nähe des Geliebten, Beherzigung, Kophtisches Lied* ('Geh! gehorche meinen Winken'), and of two passages from *Faust* ('O sähst du, voller Mondenschein,' 'Du flehst eratmend, mich zu schauen') which Miss Simmons has mistaken for a translation of the *Prolog im Himmel.*

The author, who in the Preface to vol. I describes himself as a 'Sexagenarian Judge of Bankruptcy,' was born in 1779 and died in 1844. He also published the *Minor Poems of Schiller*, was an excellent classical scholar and a friend of Byron, who mentions him in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.* He is the father of the well-known historian Charles Merivale and of Herman Merivale (Fellow of Balliol 1828–34, Professor of Political Economy in Oxford 1837–42, Under Secretary for India 1860 to his death in 1874) who contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* the articles on Goethe and H. C. Robinson referred to by Professor Carré.

German Ballads, Songs, etc., comprising Translations from Schiller, Bürger, Goethe, etc. London: James Burns. N.D. [1845]. Contains p. 54: *The Minstrel,* 'What strain is that without our walls.'

Verse Translations from the German: Including Bürger's Lenore, Schiller's Song of the Bell, and other Poems. London: John Murray. 1847. Contains p. 51: *Clara's Song,* 'Gladness and sadness.' p. 52: *Joy in Tears,* 'How is it that thou art so sad.' p. 55: *The Traveller's Evening Song,* 'Under every covert is rest.'

The author is Dr William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1841 to his death in 1866[2].

English Hexameter Translations from Schiller, Göthe, Homer, Callinus, and Meleager. London: John Murray. 1847. Oblong 8°.

[1] Merivale's translations of *Der Zauberlehrling* had been previously printed, though in a somewhat different form, in I. B. Sonderland's *Designs and Border Illustrations to Poems of Göthe* etc., London, 1841.

[2] See J. Todhunter, *William Whewell, D.D. An Account of his Writings*, Macmillan, 1876, vol. I, p. 166: 'The authorship of the volume is known from Dr Whewell's correspondence.' Prof. Carré's notes on Whewell seem to have got badly disarranged and misprinted. On p. 157 of his *Bibliographie*, apart from minor inaccuracies, the above poems (together with *Day Dreams* which is not from Goethe) are mentioned as being contained in Whewell's translation of *Hermann und Dorothea*, privately printed, 1839. The copy in the British Museum does not contain them.

This volume was edited by Dr W. Whewell. It contains translations by himself (signed W. W.), Sir John Herschel (J. F. W. H.), Archdeacon Hare (J. C. H.), J. G. Lockhart (J. G. L.), and Dr E. C. Hawtrey, Headmaster of Eton 1834 to 1852 (E. C. H.)[1].

The translations from Goethe are p. 204: *A Poetical Epistle*, 'Now the whole world reads.' p. 212: *A Second Poetical Epistle*, 'Excellent friend! thou knittest thy brows.' p. 217: *Alexis and Dora*, 'Ah! every moment the vessel is driving.' p. 229: *The Metamorphosis of Plants*, 'Thou, my love, art perplext.' The first three are by Hare and had been published in the *Athenæum* eighteen years previously, the last is by Whewell who had printed eight lines from it in a foot-note to p. 435 of his *History of the Inductive Sciences*, London, 1837[2].

A Book of Ballads from the German by Percy Boyd, Esq[r]. James M[c]Clashan, Dublin, 1848. The volume is dedicated to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. Miss Simmons has overlooked that in addition to a version of the *Hochzeitlied* (p. 111: *A Lay of Christmas*) it contains on p. 89 *The King and the Cup*, 'A monarch once in Thulé.'

In a Preface, dated Dublin, December 1847, the author states that with the exception of a few, which were made while he was resident in Heidelberg, his translations were written 'in moments snatched from the weary routine of less agreeable pursuits.' I have seen him referred to as a great friend of Dickens and Thackeray. He died in London on January 1, 1876.

Lays and Legends by G. W. Thornbury. Saunders and Otley, London, 1851. Dedicated to Washington Irving. Contains p. 99: *The Dance of Death*, 'The sexton looks forth in the murk midnight.'

George Walter Thornbury was born in London November 13, 1828, contributed to the *Athenæum* and other journals from 1850, published *The Monarchs of the Main*, 3 vols., 1855, *Life in Spain*, 2 vols., 1859, and many other books, died London, June 11, 1876[3].

Memoirs of a Literary Veteran by R. P. Gillies. 3 vols. London, 1851. Contains vol. III, p. 25: An epigram 'containing Goethe's notion of a re-

[1] A minute description of the volume is given by Todhunter, *l.c.* vol. I, pp. 286, 287. He omits, however, to name the author of the original poem introductory to *Herman and Dorothea*, signed M. L. He was, no doubt, William Whewell, who was fond of signing his contributions to periodicals with the final letters of his name.

[2] Prof. Carré (*l.c.* p. 157) assumes that the whole poem appeared in the *History of the Inductive Sciences*, referring moreover to the edition of 1837 but to the paging of the 1859 edition. Miss Simmons (p. 145) assumes two translations, one by Hare, published in 1847 and another by Whewell, published 1859.

[3] See *Times*, June 13, 1876, p. 10; *Graphic*, XIII, 1876, p. 614 (with portrait).

viewer,' 'You make a feast, you spread the board.' This is a free rendering of Goethe's *Rezensent* ('Da hatt' ich einen Kerl zu Gast').

The Book of German Songs: from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century. Translated and edited by H. W. Dulcken. London: Ward and Lock. 1836. A second edition appeared in 1871. Contains p. 114: *The Tailor's Fright* (*Schneider Courage*). p. 141: *The Water it Rushes* (from *Jery und Bätely*). p. 211: *The King of Thule.* p. 254: *Wanderer's Song,* 'From the mountain to the hill-side' (*Wanderlied*).

Original Poems with Translations by Sophia Milligan. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1856. Contains p. 253: *The Minstrel,* 'Before the gate what do I hear.' p. 256: *Nearness of the Beloved,* 'I think of thee, when from the Ocean glances.'

H. G. FIEDLER.

OXFORD.

HEINE AND THE SAINT-SIMONIANS.

The Date of the Letters from Heligoland.

I.

The study of Heine and the Saint-Simonians, a peculiarly absorbing and interesting one, bristles with notes of interrogation. The story of his personal relations with the members of this remarkable sect is so full of unanswered questions and half-confidences, is haunted by the ghosts of so many lost letters and elusive manuscripts, that one can do little more than guess at the truth. Nor is the question of the influence of the Saint-Simonian religion on Heine's mind without ambiguity and obscurity. Two widely different attitudes towards this question have been adopted in the past. The more orthodox writers, such as Strodtmann[1] and Lichtenberger[2], have taken their stand on *De l'Allemagne*[3]. They have established by quotations the obvious parallelism between the *Exposition de la doctrine de Saint-Simon*, and many passages in the *Romantische Schule* and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, which prove that Heine accepted from the Saint-Simonians their philosophy of history, their analysis of the Christian dualism, their gospel of pantheism, and their demand for the 'rehabilitation of the flesh.' Although Strodtmann may say that the religious ideas of the Saint-Simonians coincided remarkably with Heine's own views[4], and Lichtenberger may allow that Heine combined the doctrines of this school with his former revolutionary theories and with what he remembered of Hegel's teaching[5], still neither of these writers is much concerned with the very remarkable foreshadowing of the Saint-Simonian theories which is to be found in Heine's earlier writings.

It is this latter aspect of the case which has chiefly impressed E. Montégut and Julian Schmidt, who are perhaps the two most important representatives of the second and less orthodox attitude. The

[1] A. Strodtmann, *H. Heine's Leben und Werke*, second edition, Berlin, 1873.
[2] H. Lichtenberger, *Henri Heine, penseur*, Paris, 1905.
[3] I use the title *De l'Allemagne* in this study, for convenience, to include only: *Die romantische Schule*, 1833, and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, 1834. In reality it included as well the first part of the *Elementargeister* and various other fragments.
[4] Strodtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[5] Lichtenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

former declares that Heine owes nothing to the Saint-Simonians[1], whilst the latter allows at most that his intercourse with the school may have helped him to formulate some of his views[2].

If we leave the letters from Heligoland on one side for the moment, the modification which Heine's philosophy would seem to have undergone after his arrival in Paris in 1831, that is to say, after his acquaintance with the Saint-Simonian religion, is all in the direction of synthesis, harmony and coherence. Before that period, he certainly held many views which were almost indistinguishable from theirs, notably the criticism of Christianity as a religion which unduly penalised the senses[3], the glorification of an earthly paradise at the expense of the promised treasures of heaven[4], a hostile attitude towards the marriage-laws[5], and a conception of history which only lacked the Saint-Simonian labels 'époques organiques et critiques[6].' Nevertheless, these views, scattered throughout the pages of the *Reisebilder*, are entirely disconnected and incoherent. He had no philosophy which could combine them into an organic whole, and his religious views particularly were in a state of chaos. This was largely the result of Heine's temperament. There was a tragic lack of harmony in his personality, and he has truly described himself as the *enfant perdu* of the age. For he was bound up of contradictions: romanticism and reason; sentimentality and wit; scepticism and religious longings; idealism and materialism in love; democratic principles and aristocratic prejudices: all this further complicated by his artistic impressionability, his extreme susceptibility to beauty, which made him at one and the same time an ardent spiritualist and an exuberant sensualist, with no religious faith that could soothe the fret occasioned by the strife of soul and senses within him. During this period he was for ever searching for a religion which should combine these two warring tendencies and should 'moralise' them both. As late as 1830 he had sought in vain, and he has stated with great vividness the dilemma in which he found himself between Christianity, which starved his senses, and paganism, which starved his soul.

[1] E. Montégut, *Henri Heine. Années de Jeunesse. Poésies Lyriques* (*Revue des deux Mondes*, May 15, 1884).

[2] J. Schmidt, *Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit*, ii, Leipzig, 1871, p. 328.

[3] *Almansor* (1821), *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. E. Elster (my references are throughout to this edition, but in my quotations I have retained the orthography of the earlier Strodtmann edition, Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 1861–74), ii, pp. 281–289; *Die Götter Griechenlands* (1826), i, pp. 187–189; *Die Bäder von Lucca* (1829), iii, p. 318.

[4] *Das Buch le Grand* (1826), iii, pp. 175, 189; *Die Stadt Lucca* (1830), iii, pp. 404, 407, 418, 421.

[5] *Reise von München nach Genua* (1829), iii, p. 281.

[6] *Die Nordsee*, III (1826), iii, p. 92; *Die Bäder von Lucca* (1829), iii, p. 304.

I refer to the famous passage in Chapter VI of the *Stadt Lucca* which is prefaced by an extract from the first book of the *Iliad* (ll. 597–604)[1]. Christ, a pale Jew, dripping with blood, a crown of thorns upon His head, comes panting into the gay assembly of the Olympian gods, and throws His great wooden cross on to the tall table, so that the golden bowls trembled, and the gods fell silent and became ever paler, until they dissolved in mist. Heine first regrets their disappearance—as a pure pagan, one who might have sung with Swinburne: 'Thou hast conquered, oh pale Galilean: the world has grown grey from thy breath'; but the romantic in him, the sentimentalist, the sorrowful son of a sorrowful age, doubts and hesitates, and finally decides that a tortured God and a mournful religion make an irresistible appeal to suffering and oppressed mankind. Keenly aware of the antithesis between paganism and Christianity, unable definitely to decide between them, although on the whole feeling the stronger pull towards an Hellenic paganism of his own making, thus Heine stands wavering on the threshold of his acquaintance with Saint-Simonism.

From 1831 onwards, however, first in the *Französische Maler* and then in *De l'Allemagne*, he speaks with a very different voice. Whereas before 1831 the dominant note was pessimism and the emphasis lay on the insoluble problem of the nature of man, there is now a much more hopeful tone in his writings, and the emphasis lies on the harmony to which man can attain by recognising in his sensual nature an aspect of the manifestation of God. The Saint-Simonian religion, which sought in this way to harmonise soul and senses, flesh and spirit, came to him almost as a revelation, and during the years 1831–1836 he speaks as one who had found an escape from the prison of his own temperament, and foresaw the solution of one of the great conflicts of mankind.

The hope which Saint-Simonism held out to Heine was an illusory one; he abandoned this synthesis later, the philosophy which he had built up on its foundation crumbled into ruins, his pessimism came creeping back, and he died amidst the wreck of his former ideals, declaring almost with his latest breath that death alone could bring him peace, and that the strife between truth and beauty would never cease on earth[2].

The debt which Heine owed to the Saint-Simonians would thus appear to be the short-lived hope that happiness was to be found in the

[1] *Die Stadt Lucca* (1830), iii, pp. 394–395.

[2] *Für die Mouche* (1856), ii, pp. 45–49. According to Meissner, written two or three weeks before his death.

fair balance between spiritualism and sensualism: the Christian dualism spirit *versus* flesh absorbed in the Saint-Simonian trinity: Love (or Beauty) = spirit + flesh. This theory presents itself in so convincing a way when Heine's works are re-read with the problem of the Saint-Simonian influence uppermost in one's mind, that it is something in the nature of a shock to find him preaching and prophesying harmony between spirit and flesh in the letters from Heligoland, dated 1830:

Aber nur der Leib ward verspottet und gekreuzigt, der Geist ward verherrlicht... und die ganze Menschheit strebte seitdem, in imitationem Christi, nach leiblicher Abtödtung und übersinnlichem Aufgehen im absolutem Geiste....

Wann wird die Harmonie wieder eintreten, wann wird die Welt wieder gesunden von dem einseitigen Streben nach Vergeistigung, dem tollen Irrthume, wodurch sowohl Seele wie Körper erkrankten![1]

Shakespeare ist zu gleicher Zeit Jude und Grieche, oder vielmehr beide Elemente, der Spiritualismus und die Kunst, haben sich in ihm versöhnungsvoll durchdrungen und zu einem höheren Ganzen entfaltet.

Ist vielleicht solche harmonische Vermischung der beiden Elemente die Aufgabe der ganzen europäischen Civilisation?[2]

II.

These letters are dated from Heligoland, July 1 to August 19, 1830, and describe the impression the July Revolution made on Heine's mind: his depressed, embittered mood before the great news reached him, and the passionate enthusiasm with which he greeted the dawn of freedom in France. They were incorporated in his *Börne* in 1840, and Heine is at some pains both in the German postscript[3] and especially in the French preface[4] to impress on his readers that they are being given in their original form:

Les feuilles suivantes furent écrites quelques jours avant et quelques jours après la révolution de Juillet....Je les ai données dans leur forme primitive, quoique bien des petites inexactitudes qui s'y trouvent trahissent parfois une ingénuité qui pourra faire sourire le lecteur français aux frais du novice allemand[5].

Now since we are dealing with Heine, this declaration in itself looks a little suspicious; it certainly proves nothing more positive than his desire that the date should be accepted as genuine. He often took a mischievous delight in mystifying his public, and he was by no means squeamish about altering dates if it suited his convenience. Thus we find him writing to Varnhagen von Ense on the subject of the *Nachträge zu den Reisebildern*[6]:

Sie werden sich nicht täuschen lassen durch meine politische Vorrede und Nachrede, worin ich glauben mache, dass das Buch ganz von früherem Datum sey.

[1] vii, p. 47. [2] vii, p. 53.
[3] vii, pp. 65–66. [4] vii, pp. 548–550. [5] vii, p. 549.
[6] *Die Stadt Lucca* and *Englische Fragmente.*

In der ersten Hälfte sind etwa drey Bogen schon alt ; in der zweyten Hälfte ist nur der Schlussaufsatz neu.[1]

Nor can his statement to Campe, that these letters are detached from his diaries, and an integral part of his memoirs, be taken to mean that he is giving them in their original form. He is chiefly anxious here to impress Campe with the great sacrifice he is making in publishing a part of his memoirs, and thus force him to pay the 2000 marks which he demanded for the *Börne*, and which Campe was extremely unwilling to disburse.

Die Spannung und die Neugier, womit mein 'Börne' bereits erwartet wird, ängstigte mich ein wenig, um so mehr, da lange kein Buch von mir erschienen. Ich habe mich daher entschlossen, ein ganz besonderes Opfer zu bringen, und aus den Tagebüchern, welche ein integrirender Theil meiner Memoiren, detachirte ich eine schöne Partie, welche die Enthousiasmusperiode von 1830 schildert und in meinem 'Börne' zwischen dem ersten und zweyten Buche vortrefflich eingeschaltet werden konnte; was dem Ganzen, wie Sie sehen werden, ein gesteigertes Interesse verleiht.... Ist nun diese Zugabe nicht ein grosses Opfer, und zeigt sich hierin ein Honorargeiz? Sie sehen, ich thue alles für das Werk, und ich sackrifizire ihm nicht bloss den Honorarbetrag von fünf bis sechs Druckbogen, sondern auch die weit unberechenbarern Interessen eines meiner kostbarsten Manuskripte[2].

Such, then, is Heine's own account of how he came to insert the letters from Heligoland into his book on Börne. Strodtmann, Proelss and Elster[3] accept the date without comment. Karpeles is convinced that it is genuine. Brandes regards the letters with some suspicion[4], and Walzel, as we shall see later, is possibly a little doubtful, but the question of whether Heine tampered with the letters in 1839–1840 has never seriously arisen. From any point of view but that of the study of the Saint-Simonian influence in Heine's writings, it would appear to be of little importance, and could at most arouse a purely academic interest. In this connection, however, the authenticity of the date of these letters calls for careful attention. If the date is genuine, then Heine was not indebted to Saint-Simonism for his conception of a new religion that should harmonise spirit and senses, and Montégut and J. Schmidt are right in

[1] F. Hirth, *Heinrich Heine, Briefwechsel*, 1914–20, i, p. 628. The letter is dated Nov. 19, 1830.

[2] Hirth, ii, p. 307. Letter dated Feb. 18, 1840. I think that Heine was throwing dust in Campe's eyes here, and that he had already decided to use these letters for the book on the July Revolution which he was planning at the time. (Cp. Hirth, ii, pp. 298, 312.) It is significant that he abandoned the idea of this book after he had incorporated the letters in his *Börne*. The sacrifice in this case was not so great as he would have Campe believe.

[3] Cp. Elster, vii, p. 648. R. Fürst makes no comment on the date of the letters, but treats them as if they had been written in 1839–40 (*H. Heine, Leben, Werke u. Briefe*, pp. 258, 328. 417–418).

[4] 'Even if these expressions have been strung together at a later period, even if the letters are not genuine but a fragment of a memoir inserted later, for the sake of contrast, in the book on Börne, they will undoubtedly give us a correct picture of Heine's mental attitude at that time' (Brandes, *Young Germany*, Engl. transl., London, 1905, p. 28).

allowing a very minor rôle to the New Church in the history of Heine's thought.

Now we know from Laube's famous *Nekrolog* written in August, 1846, on the occasion of the false rumour of the poet's death, that Heine was not quite frank in the reasons he gave to Campe for including the letters from Heligoland in his *Börne*. In reality it was in order to meet Laube's objection to the bitterness which Heine expressed against Börne, that the author introduced this 'mountain' into his book[1]. Laube had declared that such a 'mountain' was necessary to throw the personal enmity into the shade, and that it must be the development of Heine's 'grössere Weltanschauung' as against Börne's purely political opinions. Heine seemed to agree, and during the winter 1839–1840, whenever he met Laube in the streets of Paris or came to see him, he would assure him that he was 'building the mountain.' Laube was extremely dissatisfied with the result, and said that the ideas of the July Revolution were rather a valley than a mountain, and that it was just these ideas, in the main Börne's, which Heine ought to have proved inferior to his own. I think, however, that he missed the point, and that Heine had done what he had promised to do. Partly, no doubt, he hoped that it would be apparent in the letters from Heligoland that his ideal of freedom was a finer and a freer thing than Börne's, but even Heine could hardly call freedom a philosophy of life. Who were the 'Götter der Zukunft' entrusted to his care?[2] What was this 'greater philosophy,' which he possessed in 1839, and which was so infinitely superior to Börne's narrow views? It was nothing else than the harmony between sensualism and spiritualism, which he had been openly preaching since 1831[3], and which the Saint-Simonians had proclaimed in 1830[4]. The whole tendency of the book on Börne lies in the contrast between the latter's narrow Nazarenism and Heine's broader Hellenism, which was at the root of their personal antipathy. Heine had defined this difference between them in the first book, written in 1839. 'Jews' and 'Christians,' he says, are for him but two terms which designate the same temperament; he unites them in the epithet 'Nazarenes' to which he opposes 'Hellenes': 'Menschen mit ascetischen, bildfeindlichen, vergeistigungssüchtigen Trieben, oder Menschen von lebensheiterem, entfaltungsstolzem und

[1] Laube was in Paris during the winter 1839–40.

[2] vii, p. 41.

[3] *I.e.*, 1831, in *Französische Maler*; cp. Elster, iv, pp. 54–56; 1833 and 1834 in *De l'Allemagne*, *passim*.

[4] In the *Deuxième année* of the *Exposition de la Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, published in the *Organisateur*, which, however, does not seem to have penetrated into Germany before 1831.

realistischem Wesen[1].' This antithesis occurs again and again throughout the *Börne*[2].

Now, when we know that the letters from Heligoland were inserted between the first and second book for the express purpose of developing a 'greater philosophy' than Börne's, which Heine had preached since 1831, but not before, unless in these very letters; when we have seen too that in 1830 he still stood uncertain between paganism and Christianity, and that no presentiment of a religion which might bridge the gulf between them had then dawned upon his mind, we are justified, I think, in suspecting that this part is the work of 1840, and not of 1830.

Nor is this suspicion entirely unsupported by proofs. There is some internal evidence that Heine was not guiltless of textual alterations, and this evidence should now be considered. I will begin with a very slight slip, which first caught my attention whilst I was puzzling over the anomaly of the Saint-Simonian synthesis in Heine's pre-Paris days. It was a reference to the 'schwäbische Gelbveiglein' rather inconsequently dragged into the story of Leah and Rachel: 'Unterdessen kommt Ruben nach Hause und bringt seiner Mutter einen Strauss Dudaim, die er auf dem Felde gepflückt... Was sind Dudaim?... Es sind vielleicht schwäbische Gelbveiglein[3].' Now it is a well-known fact, that the 'Swabian wallflowers' had been a standing joke with Heine since 1837 (when he first fell foul of the 'schwäbische Dichterschule'), but not before. Their supposed appearance in 1830 is little short of an anachronism. It is an addition of no importance in itself, but at least it is a straw which shows that the wind of 1840 blew through the letters from Heligoland.

Then again, it is surprising to find Heine describing himself as a 'heimlicher Hellene[4].' It is cleverly done, since it would lead us to suppose that the 'grössere Weltanschauung' dated from before the Revolution, but it is the first time that we find the term 'Hellene' in his writings, and this in a book whose whole later tendency is to glorify Hellenism at the expense of Nazarenism. It occurs immediately before a fine passage in which he characterises the Jews as the 'people of the spirit.' This again is the first hint of such an attitude towards the Jews, always supposing that the date 1830 is genuine[5]. But when we come to

[1] vii, p. 24. [2] Cp. vii, pp. 23, 24–25, 38–39, 116, 123, 144–146.

[3] vii, p. 48. Cp. *Genesis*, xxx, 14 ff. The earlier editions have *Judaim*, the error here being Heine's. The Greek version is *mandragoras*.

[4] vii, p. 46.

[5] The first certain instance of this attitude is to be found in *Schnabelewopski* (1834), where he calls the Jews 'das Volk des Geistes' and the Christians 'das Geistervolk.' Cp. iv, p. 132. There is a very striking resemblance between this passage in the letters from Heligoland (vii, pp. 46–47) and part of the third chapter of the *Rabbi von Bacharach* (iv, p. 486), which was almost certainly written in 1840. Cp. Hirth, ii, p. 327.

the term 'Jude' applied to Shakespeare[1], the alteration of the original text seems to force itself on our notice. It is almost certain that Heine would have used the antithesis 'Christian' and 'Greek' until 1836; it is in the *Elementargeister* (1836) that he first uses the term Nazarenism in a technical sense which includes Judaism and Christianity. The passage is extremely reminiscent of the corresponding definition in the first book of the *Börne* from which I have quoted above[2]. Before 1836 he uses 'Christian' and 'spiritual' as opposed to 'Greek.'[3] Moreover, in *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1834) he still adopts the Saint-Simonian conception of Judaism as much more sensual than Christianity[4], which goes to prove that his adherence to Hegel's theory that the Jews were the spiritual people *par excellence* was of later date.

It will, I hope, be allowed that it looks as if Heine had kept faith with Laube, and that, when he declared he was 'building the mountain,' he was doing a little more than copying out the letters laboriously word for word. A passage or two to show that his religion, the religion of the future, was one of harmony and happiness[5], the underlining of the one-sided spiritualism of the Jews, which would recall Börne to his readers' minds[6], a vaguely-worded prophecy of the millennium[7]; the whole cleverly worked in with his notes on the Bible, which he had been reading in 1830[8], and which had fired his imagination, and now Laube will surely be satisfied, and Heine can proceed to enjoy himself.

For the re-writing of the letters from Heligoland did not end with the development of the 'greater philosophy.' Heine was always more an artist than a thinker, and some years before 1840 he had begun to fall out of love with the Saint-Simonian synthesis. He had, however, no other philosophy to put in its place, and it still served him well enough for polemical purposes. I imagine that he undertook the modifications in this direction airily and carelessly, to satisfy his friend rather than himself.

But the congenial task of enhancing the artistic value of the letters would make an almost irresistible appeal to Heine, and here, although

[1] vii, p. 53.
[2] *Elementargeister* (1836), iv, p. 423; cp. vii, pp. 24–25, and also *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* (1838), v, pp. 454–455.
[3] See *De l'Allemagne, passim.*
[4] iv, pp. 192 and 583–4.
[5] vii, pp. 47 and 53, quoted above.
[6] vii, pp. 46–47.
[7] vii, p. 50.
[8] Cp. Hirth, i, p. 587: letter to Varnhagen from Wandsbeck, April 5, 1830; and Hirth, i, p. 614: letter to Varnhagen from Wandsbeck, June 16, 1830. There is no reference to the Bible in the correspondence from Heligoland which has been preserved, but he probably had it with him on the island. It was much in his thoughts at the time.

the alterations are, I believe, much more extensive, the motive is a less questionable one, since his chief concern was to recapture his mood on the island before the Revolution. He was aiming here at poetic truth, whereas when he dated the 'greater philosophy' 1830, his object was to deceive.

I do not think that he tampered much with the letters dated August 6, 10 and 19, in which his enthusiasm at the triumph of freedom is so finely expressed, and in which his words are not unlike the flaming stars and flashing spears with which he compares them[1]. The emotional truth of this 'first fine careless rapture' is not to be denied, and Heine was too clever an artist to attempt any serious alterations in a colder mood[2]. Moreover when he affirms that he is giving the letters in their original form, it is obvious from the context that he is thinking of these later letters. He instances his ingenuous adoption of the legend of 'Lafayette aux cheveux blancs' and his uncritical enthusiasm for the faithful dog Médor. He was artist enough to leave these little mistakes intact, though he could not refrain from commenting on his restraint.

It is more difficult to believe that he left the earlier letters untouched, and there are signs that he undertook alterations in two directions. In the first place, he wished to combine the letters from Heligoland into an artistic whole, in the second place he sought to intensify the mood of depression in the first letters, so that the contrast with the later letters might gain in vividness.

Now the motif of the death of Pan runs through the first letters like a prophetic refrain and re-echoes triumphantly when the prophecy is fulfilled[3]. Its artistic value in drawing the two groups of letters together is so great, that one is tempted to ascribe its presence in the first group, not to the long arm of coincidence, but to the hand of Heine at a later date. This suspicion is heightened by the prophetic use to which Heine puts the story and its refrain. For among his more harmless vanities was the desire to impress the world with his gift of divination: he saw himself as a 'Sonntagskind[4]' whose presentiments came true, and who saw visions and dreamt dreams denied to the rest of humanity.

Even more suspect appear the 'wunderliche Ahnungen' in the fifth letter, dated August 1:

> Es ist heute junges Licht, und trotz aller wehmüthigen Zweifelsucht, womit sich meine Seele hin und her quält, beschleichen mich wunderliche Ahnungen....Es

[1] viii, p. 59.

[2] Cp. the resemblance of mood between these letters, the *Spätere Nachschrift* to the *Stadt Lucca* (Nov. 1830) and the *Schlusswort* to the *Englische Fragmente* (Nov. 29, 1830).

[3] Cp. vii, pp. 51–52, 56, 59, 62.

[4] Cp. iv, p. 559.

geschieht jetzt etwas Ausserordentliches in der Welt....Die See riecht nach Kuchen, und die Wolkenmönche sahen vorige Nacht so traurig aus, so betrübt....

...Es sah fast aus,'als ob sie einer Leiche folgten....Wer wird begraben? Wer ist gestorben? sprach ich zu mir selber. Ist der grosse Pan todt?[1]

This is just the kind of addition which Heine could hardly have resisted when preparing the letters for the press, and we begin to understand the motive, half-artistic and half-childish, which made him insist on their *forme primitive.*

We now come to the question whether Heine undertook any alterations in order to intensify the mood of depression and restlessness which preceded the arrival of the news from Paris. The first letter is of paramount importance here, since it serves as a prelude to the concert of conflicting emotions in the following pages. It is difficult not to believe that it was almost entirely re-written in 1839–1840, an assumption which is not based on the very different form in which F. Steinmann gives this letter[2]. Steinmann has been very generally condemned as a literary swindler, and he certainly cannot be trusted implicitly. Nevertheless some of the letters, first published by him, addressed to himself and to other friends of Heine's student days, have been included in all the standard collections of Heine's letters. This one has been unanimously rejected, probably on account of the variations from the text of the first letter from Heligoland. As Heine's version has always been thought to be genuine, Steinmann's would naturally appear as yet another forgery.

Wer einmal lügt, dem glaubt man nicht,
Und wenn er auch die Wahrheit spricht.

In this case I believe Steinmann printed the letter as he received it, and that Heine, either from memory or from a copy, worked it up later into the form in which we now know it. It would, however, end in an almost Gilbertian situation if one attempted to disprove the genuineness of Heine's version supported by no better evidence than a letter published by a man of Steinmann's reputation. There are other and less controversial reasons which seem to point to a very considerable re-writing in 1839–1840[3].

It is dated from Heligoland on July 1, and Heine, writing to his

[1] vii, p. 56. Heine puts the supposed declaration of mine host, that the sea smelt of fresh-baked cakes on July 28, to the same prophetic use as the story 'Great Pan is dead'; cp. vii, pp. 54, 56, 56–57.

[2] F. Steinmann, *H. Heine: Denkwürdigkeiten und Erlebnisse aus meinem Zusammenleben mit ihm*, Prague, 1857, pp. 214–215; also included in his edition of Heine's letters, Amsterdam, 1861, i, pp. 94–96.

[3] I should perhaps state that I came to the conclusions which follow, before I had read Steinmann's version of the letter, or knew that such a version existed.

sister on July 28, says that he has been on the island for three weeks[1], so that the date in itself looks an unlikely one, and Steinmann's date, July 6, rather more probable[2]. Nevertheless too much importance cannot be given to dates here, for, writing to Immermann on August 10[3], he speaks of this letter to his sister as having been written four weeks ago, which shows that he was apt to be confused about times. In a postscript to a letter to Varnhagen, dated from Wandsbeck on June 21[4], he complains that the weather will not permit him to undertake the journey till the end of the week. Now, June 21 was a Thursday, and if he were able to go at the end of the week, the date July 1 may conceivably be correct[5]. But the letter itself seems to show certain retrospective characteristics, later moods mingling with his memories of those earlier days, the Heine of 1840 looking over the shoulder of the Heine of 1830. Thus, when he is speaking of the irony of fate which had changed the poet into the pamphleteer[6], he drops the tell-tale phrase: 'Ich, der ich mich am liebsten damit beschäftigte...die Geheimnisse der Elementargeister zu erlauschen...[7],' which reminds us at once that his pre-occupation with the 'Elementargeister' was chiefly noticeable since 1834. Then, too, the sentence: '...in Frankreich selbst soll es jetzt schlecht aussehen, und die grosse Retirade hat noch kein Ende[8],' coupled with the despairing exclamation at the end of the letter: 'O Freiheit, du bist ein böser Traum[9]!' bringing under a strange guise a message of hope to readers who know that the July Revolution is at hand; are we not almost forced to suspect the dramatic irony apparent here?

It is, however, the textual resemblance between the poem *Jetzt Wohin?* which I quote below, and a portion of this letter, which makes me so doubtful of the date, and this, although Elster has dated the poem 1830, on account, I suppose of this very resemblance[10]. It was first published in *Romanzero*, 1851, among the *Lamentationen*[11].

[1] Hirth, i, p. 617.
[2] According to Steinmann, this letter was addressed to himself.
[3] Hirth, i, p. 618. [4] Hirth, i, p. 613.
[5] vii, p. 45. Heine says that July 7 was a Sunday, whereas it was really a Wednesday, which is another little straw of evidence in favour of later re-writing.
[6] This has a genuine 1830 ring. Since 1835 his chief lament was that, politically, he was gagged by the edicts.
[7] vii, p. 42. [8] vii, p. 44.
[9] vii, p. 45. [10] See Elster, vii, p. 648.
[11] i, p. 412. O. Walzel, in his edition of Heine's *Works* (1911–15), seems to date the poem later than 1830, and to be doubtful about the date of the letters: 'Die französische Bearbeitung des zweiten Buches wird eingeleitet durch eine längere Darlegung, in der es u. a. heisst: "Les feuilles suivantes furent écrites quelques jours avant et quelques jours après la révolution de Juillet." Sicher weisen sie dieselbe Stimmung, die in den Briefen dieser Zeit, zunächst in dem Schreiben an Varnhagen vom 19. November anzutreffen ist. Ähnliche Erwägungen stellt aber auch das Gedicht "Jetzt Wohin" des "Romanzero" an.' (viii, pp. 610–611.)

It seems to me that if the first three stanzas of this poem are read with an open mind, an obvious interpretation suggests itself. The 'Krieg' is surely the war against Young Germany, and the 'Kriegsgerichte' are the edicts which were not withdrawn, even after the persecution had died down[1]. Whilst Heine was on Heligoland, his worst enemies were those he had made by his attack on Platen, and though there is nothing unnatural or unlikely in the question: 'Aber in der That wo soll ich hin?' and though we know that Heine was getting more and more restless and unhappy in Germany, we are not surprised to find that the possibility of being shot appears in the letter as nothing more terrible than the discomfort of being roused from sleep by a policeman to see if he really is asleep. Heine had written nothing before 1830 which could result in serious government persecutions; the case had altered since 1835. Then again, in the poem, Heine considers the possibility of returning to Germany in his sentimental exile vein: 'Der dumme Fuss will mich gern nach Deutschland tragen'; whereas the letter reflects the mood of impatient disgust with Germany, which was his in 1830. Lastly, in the poem there is no mention of France as a possible country to fly to. Now if it had been written in 1830, France would hardly have been omitted, whereas if it was written after 1831, the reason is obvious. France is not omitted in the letter, on the contrary, it is used very skilfully: the Bourbon reaction is described as being at its height. The poem, therefore, I should date some time after 1835, when the war with Young Germany was over. I think myself that it was most probably written in October, 1836, whilst Heine was at Aix, for there is a great resemblance of mood between the poem and a letter to Princess Belgiojoso of that date. During this period, 'die schmerzlichste Passionszeit meines Lebens[2],' he had come to realise that the voluntary exile of 1831 had become a matter of stern necessity. The result was an acute attack of homesickness and 'Weltschmerz,' with their corollaries, restlessness and infirmity of purpose:

Est-ce que, Madame, je ferai bientôt ma paix, paix ignoble, avec les autorités d'Outre-Rhin, pour pouvoir sortir des ennuies de l'exil, et de cette gêne qui est pire qu'une pauvreté complète? Hélas! les tentations deviennent grandes depuis quelque temps....Non, je ne suis pas un Régulus, je n'aimerais nullement être bercé dans un tonneau lardé de clous. Je ne suis pas non plus un Brutus; je n'enfoncerais jamais un poignard dans mon pauvre ventre, pour ne pas servir les Prussiens[3].

[1] The dates are as follows: Menzel's denunciations from Sept. 1835 onwards. Dec. 11, 1835, the Federal edicts against the writings of the Young Germans. On Feb. 16, 1836, the Prussian edicts took a somewhat milder form, and were withdrawn in the summer of 1842.

[2] Hirth, ii, p. 126: letter to Moses Moser, dated from Avignon, Nov. 8, 1836.

[3] Hirth, ii, p. 122. I retain Heine's mistakes in French.

The poem *Jetzt Wohin?* betrays the same longing to return to Germany, and the same half-humorous repudiation of the heroic attitude. In the absence of any definite proof, however, I do not care to insist on this date, since Heine was often a prey to such moods[1]. All the psychological conditions that went to produce the poem were present in 1836, and the line 'Zwar beendigt ist der Krieg' points to a date not all too remote from the Young German *fracas*, but it might have been written any time between 1835 and 1842. Between those dates, or so it seems to me, it is conclusively fixed by the allusion to the 'Kriegsgerichte.'

The parallelism between the letter and the poem, however, is a somewhat double-edged proof, since it could be argued that the date of the letter is not affected by the date of the poem, which might have been suggested to Heine whilst he was re-reading and copying out his memoirs in 1839–1840. This is the weak point in my theory, since I cannot prove that *Jetzt Wohin?* was written in 1836. Nevertheless Heine's lyric poems were born of the mood of the moment, whereas his works in prose were very often pieced together from old and new material. This exile poem does not read like an adaptation of an old letter to fit in with actual circumstances, whereas the letter shows other signs of having been re-written[2]. Then, too, the other letters present positive internal evidence of having been altered in 1839–1840[3]. In view of all these facts, I think it is safe to conclude that the *Jetzt Wohin?* motif in the letter was elaborated in 1839–1840, and that a part of the poem was used for this purpose.

III.

I have hitherto ignored Steinmann's version of the first letter from Heligoland as completely as Heine's editors, but I cannot dismiss it altogether, since I am not satisfied that it is a forgery. I have not adduced it as a proof that Heine tampered with the original, yet fairness seems to demand that it should now be considered.

The three texts are as follows[4]:

A. *Steinmann's Version.* 1830?

Ich selber bin des Guerillakrieges müde und verlange nach Ruhe. Es ist wahrlich

B. *Heine's Version.* 1840?

Ich selber bin dieses Guerilla-Krieges müde und sehne mich nach Ruhe,

[1] Cp. Elster, i, p. 263: 'Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland,' 1833; and i, p. 272, *Anno* 1839.

[2] The *Elementargeister*, the 'grosse Retirade, O Freiheit, du bist ein böser Traum!'

[3] The epithet 'Jude' applied to Shakespeare points to a date after 1836. The Swabian wall-flowers date the alterations after 1837. It is hardly necessary to stress the fact that the re-writing is most likely to have taken place in 1839–40, either whilst Heine was contemplating a book on the July Revolution, or whilst he was 'building the mountain.'

[4] The poem, the Steinmann letter, and the first paragraph of the letter from Heligoland are quoted in full. I have also given all those passages in Heine's version which show a resemblance to the Steinmann text or to *Jetzt Wohin?*

A. *Steinmann's Version.* 1830?

seltsam, dass gerade ich aus meinem beschaulichen Leben herausgestört ward, um meine armen Landsleute gleichfalls herauszustören und in die Bewegung hineinzutreiben und mich mit Polizei und Zensur herumzuhetzen. Was musste ich auch Reisebilder schreiben, politische Annalen redigiren, mich mit der Zeit und ihren Interessen abplagen, den armen deutschen Michel aus seinem tausendjährigen Dachsschlaf aufrütteln? Was half's mir? Er schlug die Augen auf, um sie gleich darauf wieder zu schliessen; er gähnte, um sofort wieder noch stärker zu schnarchen; er reckte seine steifen ungelenken Gliedmaassen, um gleich darauf wieder im alten Bette seiner Gewohnheiten gleich einer Leiche leblos zu liegen.

Ich muss Ruhe haben; aber wo finde ich einen Ruheplatz? Vielleicht wäre am Ende der der beste, worauf die 'stillen Leute' ruhen, und wo es Betten gibt, die man 'kühl,' 'kalt,' 'still' und 'düster' nennt. Doch nein—für diese Lagerpfühle bin ich noch zu warm, zu voll Leben. In Deutschland kann ich nicht länger bleiben; ich habe die Wahl zwischen Frankreich, England, Italien und Nordamerika, wenn mich nicht am Ende der Sultan, der sicher meinen 'Almansor' gelesen hat, und mehr für ihn schwärmt als für seine Fatimen im Harem, noch zu sich einladet und mich zu seinem Leibarzt ernennt, da er weiss, dass ich in Bonn und Göttingen studirte, und man in Deutschland den Katzenjammer am besten kennt weil er am häufigsten hier vorkommt, und am gründlichsten und schmackhaftesten mit Häringsalat zu heilen weiss.—Doch—im Ernst. Gib mir Rath, wohin ich gehen soll? Übereile

B. *Heine's Version.* 1840?

wenigstens nach einem Zustand, wo ich mich meinen natürlichen Neigungen, meiner träumerischen Art und Weise, meinem phantastischen Sinnen und Grübeln ganz fessellos hingeben kann. Welche Ironie des Geschickes, das ich, der ich mich so gerne auf die Pfühle des stillen beschaulichen Gemüthlebens bette, dass eben ich dazu bestimmt war, meine armen Mitdeutschen aus ihrer Behaglichkeit hervorzugeisseln und in die Bewegung hineinzuhetzen! Ich, der ich mich am liebsten damit beschäftige, Wolkenzüge zu beobachten, die Geheimnisse der Elementargeister zu erlauschen, und mich in die Wunderwelt alter Märchen zu versenken...ich musste politische Annalen herausgeben, Zeitinteressen vortragen, revolutionäre Wünsche anzetteln, die Leidenschaften aufstacheln, den armen deutschen Michel beständig an der Nase zupfen, dass er aus seinem gesunden Riesenschlaf erwache....Freilich, ich konnte dadurch bei dem schnarchenden Giganten nur ein sanftes Niesen, keineswegs aber ein Erwachen bewirken....Und riss ich auch heftig an seinem Kopfkissen, so rückte er es sich doch wieder zurecht mit schlaftrunkener Hand....Einst wollte ich aus Verzweiflung seine Nachtmütze in Brand stecken, aber sie war so feucht von Gedankenschweiss, dass sie nur gelinde rauchte...und Michel lächelte im Schlummer....

Ich bin müde und lechze nach Ruhe. Ich werde mir ebenfalls eine deutsche Nachtmütze anschaffen und über die Ohren ziehen. Wenn ich nur wüsste, wo ich jetzt mein Haupt niederlegen kann. In Deutschland ist es unmöglich. Jeden Augenblick würde ein Polizeidiener herankommen und mich rütteln, um zu erproben, ob ich wirklich schlafe; schon diese Idee verdirbt mir alles Behagen. Aber in der That, wo soll ich hin? Wieder nach Süden? Nach dem Lande wo die Citronen blühen und die Goldorangen? [Negatived on account of Austria.]... Oder soll ich nach Norden? Etwa nach Nordosten? Ach, die Eisbären sind jetzt gefährlicher als je, seitdem sie sich civilisieren und Glacéhandschuhe tragen. Oder soll ich wieder nach dem verteufelten England, wo ich nicht in effigie hängen, wie viel weniger in Person leben möchte! [Disquisition on the resemblance between machines and English-

A. *Steinmann's Version.* 1830?

dich nicht und schreibe mir offen deine Ansicht; ich bleibe wenigstens noch vier Wochen unter dem Schutz und Schirm des komfortablen brittischen Gouverneurs des einsamen Eilandsfelsens.

B. *Heine's Version.* 1840?

men. Governor of Heligoland cited as an instance.]...Dass die Insel Helgoland unter brittischer Herrschaft steht, ist mir schon hinlänglich fatal. Ich bilde mir manchmal ein, ich röche jene Langeweile, welche Albion's Söhne überall ausdünsten. In der That, aus jedem Engländer entwickelt sich ein gewisses Gas, die tödliche Stickluft der Langeweile, [the English abroad; do they travel to escape from their boredom, or because of the French cooking?]...Aber wie vortrefflich auch die französische Küche, in Frankreich selbst soll es jetzt schlecht aussehen, und die grosse Retirade hat noch kein Ende. [The Jesuit reaction.]...

...Oder soll ich nach Amerika, nach diesem ungeheuren Freiheitsgefängnis, wo die unsichtbaren Ketten mich noch schmerzlicher drücken würden, als zu Hause die sichtbaren, und wo der widerwärtigste aller Tyrannen, der Pöbel, seine rohe Herrschaft ausübt! [The bad treatment of the niggers; the greed for gold.]...

C. *Jetzt Wohin?* 1836?

Jetzt wohin? Der dumme Fuss
Will mich gern nach Deutschland tragen;
Doch es schüttelt klug das Haupt
Mein Verstand und scheint zu sagen:

'Zwar beendigt ist der Krieg,
Doch die Kriegsgerichte blieben,
Und es heisst, du habest einst
Viel Erschiessliches geschrieben.'

Das ist wahr, unangenehm
Wär' mir das Erschossenwerden;
Bin kein Held, es fehlen mir
Die pathetischen Gebärden.

Gern würd' ich nach England gehn,
Wären dort nicht Kohlendämpfe
Und Engländer—schon ihr Duft
Giebt Erbrechen mir und Krämpfe.

Manchmal kommt mir in den Sinn,
Nach Amerika zu segeln,
Nach dem grossen Freiheitsstall,
Der bewohnt von Gleichheits-Flegeln—

Doch es ängstet mich ein Land,
Wo die Menschen Taback käuen,
Wo sie ohne König kegeln,
Wo sie ohne Spucknapf speien.

Russland, dieses schöne Reich,
Würde mir vielleicht behagen,
Doch im Winter könnte ich
Dort die Knute nicht ertragen.

Traurig schau' ich in die Höh'
Wo viel' tausend Sterne nicken—
Aber meinen eignen Stern
Kann ich nirgends dort erblicken.

Hat im güldnen Labyrinth
Sich vielleicht verirrt am Himmel,
Wie ich selber mich verirrt
In dem irdischen Getümmel.

A comparison of the three texts has led me to certain conclusions, which I offer here for criticism, but which, whether right or wrong, do not affect the theory that the first letter from Heligoland was largely re-written in 1840, for that theory rests on other evidence, as I hope I have succeeded in showing.

The conclusions are: that the Steinmann letter is genuine[1], that this new factor does not affect the date of the poem, and that the first letter from Heligoland, re-written in 1840, is based on the Steinmann text and on *Jetzt Wohin?*

To begin with the Steinmann letter. As it was first published in 1857, the assumption that it is not genuine must lead to the theory that it is a garbled version of the first letter from Heligoland—published in 1840. The obvious parallelism between them allows of no other explanation. Now, if the opening passages of the two letters are compared, the differences between them tell strongly in Steinmann's favour. His version is less carefully written and less elaborate; the *Elementargeister* of doubtful date are absent, the *Reisebilder* on the other hand are hallmarked 1830. Then the absence of the dramatic irony of Heine's version is significant, while the change from the 'Weltschmerz' to the 'Katzenjammer' motif in the body of the letter is altogether characteristic of Heine's technique. There is also a curious resemblance, which seems to me more than a coincidence, between the phrase 'des einsamen Eilandsfelsens' and a very similar expression in a letter to Varnhagen dated from Wandsbeck on June 16, 1830: 'Wenn Ihr Brief...mich nicht mehr hier träfe, so würde er mir auf dem noch isolirteren Meerfelsen Helgoland nicht minder willkommen seyn[2].' It would argue an uncanny degree of luck, indeed, if Steinmann chanced on this phrase by pure accident.

We now come to the date of the poem. It will have been noticed that the question: 'Gib mir Rath, wohin ich gehen soll?' and the careless sentence: 'Ich habe die Wahl zwischen...England...und Nordamerika' form the *leitmotif* of the poem. Heine probably had this letter in his mind when he wrote *Jetzt Wohin?*[3], but it cannot be said to have inspired the poem, which at most reflects a similar state of indecision. The mood is a completely different one. It is the mournful mood of the exile, whereas the Steinmann letter expresses a firm determination to flee from Germany at all costs. The textual resemblance is slight. France, Italy and Turkey are omitted in the poem, Germany and Russia are added. Moreover the 'Kriegsgerichte' remain an unanswerable argument. The

[1] That is to say, it was addressed to Steinmann in 1830, and reproduced by him with approximate faithfulness. I cannot vouch for the absence of slight textual alterations. Steinmann was not an ideal editor. I think, however, that it deserves a place among Heine's letters equally with the three letters which he published in *Mefistofeles* in 1842; dated Oct. 29, 1820, Feb. 4, 1821 and April 10, 1823, and which have been included in the standard collections, although the MSS. have not been accessible; cp. here Hirth, i, p. 15.

[2] Hirth, i, p. 614. This letter was first published in 1865 in *Briefe von Stägemann, Heine und Bettina von Arnim, nebst Briefen, Anmerkungen und Notizen von Varnhagen von Ense.*

[3] It is entitled *Fragment eines Briefes* in the MS. See Elster, i, p. 556.

Steinmann letter, therefore, if genuine, does not shake my opinion that the poem was written between 1835 and 1842.

Heine's version of the letter combines two themes: the pre-revolution mood of weariness and disgust expressed in his longing for peace, and his determination to escape from Germany, with the despairing feeling that freedom is nowhere to be found, reflected in his cynical review of other lands. With one notable exception, all this is to be found in embryo in the Steinmann letter. The first theme needed only slight alterations for style and intensification of mood. It is clear why the 'revolutionäre Wünsche' were added, and why the irony of the poetic dreamer forced into politics was emphasised. Carried away by the congenial mood of self-pity, Heine let slip the *Elementargeister* unnoticed.

The treatment of the second theme in Steinmann's version did not suit his purpose. It was altogether too flippant in tone, and did not reflect the poetic truth of his mood on the island, which he was particularly anxious to recapture. The passionate seeker after freedom must not be found wandering in harems. The poem was then drawn into service, and the attitude towards England and America elaborated on the lines of *Jetzt Wohin?* The half-contemptuous irony towards Russia in the poem was retained, although somewhat differently treated[1]. England was enriched with memories of the *Reisebilder* days[2]; Italy, much in his thoughts in 1830, must play her part as an example of the oppression then rampant in the world, and, most important of all, a retrospective account of France before the July Revolution must be added. The letter was then as faithful a reproduction of mood as he could make it. The tempting sentence 'O Freiheit, du bist ein böser Traum!' probably first suggested to him the idea of a preface that might lull suspicion to sleep.

IV.

We have wandered far indeed from the Saint-Simonian synthesis, as Heine himself had wandered away from it before 1840. But the ad-

[1] The attitude towards America and Russia points to a date after 1830. In the *Reise von München nach Genua*, published in December, 1829, he gives both countries generous praise: 'Würde auch ganz Europa ein einziger Kerker, so gäbe es jetzt noch immer ein anderes Loch zum Entschlüpfen, das ist Amerika, und gottlob! das Loch ist noch grösser als den Kerker selbst' (iii, p. 279); '"Ja, ich bin gut russisch." Und in der That...hat es sich jetzt so gefügt, dass der glühendste Freund der Revolution nur im Siege Russlands das Heil der Welt sieht und den Kaiser Nikolas als den Gonfaloniere der Freiheit betrachten muss' (iii, pp. 277-278).

[2] In Sept. 1839 Heine was occupied with a fourth edition of the *Reisebilder* (cp. Hirth, ii, pp. 297, 301). There is a certain parallelism between passages in the *Englische Fragmente* and the criticism of England in his letter. Cp. iii, p. 438, where he speaks of the 'maschinenhafte Bewegung' of the English; and p. 443, where he mocks at their barbarous cookery.

ditional evidence which has been considered serves to strengthen the conviction that we cannot accept the passages which proclaim it, under the date 1830. Otherwise, with the exception of moments when the writer's hand has slipped or when the artist's temperament has betrayed him, the compliment must be paid to this arch-mystifier that it is impossible to separate the new from the old definitely in these pages[1]. The tribute to Christ beginning: 'Welche süsse Gestalt dieser Gottmensch![2]' is quite in the style of the *Reisebilder*, and extremely reminiscent of Christ walking on the sea in the *Nordsee*[3]. The topic of the banishment of the gods is an old friend with a slightly new face[4], and the inception of his religious interest in dæmonology[5] may claim in 1830 an authentic date; we have no right to question it. The pre-occupation with religion had reached an acute stage during Heine's journey to Italy, and we expect to find it occupying a large place in his diaries at this time. It is surprising to find him preaching harmony between flesh and spirit in 1830, and Laube's *Nekrolog* leads us to look at the 'mountain' with a certain scepticism. The carelessness into which Heine's mocking dislike of the 'Schwäbische Dichterschule' unconsciously led him, confirms this sceptical attitude, and the term 'Jude' applied to Shakespeare tends to justify it. Coming to examine the letters more closely we find that Heine seems to have modified them rather extensively to enhance their artistic value. As a side-issue the date of a poem has been called into question, and a dog with a very bad name may escape the gallows.

The real importance of these facts in throwing a new light on the influence of Saint-Simonism on Heine's mind, lies beyond the scope of this paper. I have been unable to do more than adumbrate it. So much, however, seems certain. The passages which would seem to foretell the Saint-Simonian religious synthesis are under the deepest suspicion; it would be extremely unsafe to affirm with Montégut and Schmidt that Heine had attained to this conception before he became acquainted with their doctrine.

E. M. Butler.

Cambridge.

[1] It seems more and more unlikely that any new part of that mysterious book, Heine's *Memoirs*, will ever come to light. He himself probably burnt the greater part of the original in the 'forties and 'fifties. But even his revised version would be of the utmost interest here.

[2] vii, p. 51.

[3] i, pp. 177–178.

[4] vii, pp. 51–52, 59.

[5] vii, pp. 54–55.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The Word 'Abloy' in 'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight,' l. 1174.

Þe lorde for blys abloy
Ful oft con launce & lyȝt.

In the Glossary to the E.E.T.S. edition of the poem, the word *abloy* is explained thus: 'an exclamation used in hunting; equivalent to On! on! O.Fr. *ablo*.' It is the only quotation for the word in the New English Dictionary, and the derivation given there is the same, except that it is prefixed by the qualification 'perhaps.' Regarded then as a hunting cry, *ablo* must be, grammatically, the object of the verb *launce*, used transitively in the sense of 'throw out, utter.' Cp. 'Þe lady lanced þo bourdeȝ,' l. 1212, 'þay lanced wordes gode,' l. 1766.

The difficulty now lies in the words *and lyȝt*, where *lyȝt* would normally seem to belong to *launce*, as a second infinitive dependent on the auxiliary verb *con*. But there is no evidence, as far as I know, for a transitive use of *lyȝt* 'to alight,' to warrant us in taking it here to mean 'cause to alight, let fall.' Professor Napier took *lyȝt* to be an adverb, and translated it: 'in a light-hearted manner,' and Professor Emerson arrived independently at the same conclusion.

This explanation has always struck me as making the best of a bad business, and I have often felt that the real difficulty is a phonological one, viz. how could an O.Fr. word *ablo* give the form M.E. *abloy*? That the author wrote *abloy* is evidenced by his rhyme with *joy*, l. 1176.

Now, the Glossary suggests, though with a query, that *launce* in l. 1175 means 'ride forth,' as in l. 1561, 'Þe lorde ouer Þe londeȝ launced ful ofte.' Translated thus, *lyȝt* would then be the infinitive of the common verb 'to alight, dismount,' cp. 254, 526, etc., naturally coupled with the preceding *launce*. But with these verbs in their intransitive meanings, we should expect to find in *abloy* an adjective, and not a noun in the objective case, and it is here that I wish to make a tentative suggestion. In the *Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langage François*, par La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, I find the verb: '*Esbloyr, v.* Eblouir. Etonner, troubler, etc..... *Esbloy*, part. Aveuglé.'

The O.Fr. prefix *es-* does occur as *a-* in our author's writings, e.g. *achaped* Clean. l. 970, from O.Fr. *eschaper*; *achaufed* Gaw. l. 883, Clean.

l. 1143, from O.Fr. *eschaufer*. Our author uses a number of words not found elsewhere in M.E. literature, and he has, besides, a perfect genius for transferred meanings, hence it is not an impossible assumption to suppose that he knew the O.Fr. word *esbloy*, and that, starting out from the literal sense 'aveuglé,' he arrived at the figurative sense of 'dazed transported, reckless':

> The lord, reckless out of pure bliss,
> Full oft did ride forth, and alight.

One of the characteristics of the 'lord' is his faculty for wild, exuberant joy, v. ll. 1955–6, 1086–7, and 981–2. We can well imagine him dashing with gay irresponsibility from one 'trystor' to another, and indeed the first line of the next stanza, immediately following the passage in question, would bear out the same idea:

> Þus laykeȝ þis lorde by lynde wodeȝ eueȝ,

where *laykeȝ* has a general rather than a definite technical sense.

ELIZABETH M. WRIGHT.

OXFORD.

THE YEAR OF FRAY LUIS DE LEON'S BIRTH.

By simple subtraction the date of Fray Luis de Leon's birth was long accepted as 1527, since according to his epitaph 'obiit an. MDXCI XXIII Augusti aet. LXIV.' So Nicolas Cruesen, *Monasticon Augustinianum* cap. XL. (repr. in *Revista Agustiniana*, vol. ii, p. 216): 'obiit emeritus Anno MDXCI die 23 August. aetat. suae 64.' The publication of the account of Luis de Leon's trial before the Inquisition came to sift this as other accepted facts about his life. We know now from Luis de Leon's own words that on April 15, 1572 he was 'forty-four, more or less' (*Documentos inéditos*, vol. x, p. 180), that after attaining his fourteenth year at Valladolid his father sent him to study law at Salamanca and four or five months later he became a novice in the Augustinian convent at Salamanca (*ibid.* p. 182); and we know that he professed on January 29, 1544. On the basis of these facts Fray Luis Alonso Getino (*Vida y procesos*, 1907, pp. 5–7) fixed his birth in 1528 or 1529, and it is now generally given as 1528? Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly in his *Fray Luis de Leon* (1921), p. 7, gives 1527 or 1528. There is little reason to doubt that Luis de Leon was 44 on April 15, 1572. His mind was accurate and his memory keen, and his 'more or less' may be taken to mean merely that he was not born exactly 44 years ago, on April 15, 1528. His assertion is not irreconcilable with the

date of the epitaph, but it enables us to fix the date of his birth more narrowly: between April 15 and August 23, 1527. Perhaps we may without rashness fix it still more accurately, in the third week of August: in that case his father sent him to Salamanca in the middle of August 1542, when he was still fourteen; four or five months afterwards, in the beginning of January 1543, he entered the Augustinian Order and after a year's novitiate professed on January 29, 1544, in his seventeenth year.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

'ÛFRÎDEN' IN 'MEIER HELMBRECHT,' l. 428.

sît dich mîn zuht sol mîden
an dem ûfrîden.

Haupt in 1844 (*Z.f.d.A.*, iv, p. 336: 'ich weiss diese zeile nicht mit sicherheit zu deuten') probably knew of, but did not accept the interpretation already given by Schmeller (*Bayer. Wb.*, 1827–37, ii, p. 58) as 'das Haar kräuseln'; but Beneke in 1863 (*Mhd. Wb.*, 2*a*, p. 697*a*), Lexer in 1876 (*Mhd. Handwb.* ii, p. 1715) and Lambel in 1883 (in his second edition of *Helmbrecht*) follow Schmeller's lead. To this interpretation two objections may be raised. That the *meier*, learning of his son's intention to lead a life of crime, refers to a matter of greater importance than hair-curling after the cessation of his fatherly *zuht*. Also that Wernher and his audience would have accepted *ûfrîden* in one of the more usual meanings of the common verb *rîden*, and probably without reference to the adjective *reide* (ll. 11, 273, 1898). For 'curling' the factitive verb *reiden* (= *crispare*, cf. Schmeller, *Bayer. Wb.* ii, p. 53; Lexer, *Mhd. Wb.* ii, p. 386) might have been expected.

Ûfrîden, a verbal noun, written in one word, as it is in the more reliable MS. A (*aufreiden*), is a compound of *rîden* ('writhe'), which could be used either transitively or intransitively. Another compound of *rîden* is employed in *Helmbr.* 1808 in an intransitive and figurative sense. *ez mac sich verrîden* means 'things may take a different turn' (cf. Schmeller, *Bayer. Wb.* ii, p. 58; Beneke, *Mhd. Wb.* 2*a*, p. 697*b*; Lexer, *Mhd. Handwb.* iii, p. 202). If *rîden* used intransitively denotes a serpentine movement, *ûfrîden* might denote a wriggling or writhing upwards, worming one's way into good society, 'Strebertum' or 'Aufwärtsschleichen.'

Young Helmbrecht (cf. ll. 226, 262 f., 362 f.), like Nîthart's *Hildemâr* (Bartsch, *L.D.* xxv, 728–735), his prototype, 'wil ebenhiuzen sich ze

werdem ingesinde | daz bî hoveliuten ist gewahsen und gezogen.' Since persuasion fails, the *meier* tries what scorn can do. His warning to his son almost amounts to a paraphrase of the last stanza of Nîthart's poem. Lines 427–430 may be translated: 'Since I must avoid (exercising) my fatherly guidance in your wriggling upwards, just take care of your cap yourself,' etc.

CHARLES E. GOUGH.

LEEDS.

KOSEGARTEN'S 'LEGENDEN' AND SEBASTIAN BRANT.

In his *Die Quellen zu Kellers Sieben Legenden* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1919), Leitzmann does not claim to give a final account of the sources of Kosegarten's *Legenden*, the precursor of Keller's work. The following notes, based on a study of Sebastian Brant's *Passional* (Strassburg, 1502), mentioned by Kosegarten in his 'Vorrede,' correct and supplement some of Leitzmann's suggestions.

(1) The legend of the Virgin as Knight (p. 19). Leitzmann prints a passage from Caesarius of Heisterbach as a close parallel, having been unable to determine the exact source. Kosegarten's story is a literal transcription of Brant, II, f. lviii^{b}.

(2) The two legends on which Keller's *Tanzlegendchen* is based (pp. 29–31). Regarding the first of these, Leitzmann says: 'Eine Quelle für diese Legende habe ich nirgends auffinden können: selbst Mussafia's reiche Listen mittelalterlicher Marienlegenden enthalten keine auch annähernd parallele Erzählung.' Here again Kosegarten has merely modernised the version in Brant, I, f. cxxiii^{a}. A Latin version of the late thirteenth century is to be found in MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 18,929 (Ward's Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 656).

For the second story, the legend of Musa, Leitzmann prints the original version from the Dialogue of Gregory the Great as direct source, but a careful comparison shows that Kosegarten did not use a Latin original, but copied the story almost word for word from Brant, II, f. lxxxix^{b}.

(3) The legend of Beatrix, the nun who loved the world (p. 20). Leitzmann prints a passage from Caesarius as direct source in opposition to Watenphul (*Die Geschichte der Marienlegende von Beatrix*, Neuwied, 1904, p. 68), who rightly refused to hold Kosegarten responsible for certain variations. One of these motives, the nun's penitence, credited by Leitzmann to Kosegarten's invention, is present in the story told by Brant, I, f. cxlix^{a}, and if the character of her seducer is not entirely omitted, as in Kosegarten, he is dismissed with scantiest mention, and

is far from having the importance of the 'clericus' of Caesarius. The third change, the substitution of a woman as porter, may occur in a less faulty edition of the *Passional* than that at my disposal. It is a 'portnerin,' who plays the part in the contemporary version of Cgm. 626, f. 233^{b}–234^{b} (written in 1493), and we may take it that here, too, the change is none of Kosegarten's making. His was not an inventive mind. He may, on occasion, shorten a story, but he rarely takes any liberties with the actual material.

MARGARET D. HOWIE.

MUNICH.

REVIEWS.

Language. Its Nature, Development and Origin. By Otto Jespersen, London: Allen and Unwin. 1922. 8vo. 448 pp. 18*s*.

In these days of practical linguistic experiments such as the official use of Irish, the propagation of colloquial Hebrew among the Zionists and the inclusion of Esperanto in the agenda of the League of Nations, a reliable and judicious introduction to the science of language should be welcome to the layman. This latest book of Jespersen's will be read with no less interest by the philologist, who will find in it not merely a clear and comprehensive survey of the chief problems of general linguistics, but also a detailed discussion of many specific questions still *sub judice*. Some of the ideas go back to the author's *Progress in Language* (1894), but the present is much more than a new and revised edition of that work with the English chapters omitted. It is hardly too much to say that it is the best and most stimulating philological treatise of a general appeal in the English language.

Following a sound procedure Jespersen begins with a history of linguistic science, which clearly traces the progress from chaos to cosmos in the formulation and precise circumscription of each new problem. This well organized introduction, compressed into about 100 pages, stimulates the reader to analyze and synthetize by easy stages as he passes in review the early efforts of Indians and Greeks—chiefly practical in their aims—and the preoccupation of man with linguistic problems down to the present day. Two interesting pioneers are rescued from undeserved oblivion, Jespersen's compatriot Bredsdorff, whose ideas came 50 years too early, and the German pastor Jenisch, whose study of the energetics of language published in 1796 has not even yet secured him a place in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. As to Rask his great work appears in full relief. At the risk of captiousness it might be suggested that some English readers would have welcomed a reference to the Basque problem, to the early Celtists like Lhuyd, to the part played by philology in the reform of Latin pronunciation, to Sievers' studies of speech-melody and to linguistic palæontologists like Pictet, Hirt, and Schrader. In § 2 —in view of the paucity of names—allusion might have been made to Filippo Sassetti's early comparisons between Sanskrit and Latin (cf. L. Wagner, *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, vol. viii, p. 45) and to Comenius' realization of the kinship of Finnish and Hungarian.

In Book ii (The Child) the author has utilized much of the material of his *Nutidsprog hos Börn og Voxne*, supplementing his illustrations by contributions from English friends. The remarks on the various stages of child-speech and the progressive organization of sounds, words and sentence-equivalents display acute observation and telling judgment.

The reviewer can parallel many phenomena from his son's speech-history. Thus at 2.1 numbers above two were designated as *more* (cf. p. 119), request for repetition of sentence was made by *m* with rising tone (p. 134), at 2.3 *no* was used, but not *yes* or other affirmative (p. 136). The use of *three* in Schuchardt's example (p. 122) perhaps indicates 'much,' just as a German boy used *hundert Honig*. The following extra illustrations may interest the author:—William de Morgan's title *Alice-for-short* in word-division (p. 132), popular use of *mother* for 'wife' by the husband (p. 118), children's gibberish when pretending to read—noted by Stern also—(p. 148), pleasant taste indicated by popular English *yumyum* (p. 158), similarity of expressions for *peep-bo* in various countries (§ 8). In theory Jespersen concurs with Stern against Meumann in opposing the exclusive rôle assigned to volition in the child's first utterances and combats the modern scepticism as to the child's power to invent words. Both Meringer's and Herzog's views touching the influence of the child and the adult respectively upon sound change receive some well-aimed criticisms, the author holding that 'gradual' shiftings proceed independently of transmission to the next generation, but that 'leaps' like *kʷ* > *p* and abbreviations due to 'echoisms' are probably the work of children. Book II well exemplifies Jespersen's command of both induction and deduction.

Chapter XI (The Foreigner) sharply attacks the overstraining of the racial substratum theory by recent philologists with special reference to the fronting of Latin *ū* in the Romance and Celtic languages and to Feist's and Wessely's explanations of the Germanic shifts. Jespersen attaches little importance to 'sound substitution' (as the result of ethnic mixture) in the development of language. He quotes with approval Hempl's useful differentiations of types of intermixture and supports Windisch's general theory of loan-words. It is possible to agree with much of the criticism levelled against Ascoli's theory of Gallic influence in Latin [*ū*] > [*ȳ*]—one is tempted to add the argument that the N. Welsh *u* as a high flat *unrounded* vowel could only be adduced to show an advancement of the tongue position—but it is legitimate to ask what Jespersen makes of the apparent consensus of other convergent changes as between French and Brythonic[1] (*not* Goidelic), e.g. substitution of *gʷ* for *ɣ*, prothesis of vowel before s + cons. (Fr. *escole*, Welsh *ysgol*; but also Span. *escuela*), diphthongization of ē (Fr. *peis*, *poids*, Welsh *pwys*), treatment of -act, etc. (Fr. *lait*, Welsh *llaeth*). The next victim, Feist, has already received a hammering from Boer and Frantzen in *Neophilologus* and from Behaghel in the *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 4th ed., p. 265. Wessely's arguments are reduced by Jespersen to their proper proportions and to my mind the general agreements between Germanic and Finnish boil down to a tendency in each towards initial or root stress and to the limitation of synthetic temporal forms to two—present and past. As to Translation-loans, p. 215, reference may now be made to Seiler, *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, vol. 31, pp. 241–246.

[1] For the treatment of Latin loan-words in Welsh cf. S. J. Evans, *The Latin Element in Welsh*, Newport, 1908.

The chapter on 'Pidgin and Congeners' collects fascinating material from Beach la Mar, Chinook and other jargons, which, in Jespersen's view, are not so much mixed languages as debased forms of civilized languages owing their inception to the European's disdain for the native intelligence, and must not be adduced to illustrate the evolution of the Romance languages (p. 236). Woman as a factor in linguistic development is next considered—rather unconvincingly. The historical sections are good, but in the others many statements challenge opposition. In contemporary English, *common* and *kind* (p. 245), emphatic interrogative *whoever* and *whatever*, mild expletives like *good gracious*, and intensives like *awfully, quite, to a degree* are no more specially characterisic of women than are several of those adduced by Wyld in *The Growth of English*, p. 68. Daniel Jones' assertion (p. 245) that *soft* is pronounced differently by men and women is preposterous, as are also the alleged women's pronunciations of *children, girl* and *waistcoat*. The fact is that the spelling pronunciation is encroaching on the older one quite irrespective of sex. Apart from the frequency in women's speech of the intensives *so* and *sweet*, the more exact knowledge of fabrics, costumes and colours (*eau de nil, nigger-brown*, etc.), the chief differentia between the sexes in language to-day is the—somewhat relaxed—inhibition which keeps women from using certain swear-words and vulgarisms and the intrusion of child-like diminutives, pet forms and adjectives suffixed with -y into the language of those who have much to do with children. Jespersen's material is rather old-fashioned and his résumé of women's characteristics thin.

Under 'Causes of Change' the author clears out of his way theories built upon considerations of analogy, geography, national psychology and speed, but neglects to treat the factor of occupation, discussed by Wyld in *Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, p. 88. He himself supports, with qualifications, the ease-theory. Such questions as extreme weakenings, the connexion between phonetic latitude and semantics, the implications of convergent and divergent sound change, are clearly posed. For 'sound law' the term 'phonetic formula' or 'rule' is suggested, and an instructive comparison made with Darwinian laws.

Next the etymologists receive some invigorating douches. Jespersen shows the importance of the ascertainment of all the historical data (as Skeat did) in proposing a new etymology of *hope*[1]. Miss Pound's investigations on 'blends' have been followed by an article by W. Horn, *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, vol. IX, p. 342 (especially syntactical blends, cf. Jespersen, p. 282). A reference to Meringer's work in *Wörter und Sachen* would have been welcome.

In chapters XVIII and XIX Progress in language still means to Jespersen the increasing use of analysis according to the principle of sufficiency ('a maximum of efficiency with a minimum of effort'). Jespersen is right in thinking that the native is sometimes conscious of

[1] Cf. Holthausen's comments on the etymology (as given in the *Nord. tidskr. f. fil.*, 4. række, VIII, 151 f.) in *Beitr. zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, XLVI, p. 143.

effort—I could add a Chinaman's view to back Gabelentz's opinion (p. 325). It is noteworthy that he considers the fixation of word-order not the result but a *cause* of the 'phonetic decay' of the old case, personal and gender affixes. This question naturally leads to the discussion of a supposititious root-stage in language. Kuhn's investigations into word-order in isolating languages and Karlgren's discovery of case-distinctions in ancient Chinese help Jespersen to doubt the primitiveness of monosyllabism and confirm his view as to the priority of inflexion or rather 'entanglement.' But it might be well to suspend judgment till Jespersen has extended his field of induction to include other isolating languages with significant tones like Ewé in W. Africa. Agglutination ('coalescence' p. 376) is not permitted to account for all the facts of derivation and inflexion, but though an imposing mass of authorities rejects the pronominal original of *-mi*, etc. in the Indo-european verb, one cannot but recall the occurrence of a number of coalesced pronouns in various languages, viz. Ger. -t < du, Welsh 2nd pl. in -ch, or the alternative conjugation in the Nama of S. Africa with its root + pronoun (cf. Seidel, *Die Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrikas*, p. 11). 'Secretion' (*his'n*, *-en* and *-er* as plural suffixes), suffix extension and contamination are well analyzed. To the modern theories of gender Jespersen contributes the suggestion that fem. -i may be a diminutive suffix.

§ 2 of the next chapter (Sound Symbolism) prompts me to hint that expressive symbolism may have encouraged the foreigner to popularize in his own speech such English words as *bluff*, *spleen*, *box*, *rowdy*, *stop*, borrowed originally owing to their characteristically British significance. Originator nicknames (§ 4) were common in all armies during the war; Bergmann in *Wie der Feldgrave spricht* quotes *Parlewuh*, *Herr Servus* (Austrian), *Herr Morgen* (German). The Englishman will probably demur to Jespersen's valuation of the diphthong in *light*, will associate the word with *bright*, *shine*, *fire* and feel into it greater luminosity than into the short vowel of *glimmer*. Reinforcement by doubling of consonant is well treated by R. Loewe in the 3rd edition of *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. I, p. 77. Like Paul, Jespersen is struck by the modernity of many echo-words (p. 410). He thinks onomatopœia has become more prevalent, as the time of psychological reaction has become shorter, but brings no evidence in support of the latter thesis nor does he show how reaction-time affects onomatopœia. Against this view I would point to the prevalence of sound painting in the native Australian languages (cf. A. F. Chamberlain, *The Child*, p. 116) and the extensive use of sound symbolism in the Middle High German poem *Das Schrätel und der Wasserbär* included in Bernt's edition of *Heinrich von Freiberg* (Halle, 1906).

The culminating chapter—The Origin of Language—has been little modified since 1894. The threefold approach through the language of children (at the 'lalling' stage), savage languages and the known history of language still leads the author back to primitive speech-complexes, entangled jungle growths, rich in difficult articulations and wide ranged intonations, utterances from which subsequently various elements have

been gradually separated out to act as words and affixes. Two types of primitive complex are postulated—one roughly equivalent to a proper noun (potentially the progenitor of many concrete and abstract designations) possibly evolved from an attempt to imitate the 'leitmotiv' of a particular lover singing to his lass (p. 438), the other—more in the character of a sentence word—being perhaps derived from the exultant shouts evoked by some exciting situation such as the slaying of an enemy, and repeated by the group in similar contingencies. Both theories courageously tackle the fundamental problem, the union of sound and sense. To Professor Williams of Belfast I am indebted for the suggestion that communicative speech might have arisen among a party of hunters, when, as they sat feasting upon their spoils, some member might have stirred his companions' memory of events still fresh, evoking the latter by imitative and 'symbolic' cries eked out by appropriate gestures and possibly getting the others to join in. This latter theory emphasizes more considerably the part played by onomatopœia (a process, in addition, very popular with children) and memory in speech-formation. A curious, though perhaps not helpful, parallel to Jespersen's assumed dissection of original entangled complexes is afforded by the evolution of a secret language in adolescence described by Chamberlain, *op. cit.* p. 140. But it is especially the threefold approach which seems to invite attack at several points: (1) in taking the first year of child-speech Jespersen is selecting rather a pre-linguistic or preparatory stage, one marked by expressiveness rather than communicativeness: the babbling monologues can hardly be taken as evidence of complexity in communicative speech, which in the child—admittedly dependent upon the mother tongue—tends to rather overshort utterance; (2) in savage languages he seems to over-emphasize the importance of the American Indian type; (3) if it is assumed that analysis proceeds *pari passu* with culture, it is hard to see why relatively uncultured speakers like the Ewé, Otomi and Khassi should have advanced further on the road to isolation than most European languages; (4) in his chief approach—'to find a system of lines which can be lengthened backwards beyond the reach of history' (p. 418)—he seems to narrow the reference to Indo-european and possibly Semitic, but surely it would be necessary to see whether any analogous tendencies can be traced in Ancient Egyptian and Sumerian; (5) the period of language development known to history is probably, even on a conservative estimate, a small fraction of the time which has elapsed since man first acquired speech; (6) investigations into the communicative powers of the higher apes, especially their danger and hunger cries, might throw further light on the pre-linguistic stage. Though Jespersen's explanation does not seem to be complete, the enterprise was worth the effort, for we can no longer rest content with the dry bones of philology.

Hearty congratulations are due to the author on his smooth and idiomatic English. His is no mummified language, but alive and personal. Some readers will perhaps frown at *Gothonic* and *apophony*—I wonder how his Danish readers took *tyd*!—but we can all be grateful for 'stump-

words,' 'pull-up' sentences and many other neat applications. No one can doubt that this is the work of a man who combines great scholarship with a remarkable artistry of expression.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

Beowulf. An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn. By R. W. CHAMBERS. Cambridge: University Press. 1921. xii + 417 pp. 30*s.*

This volume has been long and impatiently expected. With memories of his edition of the text of *Beowulf* and the commentary on *Widsith* fresh in one's mind, one had high hopes of what Professor Chambers would do for the great *Beowulf*-problem in all its varied aspects and they have not been disappointed. The Introduction finally and definitely places its author in the front rank of the great English scholars who have handled the problems of Anglo-Saxon literature and at the same time removes the last vestige of reproach that might be brought against English scholars of letting themselves be outrivalled by scholars of German and Scandinavian nationality in the interpretation of the longest and in many ways the finest of Anglo-Saxon poems.

It is no easy task to write an Introduction of this kind. The literature of the *Beowulf*-question is a vast one, as is excellently shown in the very full and useful bibliography given at the end of the book. The evidence upon which most of the theories and interpretations of the poem have been built up is, as a rule, of a most fragmentary and often of a most difficult type, and what was chiefly needed was a scholar with a keen critical gift for weighing evidence and balancing interpretations, for there was little hope that any new or decisive evidence upon doubtful points could be discovered at this late date. This gift Professor Chambers has in rich measure, but he has others even greater and far more rare. He has a keen sense of humour, an innate feeling for the true atmosphere of ancient poem and saga and a sure instinct for the modern parallel which makes the whole business live before one's eyes.

In his judgments upon the various problems of interpretation, as in his textual criticism, he inclines to the right; but he is never unduly dogmatic. He clearly has much sympathy with Uncle Remus' point of view with regard to the deluge, aptly quoted on the title page, 'Dey mout er bin two deloojes: en den agin dey moutent.' He seldom leaves us in any doubt as to his own views upon the matter, but no one could be more scrupulously fair in dealing with an opposing theory.

The first chapter deals with the historical elements in the poem and here perhaps the most important part is the final vindication of the identity of the Geatas and Götar and the very full treatment of the Offa story, an old love of Dr Chambers. In Chapter ii on the Non-Historical Elements the most important sections are those on Böthvar Bjarki and on Scef and Scyld. On the former question, after pointing

out the parallel lines and incidents of the English and Scandinavian stories, the author passes a characteristic comment when he says:

> It is *conceivable* for a situation to have been reconstructed in this way by a mere accident, just as it is conceivable that one player may have the eight or nine best trumps dealt him. But it does not seem advisable to base one's calculations upon such an accident happening.

Of Scyld and Scef Dr Chambers believes that each originally stood at the head of a famous dynasty, Scyld at the head of the Danish, and Sceaf or Sceafa at the head of the Longobardic, and that the two stories have mutually contaminated one another. One point may be noted here. Dr Chambers, though he does not believe that *Scyld Scefing*, meaning originally 'Scyld with the sheaf,' has been misinterpreted as 'Scyld, son of Scef,' does not deny the possibility of the 'Scyld with the sheaf' interpretation. In this he of course agrees with many other scholars, but is there any justification for it? The suffix *-ing* is undoubtedly of wide use and interpretation in Anglo-Saxon but is there any parallel for a second personal name formed by adding *-ing* to some common object generally associated with the man who bears it?

On the folk-tale element we have some keenly critical remarks. Dr Chambers believes in its existence and importance but rightly protests against the somewhat uncritical fashion in which parallels drawn the world over, from China to Peru, have been compounded together into an entirely artificial story which is adduced as a close parallel to the *Beowulf*-story.

Chapter iii deals with the origin, date and structure of the poem. Most scholars will now agree with the author's rejection of any idea of a Scandinavian original for the poem, most will also agree with his warning against a too implicit and uncritical acceptance of the Lichtenfeld and Morsbach tests as a means of dating it. More controversial are the sections on the structure of the poem and on the relation of the heathen and Christian elements in it. As to the former the author is all against Schücking's views of an independent poem dealing with *Beowulf's Return* and gives good reasons for his own. He is equally emphatic in his rejection of Chadwick's views upon the latter. He shows that there is not that close familiarity with ancient funeral rites which has been claimed as reason for assigning a heathen origin to the poem and he makes an effective counter-stroke against the arguments based on the vagueness of the Christian references when he points out that they might equally well be used to prove the very early date of the *Battle of Maldon*.

Part II is a valuable collection of the various Latin and Scandinavian documents which furnish parallels for the various episodes in the poem, and here a word of tribute must be given to the excellence of the English renderings of the passages from *Hrólfs Saga Kráka*, *Grettis Saga* and other Scandinavian sagas.

Part III is an exhaustive discussion of the Fight at Finnsburg and of the relation of the Finn-episode in *Beowulf* to the *Finnsburg* fragment. There are no better pages in the book and, even if the chapter

does not convey conviction to every one upon the most difficult problem in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature, no one can read it without understanding in fuller measure than he has ever before done the whole spirit and power of Teutonic Heroic poetry.

An appendix deals more fully with some of the earlier problems and takes up fresh ones. The most welcome is perhaps the excursus on *Beowulf* and the archæologists. Hitherto we have been almost entirely dependent on the very valuable but somewhat uncritical work of Knut Stjerna. Dr Chambers enables us to see his work in the right light, and, still better, shows us the extent to which we may be helped by a study of the archæology of our own island.

With a theme of this kind there was a serious danger that we might have had to be content with a learned but intolerably Dryasdust and inhuman book. Fortunately for us and for the repute of English scholarship the task fell into the hands of a scholar who is as witty and humane as he is learned, and the result is a book in which, where the author himself is speaking, there is not a dull page.

ALLEN MAWER.

LIVERPOOL.

The Laws of the Earliest English Kings. Edited and translated by F. L. ATTENBOROUGH. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 8vo. xii + 256 pp. 15*s.*

Mr Attenborough begins by disclaiming the attempt to compete with Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*; but a new edition of the laws of the earliest English kings cannot avoid the comparison. Liebermann was extraordinarily equipped for the task by his marvellous patience and accuracy, by his lifelong study of early English documents, and of general and legal history; and when his third volume appeared in 1916, one had the comfortable feeling that here at last was a work that would not soon find a rival. Following so close upon it, an English edition of the earlier laws must stand a critical scrutiny. The editor meets the point fairly in his preface, where he explains that many who are interested in the Old English laws are not proficient in German, and that others are likely to be bewildered by the bulk of Liebermann's apparatus and by the conciseness of his treatment of details. This book, then, must be judged as an attempt to bring within the reach of the ordinary student some of the material which Liebermann has edited for experts.

The laws selected are the earliest—from Æthelbert (d. 616–7) to Athelstan (d. 940); but the preface announces the preparation of another volume by Miss A. J. Robertson, which will cover the period from Edmund to Canute. For the double page of Liebermann's text-volume, presenting in several parallel columns the chief Old English MSS., the early Latin versions and a German translation, Mr Attenborough gives one Old English text with a modern rendering on the opposite page. There are brief Introductions to each group of Laws; Notes which con-

tain far too many references to Liebermann if the book is designed for readers who find him difficult or inaccessible; and a useful Index: in all, a compact volume, in which the matter of the laws is given a fitting prominence.

For the Old English texts the editor has collated the more important manuscripts, though he admits that his gleanings were scanty: indeed, the footnotes do not disclose any corrections of Liebermann's MS. readings, and where the text shows slight variations, it is often hard to tell whether they are the result of accident or design. Misprints are rather frequent, e.g. *ðyrnum* for *dyrnum* p. 52 § 52; *ðeora* for *ðreora* p. 150 § 6, 2; *gefersápes* for *geferscipes* p. 160 § 3; and no purpose is served by printing 7 *slea mon þa hond óf, þe he hit mid* [*stæl*] *gedyde* at p. 68 top, where *stæl* (3 sg. pa. t.) is interlined in a MS. which is not the basis of the text, as a mere variant for (*ge*)*dyde*. In general, where there is a difference, Liebermann's text has the advantage in accuracy and critical quality.

The translation, which is far ahead of the previous English version by Thorpe, is the most valuable part of the book. The language of the laws is often crabbed or vague, and the difficulty of turning it into lucid and readable English is much greater than might appear from the result. Some of Mr Attenborough's renderings point to interpretations which, if not always decisive, are still well deserving of attention; and although details are open to criticism (e.g. the rendering of *tu ealdhriðeru oððe .x. weðeras* by '2 full-grown *cows* or 10 wethers' at p. 59), it is greatly to his credit that he makes criticism possible by expressing his meaning clearly and precisely.

With this foundation, a very attractive book might have been produced had the editor seen his way to fill a gap, which Liebermann has as yet left unfilled, by exhibiting in a general essay the development of the Old English laws, the social conditions they reflect, their relation to the Continental systems, their place in the history of later English law, and their practical and literary quality of which the 43rd law of Ine is a classic example: 'If a tree in a wood is destroyed by fire, and there is proof against him who did it, he shall pay a full fine: he shall pay 60 shillings, *because fire is a thief*. If a man cut down many trees in a wood, and it becomes known, he shall pay 30 shillings for each of three trees: he need not pay any more, however many they be, *because the axe is an informer, not a thief*.' The absence of such an essay from a book designed to be an introduction to the Old English laws is the more disappointing because not much is done to cover the ground in the brief Introductions or the Notes.

In another respect there is room for improvement. Where the solution of a difficulty requires commonsense, the editor is usually successful—and this is one of the most constant and valuable qualities of English editing. But where a technical point is involved, he is often silent, or falters, or misses the mark. For instance: at p. 10 § 56 MS. *lærestan* (= *lǣsestan, lǣstan* 'least') is retained without explanation, and of course good authorities have defended it as an isolated archaism,

comparable with Frisian *lērest*; but it was worth noting that the form occurs only in this passage, that the MS. is the Textus Roffensis of the twelfth century and that ꝑ and ꝛ in late OE. MSS. are often almost indistinguishable; so that the defence of *lærestan* as an archaism may be too recondite. At p. 20 § 9 *seo sacy* occurs in the same MS., and the editor remarks: '*sacy*, presumably for *sacu*'; but as *sio sace* appears in the next paragraph, and forms like *folcy* = *folce* are familiar enough in this and other late MSS., the presumption is that *-y* represents unaccented *-e*. The 19th law of Wihtred reads: *Cliroc feowra sum hine clænsie his heafodgemacene* 7 *ane his hand on wiofode; oþre ætstanden, aþ abycgan*; and the comment is '*abycgan*, perhaps 3rd pl. conjunct. Schmid suggested the insertion of *and* before *aþ*.' 'Perhaps' raises doubt unnecessarily; and as *oþre ætstanden, aþ abycgan* is an alliterative line, the omission of *and* is regular and essential to the rhythm. In the discussion of the words *his agne forfongen* at p. 194 of the Notes, the question is put: 'Is it possible that in the archetype MS. the reading was *his agenne forfong*, and that owing to an error of omission and a subsequent marginal correction, the *en* of *ag*[*en*]*ne* has been transposed to the end of the sentence?' The answer is that in Old English MSS. the omission of two or three letters is repaired by interlining, and not by inserting them in the margin, as a modern corrector of proofs would do. In themselves these are trifles, and it would be cavilling to notice them were they not symptoms of a method of editing in which the patient study of technical details is undervalued. Yet without it not much steady progress can be made on well-worked ground. Mr Attenborough in fact passes by without curiosity problems that were almost forced upon his attention—such as the textual history of *I Athelstan* (pp. 122 ff.) and Athelstan's *Ordinance on Charities* (pp. 126 f.), which is not adequately covered by the customary reference to Liebermann.

For the Old English text of the *Ordinance*, Lambard's *Archaionomia* of 1568 is the sole authority. For *I Athelstan* Lambard has an Old English text which is entirely independent of that of the known MSS. It is assumed here, as elsewhere, that he had MS. sources which are now lost. Of course some manuscript material has disappeared in modern times. The present reviewer has a script facsimile made by Richard Taylor in 1811 from a late twelfth-century binding leaf which was then in the possession of 'Mr Stevenson, printer, of Norwich': it contained the Old English text of *II Edgar*, and *III Edgar* as far as the word *he* in § 6, without the interpolations of the Harleian and Corpus MSS.; and apparently no editor has come upon it. But the disappearance of a MS. from one of the collections accessible to antiquaries in Lambard's time is uncommon enough to be matter for inquiry.

To begin with, the double text of *I Athelstan* is puzzling. It is not unusual to find more than one recension of a single Old English text, but nowhere else does a series of laws appear in two quite independent Old English drafts; and it is not easy to see how two such drafts came to be produced and promulgated. Liebermann does not consider the problem from this side, and his analysis of the relations of the versions

(I xxxiii, III 96–8) is not altogether clear: but his conclusion seems to be that Lambard's Old English texts of *I Athelstan* and the *Ordinance* derive directly from a lost MS. of the early twelfth century, that this MS. was once part of CCCC. MS. 383, and that the Latin text of the *Quadripartitus* was translated from its archetype.

That Lambard's texts of *I Athelstan* and *Ordinance* have a single source appears to be certain, for they are distinguished from the other texts of the *Archaionomia* by an extraordinary neglect of the rules of Old English accidence and syntax, and by a diffused caninity of expression. But it is hard to believe that this source was a part of CCCC. MS. 383: the positive evidence adduced for the identification is valueless; and as Lambard prints other parts of the MS. with tolerable accuracy, it is not obvious why he or his printer should have produced from it the remarkable jargon of *I Athelstan* and the *Ordinance*.

It must be granted that Lambard was habitually careless about accidence. Throughout his book final *-e* is added or omitted almost at random, and there is a fair sprinkling of bad forms and misprints. But it would be hard to find anywhere else in the *Archaionomia* such a riot of inflexions in so short a space, e.g.: *ðurh ealle mine rice*; *mines agenes æhtes* gen. sg. (the only example of *æht* masc. cited in Bosworth-Toller Suppl.); *to ðam tide*; *ðæs beheafdunges* gen. sg. (where editors retain the misprint *ðær* for *ðæs*); *án earm Engliscmon* (acc.) *gif ge him habbaþ*, etc. These are not the forms or spellings of a twelfth-century MS., and if Lambard used such a MS., his text could only be explained as the result of exceptional, deliberate, and unintelligent archaism. Even then it is not easy to see why he should change a presumable twelfth-century **to ðere tide* into *to ðam tide*.

The syntax is stranger still. The distinction of strong and weak adjectives, and of the indicative and subjunctive moods in the present tense, long survived the twelfth century; but here they have no place; e.g.: *ge ðæs libbendes yrfes ge ðæs gearlices westmes*; *ða heofonlica ðinga...7 ða ecelic* (acc.): *ic bebeode...þæt hi...gesyllaþ...*; *ic nylle þæt ge me hwæt mid woh begytaþ*; *ic wille þæt ge fedaþ*, etc. In *warniaþ eow...ðæs Drihtenes eorres*, the verb *warnian* is used with the genitive, which is the Old English construction of *wyrnan*; and *gebyrian* is twice construed with the simple infinitive: *...eallum ðe hio gehyrsumian gebyraþ* and *nu ge gehyraþ...hwæt us fulfremian gebyraþ*. It cannot be supposed that a printer changed his copy in this manner, and Lambard was not in the habit of perverting his MSS. so thoroughly.

Then there are disconcerting oddities of expression: *on þæs Drihtænes nama* 'in the name of *the* Lord'; *to ðam Drihten* 'to *the* Lord'; *ðæs Drihtenes eorres* 'the wrath of *the* Lord.' The article is commonly used in Old English with *Hælend* but not with *Drihten*. Longer specimens are: *Ic wille þæt ge fedaþ ealle wæga án earm Engliscmon, gif ge him habbaþ, oþþe operne gefindaþ* = 'volo ut pascatis omni via pauperem unum Anglicum indigentem, si sit [t]ibi, vel alium inveniatis' (*Quadripartitus*); *under þæs bisceopes gewitnesse, on ðæs rice it sie* = 'sub testimonio episcopi in cuius episcopatu sit' (*Quadripartitus*); and, finally,

án sconc spices oþþe án rám weorþe .iiii. peningas, 7 scrud for twelf monþa ælc gear, 'a *leg of bacon*, or a *ram worth 4 pence*, and clothing *for* twelve months' = 'una perna, vel unus aries qui valeat quattuor denarios,...ad vestimentum duodecim mensium unoquoque anno.'

This is too great a strain on our faith. Lambard's ancient MS. is a ghost, despite the pedigree Liebermann has prepared for it: and Lambard's texts of *I Athelstan* and the *Ordinance* are translations of the *Quadripartitus* into Elizabethan Anglo-Saxon. Hence the modernity of the constructions, and the sudden freedom from the grammatical restraints imposed by an old manuscript; hence too, some half-Elizabethan spellings, like *gereafa* for *gerēfa* (4 times out of 5) which does not appear elsewhere in *Archaionomia*.

Let us now examine some difficulties in the text from this standpoint. In *I Athelstan* § 5 the use of the word *geornian* is so unnatural that Liebermann (III, 98) thinks it was suggested by *geunnan* of the other version; but it is the natural translation of *cupire* in *Quadripartitus*. In *Ordinance* § 2 occurs the *ἅπαξ oferhealdan* 'to neglect,' which is recorded in Bosworth-Toller and in NED. sv. *Overhold*: it is a mechanical rendering of *supertenere* in the *Quadripartitus*, and *supertenere* elsewhere renders OE. *forhealdan*, which probably stood in the lost Old English text of the *Ordinance*. *Án sconc spices* stands alone among Bosworth-Toller's examples of *sconc* and *spīc*, and in NED. sv. *Shank* the passage requires a special paragraph for the meaning, as well as an etymological note on the form. This is not surprising; for *perna* of *Quadripartitus* is the regular equivalent of OE. *flicce* 'flitch,' and there can be no doubt that *flicce* stood in the lost OE. *Ordinance*. But the Elizabethan translator did not know this. He understood by *perna* what we now call a 'ham,' and yet 'ham' in the modern sense of 'a cured leg of pork' was neither Old English nor Elizabethan, and 'gammon' was plainly not a native word. So he decided to give a paraphrase, and having come across *sconca* 'leg,' produced the monstrosity *án sconc spices*! It does not seem to have occurred to him or to his editors that the choice between 'a leg of bacon' and 'a ram' was a strange one: the *án earm Engliscmon* required food and not breeding-stock; and since *aries* in the *Quadripartitus* elsewhere renders *weðer*, we may be confident that the lost OE. *Ordinance* specified *.i. weðer*, not *án rám*. The spuriousness of Lambard's text is thus confirmed: and even the plausible *siblac* = *hostias pacificas* (*I Ath.* § 2) must be expunged from the dictionaries.

The barbarous 'Old English' helps to identify the Latin MS. of the *Quadripartitus* that the translator used. It was certainly one of the 'London' group, with near affinities to Liebermann's *K* (Cott. MS. Claudius D. II) and *Or.* (Oriel College MS. 46), both of the early fourteenth century. Note for instance, in *I Ath.* § 5: *Quadripartitus* 'quid Deo precupiam et quid complere debeatis': but *K*, *Or.* 'precipiam... debeamus,' which is closer to Lambard's *hwæt Drihtene us* bebeod 7 *hwæt* us *fulfremian gebyraþ*; or again, in *Ord.* (Prologue): *Quadripartitus* 'si sit ibi'; but *K*, *Or.* 'si sit tibi' = Lambard *gif ge him habbaþ*. In one

place *K* alone gives a corresponding text, and it is certainly corrupt: *I Ath.* § 3: *Quadripartitus* 'Recolendum quoque nobis est, quam terribiliter in libris positum est'; *K*...'*quod* terribiliter in *hiis* [so others of the London group] libris...': Lambard *We moton eac ðæs ðencan, ðe egeslic on ðissum bocum is gewriten.* Use of *K* would also explain the failure to translate *I Ath.* § 4, which is made unintelligible by *K*'s reading *chericete* for *cyricsceatta.* But account must be taken of *Ord.* § 1 where *K* has *witadeþeop*: Lambard (correctly) *witeðeowne*; and of *Ord.* (Prologue) where *K* has 'omni villa': rest 'omni via': Lambard *ealle wæga.* It must be assumed either that the translator used a Latin MS. now lost which was very close to *K*, or—what is more likely—that he followed a transcript of *K* which had been collated with another MS. for at least two awkward readings.

If Lambard was the translator, he must have had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote in the Preface: *Jam vero ne quis domi nostræ has natas esse leges arbitretur, plane suscipio atque profiteor, magna fide et religione ex vetustissimis...exemplaribus fuisse desumpta.* But there is evidence of his good faith. In 1567, the year before the Preface was written, Lawrence Nowell gave him an Anglo-Saxon dictionary in manuscript, which is now Bodleian MS. Selden supra 63. It is significant that none of the rarities of the spurious laws are in Nowell's word-list; but among the later additions—made apparently by Lambard's hand—appear the following: (under *Sibbe*) '*Siblac.* hostia pacifica'; (after '*Sceanca*, the legges, see Scanca') '7 *Sconc.* idem, opinor. *Sconc spices.* a gamon of Bacon. *perna* Lat.' This is not the language of a forger contemplating his own handiwork. It rather suggests that Lambard received the texts from some friend and printed them without a doubt of their authenticity. Now in his Preface he writes: *Obtulit mihi superiori anno* [i.e. 1567] *Laurentius Noelus,...qui me* (*quicunque in hoc genere sim*) *efficit, priscas Anglorum leges, antiquissima Saxonum lingua, et literis conscriptas, atque a me* (*quoniam ei tum erat trans mare eundum*) *ut Latinas facerem, ac pervulgarem vehementer flagitavit.* These words might refer to the loan of an old MS.; but it is more likely that Nowell sent a transcript of the Laws in the imitative Anglo-Saxon script that scholars of the time used in making copies, whether for private use or for the printer. The spurious passages might easily creep into such a transcript: for if Nowell copied from a MS. like CCCC. 383, or Cotton Otho B XI, which begin Athelstan's Laws with *II Athelstan*, reference to a MS. of the *Quadripartitus* would at once disclose the gap; and what more natural to an Elizabethan antiquary than to fill it as best he could, not with intent to deceive, but simply to complete his collection of Old English texts? Once embedded in the transcript, the fictitious laws might be forgotten by their author; there would be nothing in the script to reveal them to Lambard; and even when the true text of *I Athelstan* came to his notice in the course of collation, he would hardly recognise its superior claims.

A thorough study of the whole body of Lambard's texts would probably throw more light on their origin. His section headings particularly,

unless they have MS. support, should be regarded as adventitious until they are proved genuine.

K. Sisam.

Oxford.

The Gild of St Mary, Lichfield, being Ordinances of the Gild of St Mary and other Documents. (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, No. cxiv.) London: Kegan Paul; H. Milford. 1920. 82 pp. 15*s.*

This slender collection of documents, the earliest of which were copied by Dr Furnivall from the Gild register at Lichfield as long ago as 1889, is of more value to the social historian than to the student of English prose. The English version, made in 1538, of the ordinances which were issued at the foundation of the gild of St Mary in 1387, is an interesting addition to the series of ordinances printed, more than fifty years ago, in Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*. At its outset, this gild was simply a religious organisation, founded mainly for the purpose of maintaining an unspecified number of chantry-priests in the chapel of St Mary. Its founders were evidently well-to-do citizens, and, within a hundred years of its foundation, it had become the governing body in municipal affairs. The second set of ordinances, made in 1486–7, is almost entirely devoted to this side of its activity, and indicates that, from a gild of unlimited though carefully chosen membership, it had developed into a close corporation of a master and forty-eight brethren. The city of Lichfield received its first charter from Edward VI, after the second Chantry act had put an end to religious gilds: its later government, by two bailiffs and twenty-one brethren, is a sign that here, as at Newark-on-Trent and other places, the new corporation was a revised edition of the old gild, with its chantry endowments confiscated or diverted to other uses.

It is to be regretted that no historical introduction has been added to Dr Furnivall's transcripts. The research involved would have cleared up some points which the documents leave to inference, e.g. the relation of the gild in its municipal capacity to the Bishop as lord of Lichfield, which would have thrown further light upon its survival in the Edwardian corporation. The Latin certificate of the gild, returned in pursuance of the act of September 1388, might also have been given in an appendix: it is of value not only as showing that only one chantry-priest had been appointed up to that time, but as supplying the secondary dedication to St John Baptist, not mentioned in the ordinances. The English text of the 1387 document has been collated with the Latin original, and the English oath prescribed to members in 1387 is printed parallel with the form given in 1538. The translator did his work freely and roughly, and was no skilled Latinist. One of his mistakes is corrected in a note on p. 7; but the same page contains another, which shows how lightly he leaped over phrases which he did not understand. The order for the expulsion of ill-livers from the gild is followed by directions for the treatment of minor offences. To translate *aliquo errore uel uicio non*

notorio irretiti by 'in ony errour, or ony other detestable crime,' implies a very casual treatment of the text, and probable ignorance of the legal meaning of *notorius*. When, on p. 8, we find *capitali domino seruicia debita et consueta* rendered as 'cheef honour to godd,' our suspicion of his capacity deepens: the true significance of the phrase is suggested with too much caution in a note, and it was quite needless to add that Canon Curteis, who collated the two texts, thought that the translator was justified by the passage of Scripture which follows. It doubtless misled him, but there were clerks in Lichfield who could have set him right. There are several misprints in the Latin notes: *uixta* for *iuxta* (p. 7), *intromitant* (possibly in the original) for *intromittant*, and *infortunum* for *infortunium* (p. 8), *innitacionem* for *inuitacionem* (p. 9) and *libracionem* for *liberacionem* (p. 10).

The most interesting documents in the book after the two ordinances are those relating to our Lady's alms-chest or 'Herwood's coffre,' a *mont-de-piété* established in St Mary's in 1457 by two canons of the cathedral church, and placed under the administration of the gild-master, the cathedral sacrist, the chapel-warden and one of the chantry-priests. In 1486 their negligence had brought the capital fund down from £40 to £13, and Dean Heywood, in his visitation as ordinary of the city of Lichfield, recovered certain bad debts and made the rest good from his own pocket, leaving strict injunctions for its careful maintenance. The ordinances (1576 and 1697) of the company of Tailors, and (1601 and 1630) of that of Smiths, two out of the seven crafts of Lichfield, call for little comment. The craft of Smiths, including several associated trades, was of much earlier origin than 1601; and it is probable that the Tailors in 1576 had been long established. In both cases, however, their ordinances were thoroughly revised for confirmation by the judges of assize, and, at the later dates, by the two bailiffs and twenty-one brethren, and contain nothing which enables us, as compilations of the same kind sometimes do, to distinguish between original clauses and subsequent additions or modifications. Short illustrative documents relating to the Tailors of Lynn and Southampton, and some other fugitive notes, taken from the reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, remind us how much remains to be done in publishing and collating the numerous ordinances and minute-books of crafts and mysteries which in many places are in private hands.

A. Hamilton Thompson.

Leeds.

The Donet by Reginald Pecock, D.D. Now first edited from MS. Bodl. 916 and collated with *The Poore Mennis Myrrour* (Brit. Mus. MS. Addl. 37788) by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock. London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1922. 35*s*.

Whoever may claim to be the 'father' of English prose, it was Reginald Pecock who first showed the fitness of our mother-tongue for

the expression of abstract thought and profound learning. And he showed it so well that fear led the official medicine-men of the fifteenth century to a most thorough-going pursuit and destruction of his works. The six books that escaped their panic hatred have survived each in a single copy.

Until lately our knowledge of Pecock's work has been derived mainly from *The Repressor* (ed. Babington, 1860). *The Book of Faith* was edited by J. L. Morison in 1909; and from James Gairdner's *Monograph* (1911) we have some idea of the contents of *The Reule of Cristen Religioun*, now in private hands. Pecock's other three extant books, after more than four-and-a-half centuries of oblivion, now see the light again through the painstaking and scholarly care of Miss Hitchcock.

The book before us, *The Donet*, is a guide to the 'Seven Matters' of the Christian Religion: 1. The Nature of God; 2. His benefits; 3. His punishments; 4. His Commandments; 5. Our natural wretchednesses; 6. Our natural wickednesses; 7. Remedies against 5 and 6. Of these the 'fourth matter' is accorded the fullest treatment. A critical examination is made of the Ten Commandments of Moses, and in place of these are put Four Tables, containing Thirty-one Moral Virtues 'commanded or counselled by reason or faith,' and thus embracing 'all God's commandments and counsels.'

Students of history or of theology will find that their path through the intricacies of this book is made easy by Miss Hitchcock's full marginal notes, excellent Summary of Contents, and exhaustive General Index. Students of language and literature owe still more to her. *The Donet* is the first work of Pecock's to be printed strictly in accordance with the manuscript. The trustworthy and scholarly editing leaves nothing to be desired; there are notes critical and explanatory, and a very full glossary.

The Poore Mennis Myrrour is a simplified version of part of the *Donet*, made for the less learned. Miss Hitchcock found it to agree so closely with the larger work that printing in full was unnecessary; she has given it in the more useful form of collations, supplemented by an appendix.

We understand that Miss Hitchcock's edition of *The Folower to the Donet* is ready for press, and will contain a discussion of the author's language and style. We trust that the editing of *The Reule of Cristen Religioun* may also fall to her lot.

J. H. G. Grattan.

London.

The Life and Works of John Heywood. By R. W. Bolwell. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1921. xiii + 188 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Dr Bolwell's Life of John Heywood is seriously inaccurate and often ill-informed. One regrets that he has overlooked the studies published in *The Library* in 1917–18 and republished by Alexander Moring, Ltd.,

under the title of *John Heywood and his Friends* and *The Canon of John Heywood's Plays*. The errors of Wallace and others corrected in these papers reappear with additions in Dr Bolwell's work and he has omitted much that is new and significant. Thus there is no reference to the Heywood family and its association with the village of Harvard Stock in Essex, a connexion which has not died out, and which is of peculiar interest. It explains, amongst other things, the baffling line in Heywood's *Play of Wether*:

Ynge Gyngiang Jayberd the paryshe of Butsbery,

which is one of the various forms of the manorial name found on all the manor rolls of Stock where Heywood's brother William was a comfortable copyholder. Another brother, Richard Heywood, Armiger, was a wealthy and eminent legal officer of Lincoln's Inn, colleague and close friend of William Roper as Prothonotary of the King's Bench. A third brother, Thomas, a monk of St Osyth's in Essex, was executed in Elizabeth's reign for saying Mass. The family wills show how closely the brothers held together and how intimate their legal associations were. Many points in Heywood's writings are lost on those who do not know the Heywood circle. Working apparently away from original sources of information, depending on the brief summaries in the Calendars of State Papers and relying a little unwisely on Dr C. W. Wallace's Heywood gleanings, hurriedly gathered in the course of wider searches, Dr Bolwell has kept a beaten track and, like Wallace, has over-emphasised Heywood's association with the Court. He nowhere alludes to Heywood's intimate and official connexion with the City, just as he fails to notice his family associations with legal circles.

His reconstruction of Heywood's early days turns on an error which has had too long a life. Heywood was not in Court service at the age of 17. It was not the dramatist but an elderly yeoman-usher of the same name who was paid the wage of 8*d*. a day in 1514. He says that no list of Royal choristers occurs during Heywood's boyhood; the Lord Chamberlain's accounts contain one for 1509 when he was 12, and Heywood was not a Royal chorister. Heywood went to Court at the age of 22 in 1519 in the same year as More, and from 1519 to 1528 he enjoyed his first period of Court favour, his wages rising from £20 to £26. 13*s*. 4*d*. Then in 1528 he was 'discharged' to use a technical term on an annuity or pension of £10 for life and from this point to the close of Henry's reign his Court activities were unimportant. At this point (1528) Dr Wallace creates a fictitious office for Heywood, *dapifer camerœ* or sewer of the chamber. Dr Bolwell improves on this by providing a salary for the 'dapifer,' a second £10. Heywood did become a 'sewer of the chamber,' but it was twenty-five years later. It is one of the marks of a second period of royal favour which extended over the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. Heywood first appears in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts as 'sewer of the chamber' when he drew his livery of cloth for himself and two servants for the funeral of Edward VI. By making Heywood's career at Court continuously and increasingly prosperous

Dr Bolwell misrepresents the important years of his life between the ages of 30 and 50.

In dealing with the circumstances and causes of Heywood's exile in his old age, Dr Bolwell is handicapped by his neglect of the four documents at the Record Office recording the findings of the Inquisitions held on his property, rents and misdemeanours. This is an unfortunate biographical oversight. Dr Bolwell says that 'it is hazardous to suggest the date of his departure from England.' The Inquisitions give the date as 20 July 1564, a fact of importance for bibliographers. Heywood was not an exile when the 1562 edition of the *Epigrams* was published. The Inquisitions give clear and explicit information as to Heywood's property at and connexion with North Mimms, Hinxwell and Romney Marsh and lift us entirely out of the field of conjecture. We learn that his widowed daughter Mistress Marvin—his son-in-law, John Donne, was too cautious—collected the rents after Heywood and his old wife Joan had fled. Dr Bolwell misnames Heywood's wife Eliza throughout.

The accounts given of Heywood's royal grants of land are singularly unhappy. Dr Bolwell records a grant of an annuity of 10 marks charged on the cameral manor of Maxey and Torpul and proceeds to construe it as a grant of the manor itself. He prints in an appendix a record of a grant of the manor of Heydon, but fails to note that it occurs only in a legal commonplace book of precedents etc., and is not enrolled or otherwise confirmed. The grant was not made.

In 1545–6 two lawyers, a goldsmith and two others, acquired for a great sum of money through the Augmentation Office certain properties formerly monastic. The property is fully described and further identified as being 'in tenura x or y &c.' Among many other tenants are a John Heywood in the Midlands and another in Dorset. Neither is the dramatist, but Dr Bolwell identifies him with these tenants and then treats him as being thus the recipient of monastic lands from the king. He is again at fault in dealing with Heywood's manor of Broke Hall in Essex, which he leased for a term of years from Abbot Whederyk before the dissolution of St Osyth's. He retained his lease when the abbey lands fell into Cromwell's possession, but on Cromwell's attainder he only secured a renewal from the Crown at an increased rent. To claim this as a royal favour and grant of land is as strange as Dr Bolwell's reference to Heywood as 'holding monastic land to his own profit and at his Church's expense.' Heywood was made a landed gentleman by Henry VIII according to Dr Bolwell. Actually he received no royal grant of land or property until Mary's reign.

Heywood's connexion with the City is nowhere referred to by Dr Bolwell. In 1523 he was admitted to the freedom of the City by royal request and 'payment of the old hanse,' and to membership of the Stationers' Company—every freeman was a member of a Company—to which John Rastell, printer, doubtless introduced his son-in-law. This year was seemingly the year of his marriage to Joan or Johanna Rastell, for 19 years later his daughter Joan Stubbes was married and conveyancing property. Thus he became a London citizen and married householder.

If, as Dr Bolwell asserts, he was born in the City, his freedom would have been by 'patrimony,' not 'request.'

Shortly after his 'discharge' from Court in 1528 on an annuity of £10, he was appointed Common Measurer of Linen Cloths to the City and 'transmuted' from the Stationers' to the Mercers' Company.

Dr Bolwell writes inaccurately of Heywood's father-in-law, Rastell, that he was an Oxford and Lincoln's Inn man and had property at North Mimms. We do not know Rastell's university, he was of the Middle Temple and his property was at Monken Hadley, Finsbury, Paternoster Row and in Warwickshire. Much more is known of Rastell than Dr Bolwell's references suggest.

In dealing with Heywood's plays, Dr Bolwell does not face the problem of the remarkable dissimilarity of the *Four P.* trilogy and the trilogy of *débats*. He accepts the traditional canon but does not trace its history. His suggested dates for the *Four P.* group are surely too late. He writes well on the *débats*. There is remarkable evidence, which should have been considered, that *Gentleness and Nobility* is the work of John Rastell, and Dr Bolwell blunders in finding 'the most convincing evidence of Heywood's authorship' in a woodcut frontispiece of Heywood. This woodcut is pasted in—from *The Spider and the Flie* in the B.M. imperfect copy of *Gentleness and Nobility*. J. S. Farmer's facsimile reproduces this imperfect copy and he explains the woodcut in his handlist. It does not occur, of course, in the Bodleian and Pepysian sound copies. J. S. Farmer's attribution of *Calisto and Meleboea* to Heywood is not supported by recent research and *Thersites* has been withdrawn by Mr A. W. Pollard who once thought there was 'a fairly strong case' for ascribing it to him. The treatment of the *Proverbs and Epigrams*, in many ways Heywood's most intimate work and least 'courtly,' is inadequate. His private and family life finds some odd reflections in them. Dr Bolwell is certainly right in identifying Cranmer with the Spider in *The Spider and the Flie*, but a more intimate acquaintance with the last years of John Rastell, the litigious victim of Cranmer, would have enabled him to identify him with the Fly. Rastell died in prison contumaciously fighting Cranmer and the clerics on the question of tithes and offerings, and Heywood dropped his fable for twenty years. The suggestion that More was the Fly does violence to Heywood's relations with him. The legal knowledge displayed in this strange and interesting work has its explanation in Heywood's close associations with lawyers, just as much of the homely wit of the *Proverbs and Epigrams* was intended for familiar and citizen approval; but throughout his study Dr Bolwell has over-emphasised the Court service of Heywood and overlooked his family and city connexions.

Arthur W. Reed.

London.

Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy. By F. L. Lucas. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 136 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Mr Lucas' book reads so briskly and so gaily that a reviewer, having braced himself to solemn effort at the threat of the title-page, is soon prepared to forgive largely. He would indeed forgive entirely: but Mr Lucas will have none of it. Not content to have his volume recognized as a very presentable specimen of its kind, Mr Lucas insists on our putting it into another category and, unfortunately, into one to which for good and evil it has no claim to belong.

He tells us that its main purpose is to estimate Seneca's influence, and to trace the line of descent from him to the Elizabethans, adding that for the sake of completeness, a sketch of the rise and progress of Greek drama is also included. The expectations thus excited of a comprehensive and historical treatment of the theme are not even remotely satisfied. In fact, the author hardly gets to the subject at all. The best, and a very good, part of the book is the first 77 pages, which are solely concerned with Greek and Latin drama and dramatists. Of these, again, the best are the 27 pages on Seneca the man. The pity of it is that there remain but 55 pages for the main purpose of the book: and, of these, another dozen are immediately thrown away on pleasantly presented, but commonplace and not very relevant material concerning popular mediæval drama. With but 43 pages to go, the author can still waste a few more on customary generalities such as those on the spirit of the Renaissance at large. So when at last we get to the Elizabethans, there are no more than 23 pages for the lot of them: and yet one feels that Mr Lucas thinks they are getting more than their due, for he is positively profligate in his allowances of space for quotations which could be spared. Thus all that Shakespeare gets is four pages, and of these nearly the whole of one is used to reprint 28 lines from *Richard III*, merely to illustrate stichomythia. Even more palpably inappropriate in view of the title of the book, is Ben Jonson's share; one page, and 23 lines of it are extracts from the plays.

The case is clear. Mr Lucas knows his Latins. He likes the Elizabethans: but his book provides no evidence that he knows them any better than do most men of reading. He has nothing to say about them which has not been said frequently before; and he limits the little he has to say to half a dozen of them. But it is still more unfortunate that, having chosen this particular subject, the author has apparently little sympathy with research and with historical method in literary scholarship. A pleasant gird at scholars, *à propos* of Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, seems to suggest that the historical importance of any given material is to be determined mainly by its capacity to bore or not to bore the average man of to-day. Mr Lucas is clearly impatient with piddling Theobalds: he looks rather askance at Cunliffe, Fischer and others who, working on his subject, have nailed themselves down to minutiæ and have forgone the temptation, so alluring to Mr Lucas, to soar to dizzy heights and thence to give judgment on mankind and

all his doings through large stretches of time. *Sed nunc non erat his locus.* But of course, Mr Lucas' point of view is defensible: for one thing, it is likely to inspire a more entertaining book than that of the scholar and investigator in the stricter sense. Yet you cannot have your cake and eat it. Mr Lucas must wear his rightful laurels, without claiming to have earned those of the literary historian. For instance, after a ludicrously rapid glance at France and Italy, he writes 'we have traced the Senecan revival in Italy, France, etc.' He most certainly has not: he has a line or two of the commonplaces from the textbooks thereon: and they are commonplaces we believe to be wrong, though for particular reasons we say so with all humility.

In short, Mr Lucas' book has nothing for the professed scholar. But it should be an excellent book to put into the hands of the undergraduate who is setting out on the study of modern drama. It will appeal particularly to the clever young man. The more obvious of Seneca's own rhetorical tricks, particularly the purple patch: a Pacuvian smartness pleasant to the ear of the common room: the manner and the mannerisms of fashionable contemporary *littérateurs*—these give the volume a dash of modernity which is perhaps meant to compensate for the lack of up-to-dateness in the nominal content.

MANCHESTER. H. B. CHARLTON.

Lord Byron: Arnold and Swinburne. By H. J. C. GRIERSON. Warton Lecture on English Poetry, no. XI. (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. IX.) London: H. Milford. 1921. 31 pp. 2*s.*

Professor Grierson's vindication of Byron is fervid, and I believe it to be mainly just. It is well guarded with critical warnings and reserves. These are doubtless less needful to-day, when the problem is not to keep people from admiring the poet too much, but to get them to read him at all. The disputes and balancings of Matthew Arnold and Swinburne are also passing out of mind. It is a service on Mr Grierson's part to recall them so skilfully, and to trace the curve of Byron's fame with a keen historical sense. He describes the ups and downs of that fame; quotes critics from France and Italy to show how Byron is at last ignored even in those countries; and draws many acute distinctions to show what Byron is and is not; the upshot being, that whatever Byron may not be, he is at all events alive. So he is; but alive to whom? To Mr Grierson, undoubtedly; and, it may be added, to many other students here and there (including the present writer); and to many unstudious persons too, especially among the elder generation. To the living poets, elder or younger, Byron appears to be very much of a shadow, and nothing that professors say is likely to move them. None the less, Mr Grierson does well to recall us to Byron's good and great things, above all to his satire and wit, and to the verse *novelle* and to the unmatched love-passages in *Don Juan.* Of the Haidée episode he writes:

> Is there any love-poetry of the romantics which vibrates with so full a life of sense and soul as these verses? Compared with it, 'I arise from dreams of thee' or

'A slumber did my spirit seal' are the love-strains of a disembodied spirit or a rapt mystic. There is nothing like it in English poetry except some of the songs of Burns and the complex, vibrant passion, sensual and spiritual, of Donne's songs and elegies (p. 23).

It might be debated whether they are very '*like*' it; and it might be suggested that much of the imagery of Byron's sea-shore is actually Shelleyan; but the praise remains. Mr Grierson also speaks up well for the grander parts of *Childe Harold*. He brings out afresh what Keats and Wordsworth and other poets provide, while Byron cannot provide it. (Probably, on p. 28, he overstates the influence of Keats; but this would call for a long argument.) As a critic, he has plenty of courage, and has a welcome streak in him, if I mistake not, of sympathy with Byron the rebel. I wish he had named *The Dream*, *Darkness*, and *The Prophecy of Dante*, all flawed but magnificent poems. The obvious fact is that Byron, whoever may or may not read him, is always *there*. Like Dryden, with whom he has curious likenesses, he stands. His best oratory (which Mr Grierson justly distinguishes from his rhetoric) stands, in its own order; his satires and pictures of manners stand, even more firmly, in *their* order. His high and excellent poetry—what there is of it—abides no less. Byron's performance may recall those maps of mountain-ranges where a few undoubted peaks rise well above the 10,000-feet line. Below that, there are more numerous summits. The miles of shapeless moraine, which are also there, do not matter. Nor does it matter to the range how many persons, or how few, may ascend it, or may look at it.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Texts. By KENNETH MCKENZIE and WILLIAM A. OLDFATHER. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. v, No. 4.) Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois. 1919. 8vo. $1.50.

This is a handsomely printed volume of 286 pages, with reproductions, on a rather minute scale, of the mediæval illustrations to the fables as found in one MS. (P) and specimens of those in the others. It is the first complete edition of the Latin text of this compilation of the Romulus and Avianus fables, and also the first edition of the French text which claims to be 'critical.' We shall confine our attention to the French portion, the work of the first-named editor.

Three fourteenth-century MSS., B (Brussels), L (London) and P (Paris) contain both Latin and French versions; three others of the fifteenth century, *a*, *b* and *c*, all in Paris, contain the French version alone. These three MSS. also lack the long-winded and often pointless 'addiciones' which encumber both Latin and French in the first three and which, so say the editors, are the work of a woman.

Mr McKenzie's treatment of the question of the authorship of the compilation is not particularly happy, nor very complete. He is at pains to prove that two (possibly three) authors are responsible for the work

as it stands at present: firstly, the monkish compiler and translator of the original twin collection of fables, of which *a*, *b* and *c* represent the French version; then the composer of the later work, characterised by the adjunction and omission of several fables and by the above-named 'addiciones,' and lastly, perhaps, an interpolator of such fables as *Avionnet* XIX[1].

This is doubtless true, but scarcely brings us any further than a precise statement in the Epilogue to *Avionnet* itself, which the editor fails to utilise. In this passage (missing, of course, in *a*, *b*, *c*), the second author continues the original Epilogue of six lines, found in all MSS., with the following words:

> Aucune chose ai trespassé
> Et aucune autre ai amassé [*added*];
> Ajousté y ai aucun compte [*i.e.* conte].....
> De venter ne vuil faire feste
> Que j'aie fait tout de ma teste;
> Mes (en) ai trouvé plus grant partie
> De compilé, se Dieus m'aye,
> Et du français et du latin.

We should like to have been told why the editors think that the French translation of the 'addiciones' is necessarily by the same (female) hand as the Latin original. We should have liked to know further what linguistic differences distinguish the earlier portions of the French version from the later, the more so as it is possible to date this later portion with absolute certainty as having been rimed between 1339 and 1348. Not only might this have afforded an instructive comparison of two stages of the language, but we should perhaps have learnt as well something about the author of the original unexpanded translations.

The stylistic differences in the two strata are indeed most marked. The second author is a wearisome rimester, the first is no indifferent writer and had a clever knack of terse pictorial description, very refreshing beside the frigidity of the Latin; witness this sketch of a cock:

> Un coc en un fumier estoit,
> Du bec bechoit, des pies gratoit
> Comme pour sa viande querre[2].

An examination of the rimes betrays a divergence in speech almost as marked as that in literary skill. Whereas in the portions attributable to the second author there are scarcely any dialect peculiarities (I have noted two cases of the reduction of *-iée* to *-ie* and two of *-eine* > *oine*), the work of the second shows a considerable sprinkling of dialect rimes, sufficient to throw light on the author's origin. He was undoubtedly from the south-east, as the following rimes will show, and used a literary medium strongly tinged with non-standard forms which flourished, some in eastern Champagne, others in Lorraine and particularly Burgundy. The rimes *oreille* : *veroille*, p. 64; *corbiau* : *diau* (*duel*), p. 76; *vaut* : *quiaut* (colligit), p. 99; *Rooviaus* : *viaus* (voles), p. 159; *miaus* : *solaus*,

[1] By no means certainly, as this fable might very well be one of the additions of which the author of the Epilogue to *Avionnet* speaks.

[2] *Ysopet*, I. The Latin says: 'Dum rigido fodit ore fimum, dum queritat escam.'

p. 220; *haus* : *miaus*, p. 278; *chevox* (capillos) : *Pols* (Paulus), p. 225, are familiar enough to readers of Chrétien de Troyes. The following go further east and more especially south-east: *beste* : *heste* (*haiste* < *haste*), p. 116; *net* (nitidum) : *n'et* (*ait* < habet), p. 120; *endables* (*endebles*) : *pendables*, p. 123; *loiche* (*lèche*) : *aproiche*, p. 131; *ters* (tergis) : *sentiers*, p. 165. Moreover, the south-eastern present subjunctives *gardoit* and *s'acordoit*, pp. 190, 191, and the rimes *plaige* (*plege*) : *ostaige*, p. 175; *tes* (*tais*) : *tes* (*tas*), p. 181; *loie* (*loue*) : *joie*, p. 186; *vache* : *crache* (*crèche*), p. 194, all help to mark as authentic the fables *Ysopet* LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII, LXIV which *a*, *b*, *c* omit.

With regard to the second author, Mr McKenzie does not accept Robert's view that he was a Norman. This was based on the fact that in the Epilogue to *Avionnet*, *v.* 75, he (or she) says, by way of special mention, after invoking King Philip (1328—1350) and his line, 'I would not pass over my lord the Duke, the eldest son of the good king of France ... Lady Bonne (†1348) his consort ... and the fair succession of her children for whom we pray....' The Duke is John, Duke of Normandy, afterwards King Jean le Bon, 1350—1364. Mr McKenzie opposes Robert's supposition, not on linguistic grounds but because in the same Epilogue, speaking of Philip's wife, Jeanne of Burgundy, the author calls her 'fille du duc d'icelle terre.' This ought to mean, according to Mr McKenzie, 'that the author was in Burgundy when she wrote.' To my mind it ought to mean exactly the opposite; *icelle* is not *iceste*, and means 'that' and not 'this.' Robert's supposition is in no wise disproved by such a 'definite statement' as this, and receives some linguistic confirmation from the fact that, with the possible exception of the terminations *-ence*, *-ance*, the author, unlike his predecessor, does not rime *en* with *-an*.

In constructing his text, Mr McKenzie seems to waver at times between a 'critical' edition and a diplomatic reproduction of his main manuscript. He is not always consistent and is sometimes incorrect in his use of accents and the diaeresis, and often shows a lack of insight into his author's meaning. His text contains many obscure passages. Some of these are due to bad punctuation, others to a maiming of the text by a faulty division of letter groups, and are fairly easy to rectify. Many others, however, remain and should, we think, have been discussed, especially as the list of variant readings, on the editor's own showing, is incomplete. We regret, moreover, that Mr McKenzie did not follow the example of his co-editor and give us a glossary of rare words, a considerable number of which are not to be found in Godefroy.

Mr McKenzie has taken as the basis of his text the MS. B, the most reliable of those that contain both the Latin text and the 'addiciones.' He has given the variants of *a*, *b* and *c* 'only where it seems possible that they may preserve the original version, or where they are of particular interest.' In a complete critical edition of the French version alone, intrinsically well worth publishing, this group of MSS. would need to be much more completely utilised, representing as it does an earlier tradition than BLP.

The following is a list of observations and suggestions concerning Mr McKenzie's text. It leaves many difficulties unsolved.

Ys., Prologue, *vv.* 23—26, faulty punctuation; *v.* 23, read *qu'il* and put full stop after *essauciés*; del. comma of next line. *v.* 29, read *envoie* with P and del. semi-colon.

Ys. I, *v.* 11, read *a qui.* III, 36, del. semi-colon, *autre* is object of *ferir.* IV, 21, read *mains juge ment*, 'many a judge goes astray,' *mentir* as equivalent of *faillir.* VI, 4, full stop after *entremettre*; 6, del. semi-colon after *nice*; *entre* has here its common enumerative use. 33, 34, *amour* is subj., *heritage* is complement, *bien* goes with *convient.* VII, 4, 5, change punctuation as *ce dit* refers to preceding line. VIII, 4, del. full stop; *s'* of line 5 means 'and.' IX, 5, *delivre* (adj.) not *delivré*; 6, *livre* not *livré.* X, 2, *serpent* is here feminine, as in Marie de France (cf. *vv.* 8, 9 and XIX, 19); the correct reading is therefore *trouve une serpent*; *v.* 22, *charpe* with P. XII, 50, *a sëurer*; 58, for *en oblit* read *enublist*, 'clouds over, darkens'; 62, *A sëur et a pais de cuer*; 79, probably *Et estre* and *receus* (two syllables, like *eusse* lower down); 81, 82, *veau* and *preau* are dissyllabic, and probably *peur* also. XIII, 22, *soit li lai ou biaus* goes better with the following line; 29, 30, read *victorïens, lïens* (cf. XXIX, 33, 34, *ancïens* : *victorïens*). XV, 34, *siuelent* < solent, not *si vuelent.* XVII, 9, read *Qu'il*; 18, del. semi-colon; 45, *De livrison, i.e.* 'livraison,' a common expression, especially with *coups.* XVIII, 9, What is *espicé?* is it for *espinciée?*; *v.* 11, for *sa sovaige* read *s'asouaige*, 'is softened'; 18, for *sove* read *soue* 'his'; 23, L, *a, b, c* give the right reading; 29, *an*, i.e. *en*, not *au lieu*; 32, read *venëeur*; 39, *il* with LP. XIX, 38, meaning? XXII, 36, del. full stop, and read *tant v.* 38. XXIII, 22, *a gogue*, 'farce, joke'; 25, *s'est.* XXIV, 17, replace semi-colon by question mark after *que dut ce*, 'why was it.' XXVI, 34, 35, del. full stop, and put comma after *aler.* XXVII, 7, *Que il*; 13, *ce que doit?*; 30, *m'antention.* XXVIII, 2, *s'atapissoient.* XXIX, 6, del. comma. XXX, 36, del. full stop as 36 goes with 37. XXXI, 3, the correct reading is *de legat ou d'apostoille*; the author rimes *oi* and open *e* quite frequently (cf. p. 91, *loist* : *paist*; p. 103, *marchois* : *près*; p. 109, *doit* : *pait*). XXXVI, 1, 2, *ataïne, haïnne*; 20, *cuisenment*, 'sharply'; 86, *Haïneus* and full stop at end of line. XXXVII, 22, *enselé*, 'saddled.' XXXVII, 65, *escrache* seems to be for *escache* and is probably a quasi-synonym of *mortier*, for 'it has the smell of what it contains': *escrache* does not make sense; 70, read *envis* < invitus and *fuire* < fugere. XL, 63, *delivres.* XLI, 21, *redeçoit.* XLII, 56, del. full stop; 57, full stop after *pleist.* XLIII, 49, *seisoit*, probably *s'eisoit* from *eisier* (*aisier*). XLIV, 3, *s'em but.* XLVII, 32, *s'i.* XLVIII, 37, *entour prime*; 88, *delivres.* LI, 45, *vent*; 55, *d'*; 62, *Es*; 70, full stop after *asouppe*; 75, comma instead of full stop, as what follows is in apposition with *qui*, etc. LII, 3, *ataïne.* LIII, 8, does not make sense, read *qu'el pois a ennui*; 9, 10, *traïne, haïne.* LVI, 36, *c'on.* LVII, 18, *part, ?parc.* LIX, 38, del. stop as *le peuple* is obj. of *emprint.* LXI, 94, question mark. LXIII, 18—21, faulty punctuation.

Av. I, 15, *aproie.* X, 22, for *cil* read *s'il.* XIV, 26, *Courtois* is not a proper noun here, but an adjective. XV, 13, read *a monter*, as frequently elsewhere in the text. XVII, 12, del. stop, as this line goes with 14.

XVIII, 26, read *poujois*, 'piece of money'; 42, *donte*. XIX, 19, *m'a tourne*, probably *m'atourne*. Epilogue, 68, full stop after *garde*, as *le roy*, *v.* 69, is one of the subjects of *soient*, *v.* 74.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

Molière. By ARTHUR TILLEY. Cambridge: University Press. 1921. 8vo. vii + 363 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This valuable addition to English interpretation of Molière comes at a particularly opportune time, during the tercentenary celebrations. The result of life-long study, it contains not only appreciations of the work of the best French critics on the subject, but personal views and suggestions of great interest, both to the student and to the general reader, in connection with certain aspects of Molière's dramatic genius.

The author disclaims any freshness in the biographical treatment, but desires to lay special stress on certain features of the works. He gives a careful chronological study of the plays and groups of plays, and the development of powers which they indicate, devoting a chapter to each special phase. First the 'experiments' in simple farce, inherited from the Middle Ages or inspired by Italy, most of which Molière 'trouva à propos de supprimer, lorsqu'il se fut proposé pour but dans toutes ses pièces d'obliger les hommes à se corriger de leurs défauts.' Such is *La Jalousie du Barbouillé*, a series of short scenes, later utilised by Molière in *George Dandin*, but now revived in its original form (more or less) at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier. Passing to the social plays and then to the character studies, Mr Tilley traces the circumstances of composition of each group of plays; he examines the cast of the first production, and the principal actors in important subsequent performances, thus throwing light on the dramatist's conception of his characters. Molière is studied as manager, artist, moralist, but above all as comic genius, whose primary function was to amuse, to create laughter.

Here the author finds himself to some extent in conflict with such critics as Lanson, Faguet, and Brunetière, who hold that in certain of Molière's plays, notably *L'École des Femmes*, *Tartuffe*, *Don Juan*, *Le Misanthrope*, and *L'Avare*, the serious character of the problems presented for solution is so marked as to give more than a suggestion of tragedy underlying the visible and external comedy. In particular Alceste has seemed to many a wholly tragic figure, a man of virtue and intellect at war with an evil world, in whose case the elements of struggle and uncertainty provoke pity rather than the gaiety of true comedy. (Certainly as played at the present time at the Vieux Colombier, not only Alceste but Célimène in her confession of her failing may almost be called tragic.) But Mr Tilley emphasises the other point of view: it is, he says, the ridiculous, illogical automatism of Alceste, as of Arnolphe, Orgon, Harpagon, Argan, it is the 'pli professionnel' which is thrown into relief and creates the comic aspect. We laugh at Alceste even while we admire and sympathise with him: he has the exaggeration of youth

without its sense of humour. So with Arnolphe: as he groans 'Chose étrange d'aimer' we are moved with compassion, but who that has heard it at the Comédie Française can forget the final line of the tirade 'Et cependant on fait tout pour ces animaux-là!' or the burst of gaiety with which it is greeted by the audience? *Tartuffe* is terrible: Brunetière calls it a 'drame,' yet the contrast between the hypocrite's profession and his well-nourished appearance ('le pauvre homme') is of the essence of comedy. *Don Juan* is indeed more sinister; and as for *L'Avare*, Mr Tilley allows that it may be considered nearer the modern drama than classical comedy: the alternations are too violent for perfect art, and give the impression, especially when compared with the figures of Tartuffe and of Alceste, that the comic and tragic elements have not been completely fused, that Molière the moralist is not in complete harmony with Molière the dramatist. There are in each case undertones of deep thought, but not more than may legitimately belong to high comic art. It is a characteristic of works of genius that they have a wider application than their authors seem to have had actually present to consciousness. And Mr Tilley maintains that comedy, if it truly represents life, cannot fail to touch the deeper and more sinister sides of human nature, in which strands of good and evil are inextricably entwined. It may even be held that Molière, in these darker lines, foreshadows the mixed 'comédie bourgeoise' of later days, without ceasing for that to have as his chief end the 'étrange entreprise de faire rire les honnêtes gens.' We are reminded that, if we compare Molière with that other great master of the 'comédie humaine' (the word 'comédie' used here in a different sense) whose novels are tragedies, we see clearly that 'it is the ridiculous and not the tragic side of evil that quickens Molière's imagination. He is the lord of laughter, from the smile which shows itself only in the eyes to the convulsive merriment which shakes the sides.' 'S'il lui arrive d'être tragique, c'est comme malgré lui et par la force des choses.' After a serious scene we have an extra dose of mirth. 'All sense of the tragedy which underlies Argan's character is dissipated effectually by the final ballet.'

Thus Mr Tilley concludes that it is an over-sentimental age that reads tragedy into the highest comic art. The exaggeration and distortion that excite our merriment are accentuated in the theatre (where buskins, so to speak, must be worn) in order that the want of common sense (another point insisted upon) may be apparent. Comedy is 'the first-born of common-sense,' 'an interpretation of the general mind,' and thus it is that shrewd maid-servants rather than high-brows often appear in the comedies of Molière as normal and admirable human beings. This glorification of common sense seems to lie at the root of the charge of want of poetry frequently brought against Molière. Moderns are inclined to prefer Armande to Henriette, and English readers or spectators are apt to make unfavourable comparisons between Shakespeare's heroines and those of the great French dramatist. There is probably something national in this, but Mr Tilley makes an important point in insisting that the creative imagination which is of the essence of poetry is to be

found in high comic art, that there is 'the lyricism of laughter' or of irony and gaiety, as Sainte-Beuve says, where the grotesque meets the sublime.

But, apart from the lyricism inherent in the highest comedy, Mr Tilley reminds his readers that there are 'passages of really poetic sentiment and language' in the pastoral pieces. He quotes a charming little song, which apparently is not to be found in any anthology of French verse, and which is taken from the *Pastorale Comique*:

> Croyez-moi, hâtons-nous, ma Sylvie,
> Usons bien des moments précieux;
> Contentons ici notre envie,
> De nos ans le feu nous y convie....

The whole song seems an echo of 'Cueillons dès aujourd'hui les roses de la vie,' in sentiment, while it uses the nine-syllable line which 'is only found very rarely in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,' and which Verlaine uses in his *Art Poétique*: 'De la musique avant toute chose.' In connection with the technique of Molière's *vers libres*, there are illuminating observations on the artistic triumph of *Amphitryon*, which 'novel experiment in versification is a striking testimony at once to his metrical genius and to his high standard of artistic achievement.' Fénelon's famous criticism—'En pensant bien il parle souvent mal.... J'aime bien mieux sa prose que ses vers'—is condemned: from the dramatic point of view his verse has the supreme quality of producing the illusion of reality. The psychological analyses of the passions of ordinary men and women require a prosaic and conversational style 'qui rase la prose.' So, with regard to Vauvenargues' accusation of 'négligences et expressions impropres,' while 'it would be impertinent in a foreigner to attempt to defend Molière against these criticisms,' the real defence, as Brunetière has shown, is that 'Molière is incorrect because spoken language is often incorrect, and Molière aims before all things at being natural.'

As for the apparent weakness of the somewhat mechanical or melodramatic endings to some of the plays, this is shown to be due, not to deficiency in the power of constructing a plot, nor even always to haste, but rather to be the outcome of Molière's overwhelming interest in character: the main idea of the play is worked out in dramatic fashion through and by the characters.

And Molière's morality? What of J. J. Rousseau's attack, followed to some extent by Lavisse and Brunetière: 'La morale de Molière est très modeste. On ne trouve pas dans tout son théâtre un devoir qui commande un renoncement à soi, même un effort qui coûte.' There are undoubtedly moments when we prefer Pascal to Molière, but to each man his work. As Mr Tilley shows, Molière makes no exalted claim on behalf of human nature; 'he is a healthy rather than a lofty moralist.' The very nature of comedy, which instructs by amusing, is contrary to the utterance of lofty sentiments: her business is not to preach virtue, but to ridicule vice and folly. She deals not with Cids and Polyeuctes but with average men. There is moreover a striking agreement between

Molière's implicit teaching on hypocrisy and evil speaking for example, and the sermons of some of the famous preachers of the day, notably Bossuet and Bourdaloue, and this, according to Mr Tilley, is remarkable testimony to the soundness of his morality.

With regard to authorities, there is a useful note after Chapter I on the various biographies, and throughout the book the footnotes give valuable information as to reading, while a few of the main critics are referred to in the Preface. There seems, however, to be room for a complete bibliography, which would be a considerable help to the student. The index is good.

All lovers of Molière will be grateful for this work, which will spur them to re-read both the familiar and the less well-known plays, while those who have hitherto neglected them will be tempted to begin what must be for everyone a fruitful study of life and human nature.

F. C. Johnson.

London.

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri. Con il Commento di Tommaso Casini. Sesta edizione rinnovata e accresciuta per cura di S. A Barbi. Vol. I. *Inferno.* Florence: Sansoni. 1922. 8vo. xv+335 pp. L. 6.

The admirable commentary of Tommaso Casini, of which the fifth edition appeared in 1903, has long been recognised as one of the most helpful and reliable companions to the *Divina Commedia.* But, during the last twenty years, Dante researches have been wide and fruitful. In the new edition, of which we have received the *Inferno*, the commentary has been brought into line with contemporary scholarship by a revision of the notes and the introduction of fresh matter. Even such minute discoveries as Zaccagnini's of the date of the death of Venedico Caccianemico (perhaps the only instance of Dante's not knowing or forgetting that a man, since dead, was actually alive in 1300) are duly recorded. The text in the main, though not invariably, follows the 'testo critico' of Vandelli. The work has been exceedingly well done; and the result is one of the best commentaries on the *Inferno* that we possess. We have noticed a historical inaccuracy retained in the note on *Inf.* XII, 111. Obizzo d'Este was not, as here stated, the son of Rinaldo d'Este and Adelaide da Romano. He was an illegitimate child of Rinaldo, born while the latter was a prisoner in Apulia; the story is told at length by Salimbene (*Cronica*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 167–8) and in the *Annales S. Justinae Patavini* (*M. G. H., SS.* XIX, p. 162). Salimbene curiously anticipates Dante's association of Obizzo with Ezzelino: 'Et factus est pessimus homo, imitatus Icilinicos mores.' A thoroughly up-to-date commentary must necessarily refer to Croce; but a better quotation from *La poesia di Dante* might perhaps have been chosen than the appreciation of the Ulysses episode. We venture to think that the implication that Dante, 'ligio alla parola rivelata e agli insegnamenti della Chiesa,' regarded the last voyage of his Greek hero as a sin, is

false to the spirit of the canto and the whole thought of the poet's time; the well-known passage in the *Annales Januenses* of Jacopo Doria (*M. G. H., SS.* XVIII, p. 335), concerning the expedition of a party of Genoese in 1291, 'ut per mare oceanum irent ad partes Indie,' shows clearly that this was not the way in which thirteenth century Italy looked upon such an undertaking. Surely the voyage has no connexion with the sin for which Ulysses is condemned; on the contrary, the spirit that prompted it must rank among the 'vain virtues' which are 'the sorriest thing that enters Hell.' The motive of the terrible imprecation against Pisa for the death of Count Ugolino and his sons (*Inf.* XXXIII, 79–83) has escaped Barbi's notice, as it seems to have done that of almost every other commentator:

> Ahi Pisa, vituperio de le genti
> del bel paese là dove 'l sì suona,
> poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,
> muovasi la Capraia e la Gorgona,
> e faccian siepe ad Arno in su la foce,
> sì ch'elli annieghi in te ogni persona!

In the *Pharsalia* (VIII, 827–830), Lucan similarly apostrophises Egypt after the murder of Pompey:

> Quid tibi saeva precer pro tanto crimine tellus?
> Vertat aquas Nilus, quo nascitur orbe, retentus,
> et steriles egeant hibernis imbribus agri,
> totaque in Aethiopum putres solvaris arenas.

Dante has obviously modelled his lines upon the passage in Lucan, adapting the classical poet's curse to the different geographical conditions of Pisa.

E. G. Gardner.

Manchester.

MINOR NOTICES.

The Modern Humanities Research Association may be congratulated on its *Bibliography of English Language and Literature, 1921*, edited by Miss A. C. Paues (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 4*s.* 6*d.*). The entries of publications amount to more than 2000, double the number of those included in the Association's *Bibliography, 1920*. The book thus represents an immense amount of public-spirited work done by Miss Paues and her co-adjutors in different countries, work for which all students of English must owe them gratitude. The arrangement of the material has, no doubt, been carefully thought out, and no possible arrangement could escape criticism. At the same time one may perhaps suggest that the arrangement of the English Literature Section should be reconsidered. It is perhaps convenient to have lists of authors arranged by centuries, though the century to which an author belongs is often not plain at first sight. Miss Paues considers Austin Dobson, Swinburne, Jack London, Lord Bryce, and even Viscount Morley and Thomas Hardy, who are still with us, to belong to the nineteenth century. Ann Radcliffe appears both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth cen-

tury. Would it be possible in future to give the rule on which such allocations are made? A greater problem is presented by the literature classed as 'General' under the headings 'Old English,' 'Middle English,' 'Sixteenth Century' etc. It would perhaps be better if the main division here adopted were 'Miscellaneous,' 'Poetry,' 'Drama,' 'Prose,' with subdivisions by periods (as in the Dewey System so much used in our Public Libraries) under each head. It would also be desirable to have more cross-references to these sections from the author lists. Miss Paues has given *some* cross-references: thus under Marlowe one is referred to a paper by Mr Percy Simpson, but in many similar cases this is not done. One may further doubt if the 'Addenda' under each century etc. would not better have been fused with the original lists. Dr Jessopp's name (p. 98) was not August, but Augustus.

The *Bibliography* gives fresh proof of the activity of the Modern Humanities Association. May its merits procure it such support from students of English that it may establish itself as an institution which gains in value and usefulness every year! Its continuance, it is stated, is entirely dependent upon the support given to this issue.

G. C. M. S.

It was unnecessary for the author of *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (London: John Murray, 1921, xx + 1659 pp., £2. 2*s*.) to challenge comparison with the *New English Dictionary*. The pioneer work on scientific etymology specialized necessarily in prehistoric roots; this work done, there was room for a treatment which should make a wider appeal. Professor Weekley's method is both scientific and humanistic. His emphasis of the semantic side of etymology is not unneeded: and his book should not only prove useful to scholars, but should also widen and deepen the average educated interest in words and their origins. The selection of material is a happy one. It embraces every kind of word, literary or colloquial, which will interest the intelligent modern reader. It throws light alike on literature and politics, sociology and the War, ethnology, mythology and journalese. Its treatment of the vocabulary of linguistic science, as was to be expected from Professor Weekley, is especially full and clear. Most lovers of our English tongue will be glad to possess a copy. J. H. G. G.

The Editor of the Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association acknowledges receipt of the following publications: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, edited by Carleton Brown, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, September, 1922; *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Vol. III, No. 3, April, 1922 (*The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna*); *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 3, July, 1922; Elizabeth F. Johnson, *Weckherlin's Eclogues of the Seasons*, 1922.

Part of the German contents of the present number is published with the assistance of the Tiarks Fund for the Publication of Research Work in German.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September–November, 1922.

GENERAL.

ANDERTON, B., Sketches from a Library Window. Cambridge, W. Heffer. 10*s.* 6*d.*

BETHE, E., Märchen, Sage, Mythus. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer. 160 M.

Colonnade, The. Vol. XIV (1919–22). Part I. Contributions to Scholarship and Belles-Lettres. Part II. Poetical Works of John Trumbull. New York, Andiron Club.

GOSSE, E., The Continuity of Literature. Presidential Address, 1922, English Association. (Pamphlet 54.) 1*s.*

HUBBEL, J. B., and J. O. BEATY, An Introduction to Poetry. New York, Macmillan Co.

Idealistische Neuphilologie. Festschrift für K. Vossler. Herausg. von V. Klemperer und E. Lerch. (Sammlung roman. Elementar- und Handbücher, V, 5.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. Gz. 10 M.[1]

JESPERSEN, O., Modermålets Fonetik. 2. Udg. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 5 kr.

MANACORDA, G., Studi e saggi. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 16.

MATTHEWS, B., The Tocsin of Revolt: and other Essays. London, Scribner. 10*s.* 6*d.*

POSTGATE, J. P., Translation and Translations. Theory and Practice. London, G. Bell and Sons. 6*s.*

SCHÜCK, H., Allmän litteraturhistoria. IV. Den franska klassiciteten. Stockholm, H. Geber. 13 kr. 50.

SOLMSEN, F., Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte. Herausg. von E. Fraenkel. (Indogerm. Bibliothek, iv, 2.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. Gz. 7 M.

SUCHIER, W., Der Schwank von der viermal getöteten Leiche in der Literatur des Abend- und Morgenlandes. Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 2 M.

TAYLOR, A., The Three Sins of the Hermit (*Mod. Phil.*, XX, 1, Aug.).

WASSERZIEHER, E., Sprachgeschichtliche Plaudereien. Berlin, F. Dümmler. Gz. 2 M. 50.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

BOTTIGLIONI, G., La vespa e il nido nelle lingue romanze (*Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, xlii, 3).

Hauptfragen der Romanistik. Festschrift f. Ph. A. Becker. (Samml. roman. Elementar- und Handbücher, V, 4.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. Gz. 11 M.

LERCH, E., Das Imperfektum als Ausdruck der lebhaften Vorstellung, I (*Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, xlii, 3).

MERLO, C., Dell' azione metafonetica palatilizzante delle vocali latine ŭ e ū (*Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, xlii, 3).

[1] Since October most of the German publishers, in pricing their books, have adopted a 'Grundzahl' representing the value in the gold mark.

Seifert, E., Zwei Probleme auf dem Gebiete der Proparoxytona (*Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, xlii, 3).

Italian.

Albini, G., F. Flamini, A. Galletti, C. Ricci. Dante a Bologna. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 5.

Alunno, A., Jacopone da Todi. Città di Castello, 'Il Solco.' L. 8.

Barbi, M., Un altro figlio di Dante (*Studi dant.*, v).

Battisti, C., Studio di storia linguistica e nazionale del Trentino. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 20.

Benassi, U., Il Frugoni e il Rezzonico (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxx, 1–2).

Berchet, G., Le Poesie. A cura di G. Targioni-Tozzetti. Florence, Sansoni. L. 5.

Biondolillo, F., L' unità spirituale nella Divina Commedia. Messina, Principato. L. 10.

Boccaccio, G., Il Filocolo. Introd. e note di E. de Ferri. II. (Coll. di Class. ital.) Turin. L. 10.

Cena, G., Poesie. Ed. completa. Florence, Bemporad. L. 10.

Chiappelli, L., Cino da Pistoia di parte Bianca (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxx, 1–2).

Chroust, G., Saggi di letteratura italiana moderna, da G. Carducci al futurismo. III. Würzburg, Kabitzsch und Mönnich. 74 M.

Croce, B., Berchet (*La Critica*, xx, 6, Nov.).

Dante Alighieri, La vita nuova. Ed. with introd., notes and vocabulary by K. McKenzie. Boston, Mass., D. Heath. 1 dol. 52.

Dante e Arezzo. A cura di G. Fatini. (Atti della R. Accad. 'Petrarca.') Arezzo. L. 15.

Di Francia, L., Alla scoperta del vero Bandello (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxx, 1–2).

Fawtier, R., Sainte Catharine de Sienne. Essai de critique des sources. Paris, Boccard. 25 fr.

Fradeletto, A., Figure di poeti e visioni di poesia. Milan, Treves. L. 14.

Gallarati-Scotti, T., The Life of A. Fogazzaro. Transl. by M. P. Agnetti. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 15*s.*

Gentile, G., La coltura toscana dell' ottocento. Bari, Laterza.

Goggio, C., The Use of the Conditional Perfect for the Conditional Present in Italian (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

Hutton, E., Pietro Aretino, the Scourge of Princes. London, Constable. 12*s.*

Hutton, E., Some Aspects of the Genius of G. Boccaccio. (Proceed. Brit. Acad., vol. x.) London, H. Milford. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Nissim, L., Gli 'scapigliati' della letteratura italiana del cinquecento. Prato, Martini.

Patella, F., Il viaggiatore torinese Facino Cerri e la sua descrizione del sepolcro di Dante (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxx, 1–2).

Schiaffini, A., Del tipo 'parofia,' 'parochia' (*Studi dant.*, v).

Serra, R., Esame di coscienza di un litterato. Ed. by P. Rébora. Oxford, Univ. Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Vandelli, G., Il più antico testo critico della Divina Commedia (*Studi dant.*, v).

Wechssler, E., Wege zu Dante. Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 3 M.

Wicksteed, P. H., From Vita Nuova to Paradiso. Two Essays on Vital Relations between Dante's Successive Works. Manchester, Univ. Press. 5*s.*

Wiese, B., Kommentar zu Dantes Göttlicher Komödie (Universalbibliothek). Leipzig, P. Reclam. 120 M.

Spanish.

Belmonte Bermúdez, L. de, La hispálica. Publ. por D. Santiago Montoto. Seville, Lib. de Sobrino de Izquierdo. 10 pes.

Cejador y Frauca, J., La verdadera poesía castellana. Floresta de la antigua lírica popolar. II. Madrid, Rev. de Archivos. 7 pes. 50.

Cirot, G., L'expression dans Gonzalo de Berceo (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 2, June).

Diez-Canedo, E., Conversaciones literarias (1915–20). Madrid, A. G. Izquierdo. 4 pes. 45.

Fernandez y Ávila, G., La infancia de Jesu-Christo. Zehn spanische Weihnachtsspiele. Herausg. von M. L. Wagner (Zeit. f. roman. Phil., Beihefte, lxxii). Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 9 M.

García de Diego, V., Cruces de Sinónimos (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 2, June).

Goldberg, I., Studies in Spanish-American Literature. New York, Brentano's; London, G. G. Harrap. 10*s.* 6*d.*

León, Luis de, De los nombres de Cristo. (Clásicos Castellanos, xxviii, xxxiii, xli.) Madrid, La Lectura. 15 pes.

Llano Roza de Ampudia, A. de, Del Folklore asturiano. Con un prólogo de R. Menéndez Pidal. Madrid, Talleres de Voluntad. 7 pes.

Martin, H. M., Termination of Qualifying Words before Feminine Nouns and Adjectives in the Plays of Lope de Vega (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 7, Nov.).

Menéndez y Pelayo, M., Estudios sobre el Teatro de Lope de Vega. Ed. por A. Bonilla y San Martin. III. (Obras completas, xii.) Madrid, R. Velasco. 12 pes.

Mulertt, W., Anleitung und Hilfsmittel zum Studium des Spanischen. Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 1 M.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

Messerschmidt, L., Über französisch 'bel esprit.' Eine wortgeschichtliche Studie. (Giessener Beitr. zur roman. Phil., ix.) Giessen, Roman. Seminar. 24 M.

Ringenson, K., Étude sur la palatisalisation de k devant une voyelle antérieure en français. Paris, H. Champion. 20 fr.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Aitken, M., Étude sur le miroir ou les Damnées de Robert de Gretham, suivie d'extraits inédits. Paris, H. Champion.

Béroul, Le roman de Tristan. Poème du XII^e^ siècle. Éd. par E. Muret. Paris, H. Champion. 7 fr.

Cowper, F. A. G., The Sources of 'Ille et Galeron' (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 1, Aug.).

Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr. Poème historique du XII^e^ siècle. Publié par E. Walberg (Skrifter utg. av kungl. Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, v). Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup.

Guingamor, Le Lai de. Le lai de Tydorel. (Romanische Texte, vi.) Berlin, Weidmann. 24 M.

Merlin l'enchanteur, L'Histoire de. Les Enfances de Lancelot. Rédigés par J. Boulenger. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 7 fr.

Moldenhauer, G., Herzog Naimes im altfranzösischen Epos. (Romanistische Arbeiten, ix.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 7 M.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Allizé, F., Voltaire à la Haye (*Rev. de Paris*, Nov. 15).

Ashton, H., Madame de la Fayette. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 25*s.*

AYRES, E. H., Histoire de l'impression et de la publication de la 'Lettre à D'Alembert' de J. J. Rousseau (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

BARNARD, H. C., The French Tradition in Education. Ramus to Mad. Necker de Saussure. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 10*s.* 6*d.*

BECKER, P. A., C. Marot und Lukian (*Neuphil. Mitteil.*, xxiii, 4, 5, Sept.).

Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Florence, I. G. Maugain, Fénelon en Italie. Levi-Malvano, Montesquieu e Macchiavelli. G. Maugain, Carducci e la Francia. Paris, H. Champion. 11 fr. 50: 7 fr. 50: 9 fr.

BOURDALOUE, L. DE, Œuvres complètes. II. Éd. par E. Griselle. Paris, Bloud et Gay. 15 fr.

BOYER D'AGEN, Chateaubriand, Lamartine et Aimé de Loy (*Nouv. Rev.*, Sept. 1, 15, Oct. 1).

BRADI, L. DE, La vraie Colomba. Paris, Flammarion.

BRÉMOND, H., La vie mystique de Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin (*Rev. de France*, Nov. 1).

BUSSOM, T. W., A Rival of Racine: Pradon, his Life and Works. Paris, Champion.

CHAMBERS, F., Mérimée et la société anglaise (*Rev. litt. comp.*, ii, 3, Sept.).

Conservateur littéraire, Le, 1819–21. Édition critique par J. Marsan, I. Paris, Hachette.

CURTIUS, E. R., M. Barrès und die Grundlagen des französischen Nationalismus. Bonn, F. Cohen. 30 M.

DESTHIEUX, F. J., Paul Bourget, sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, Le Carnet critique. 3 fr. 75.

ESCOUBE, P., La femme et le sentiment de l'amour dans l'œuvre de Remy de Gourmont (*Merc. de France*, Oct. 1).

GEOFFROY, G., La comédie bourgeoise. Paris, Fasquelle. 6 fr. 75.

GIRAUD, J., Une source inconnue du 'Rhin' de V. Hugo (*Rev. d'hist. litt.*, xxix, 2, June).

HENRY, S., French Essays and Profiles. London, E. Dent. 7*s.* 6*d.*

KAEN, G., Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (*Merc. de France*, Aug. 1).

KÖHLER, F., Rousseau. Sechs Vorträge. Bielefeld, Velhagen und Klasing. 24 M.

LEBÈGUE, R., La publication des lettres de Malherbe (*Rev. de l'hist. litt.*, xxix, 2, June).

LEVAILLANT, M., Chateaubriand et son ministre de finances (*Rev. des deux Mondes*, July 15, Aug. 1).

LERBER, W. DE, L'Influence de Clément Marot aux 17e and 18e siècles. Paris, H. Champion.

MAGNE, E., Une amie inconnue de Molière. Paris, Émile Paul. 4 fr.

MASSON, G. A., La Comtesse de Noailles, sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, Le Carnet critique. 3 fr. 75.

MASSON, G. A., Paul Fort, sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, Le Carnet critique. 3 fr. 75.

Mélanges offerts à M. G. Lanson. Paris, Hachette.

MICHELET, J., Lettres inédites (*Rev. de Paris*, Oct. 1).

MONTAIGNE, M. DE, Essais. Publiés par P. Villey. II. Paris, Alcan. 12 fr.

MONTALEMBERT, C. R. F. DE, L'Avenir politique de l'Angleterre (Cambridge Plain Texts). Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 3*d.*

MONTMORILLON, Marquis de, Contribution à la bibliographie de Lamennais. Correspondance inédite (1825) (*Rev. bleue*, Sept. 16).

PAILLERON, M. L., F. Buloz et ses amis. Les littérateurs de l'Empire. V. Cherbuliez (*Rev. des deux Mondes*, Aug. 1, 15).

PALUDAN, H. A., Studier over Corneilles Forhold til det spanske Drama (*Edda*, xviii, 3).

PITOLLET, C., Le romantisme française et l'Espagne (*Merc. de France*, Sept. 15).

RAYNAUD, E., Baudelaire. Paris, Garnier. 10 fr.

RENAN, E., De l'imitation de la Bible dans 'Athalie' (*Rev. de Paris*, Aug. 1).

RIMBAUD, A., Œuvres complètes. 3 vols. Paris, La Banderole.

RIVERS, J., Figaro : The Life of Beaumarchais. London, Hutchinson. 18*s*.

ROBERTSON, J. M., Voltaire. London, Watts. 2*s*.

ROOSBROECK, G. L. VAN, Corneille's 'Cinna' and the 'Conspiration des Dames' (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 1, Aug.).

ROYER, L., Stendhal et la documentation de l'histoire de la peinture en Italie (*Rev. d'hist. litt.*, xxix, 2, June).

RUBENSOHN, G., Die Correspondance littéraire F. M. Grimms und H. Meisters. Berlin (Diss.).

RUDWIN, M., Supernaturalism and Satanism in Chateaubriand (*Open Court*, xxxvi).

SAINÉAN, L., La Langue de Rabelais. I. La Civilisation de la Renaissance. Paris, Boccard.

SAND, G., and G. FLAUBERT, Letters. Transl. by A. McKenzie. London, Duckworth. 21*s*.

SEILLIÈRE, E., J. J. Rousseau. Paris, Garnier.

SERVAIS, E., Le genre romanesque en France depuis l'apparition de la 'Nouvelle Héloïse' jusqu'aux approches de la Révolution. Paris, Colin. 30 fr.

STENDHAL, Du Romanticisme dans les beaux-arts (*Rev. litt. comp.*, ii, 4, Dec.).

THIERRY, A. A., Augustin Thierry d'après sa correspondance et ses papiers de famille. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 12 fr.

TILLEY, A., Modern France. A Companion to French Studies. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 35*s*.

VOGÜÉ, E. M. DE, Lettres à H. Taine et à sa famille (*Rev. des deux Mondes*, Oct. 15).

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

CAMPBELL, T. M., Hebbel, Ibsen and the Analytic Exposition. Heidelberg, C. Winter. Gz. 3 M.

KLUGE, F., Germanisches Reckentum : frz. 'garçon' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 7, Nov.).

Scandinavian.

ANDERSEN, V., Holberg Billedbog. Billeder af V. Marstrand. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug. 5 kr.

ANDERSEN, V., V. Topsøe. Et Bidrag til den danske Realismes Historie. Copenhagen, Gad. 7 kr. 50.

BELLMAN, C. M., Skrifter. Standardupplaga utg. av Bellmansällskapet. II. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 14 kr.

BLICHER, S. S., Noveller. Udvalgt, indledet og forsynet med Oplysninger af S. Vasegaard. 2 vols. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug. 12 kr.

BLICHER, S. S., Udvalgte Noveller. Udg. af G. Christiansen. 2 vols. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 9 kr.

BLÖNDAL, S., Islandsk-Dansk Ordbog. I. Halvbind. Reykjavík ; Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug. 35 kr.

BOER, R. C., Edda. Mit historisch-kritischem Commentar. 2 vols. Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk en Willink. 30 fl.

Dahlerup, V., Ordbog over det danske Sprog. iv. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 12 kr.

Galster, K., Ingemanns historiske Romaner og Digte. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug. 8 kr. 50.

Garborg, A., Skriftir i Samling. iii–v. Christiania, H. Aschehoug. Each 6 kr. 45.

Heiberg, J. L., Memoirer og Breve. Udg. af J. Clausen og P. F. Rist. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 12 kr.

Hermannsson, H., Icelandic Books of the Seventeenth Century. (Islandica, xiv.) Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Libr. 2 dol.

Holberg, L., Comoedier. Udg. af H. Brix med H. Tegners Illustrationer. i, ii. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. Each 4 kr. 50.

Jónsson, F., Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie. 2. Udg. ii, 2. Copenhagen, Gad. 15 kr.

Kierkegaard, S., Gesammelte Werke. x. Jena, E. Diederichs. Gz. 5 M.

Neumann, F., Die Entstehung von Rosmersholm (*Edda*, xviii, 3).

Olrik, A., Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg. i. Samling. 5. Udg. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 3 kr.

Roos, C., Det 18. Aarhundredes tyske Oversættelser af Holbergs Komedier. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug. 7 kr. 50.

Thierfelder, F., Die Visa der schwedischen Liederbücher des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zur gleichzeitigen deutschen Liedpoesie. (Nordische Studien, iii.) Greifswald, L. Bamberg. 100 M.

Wranér, H., Valda skrifter. Utg. av F. Böök. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 4 kr. 50.

Zoëga, G. T., Íslenzk-Ensk Orðabok. Reykjavík, S. Kristjánsson. 25 kr.

Old Saxon, Dutch, Flemish.

Kossmann, F., Nederlandsch versrythme. The Hague, M. Nijhoff. 5 fl.

Metzenthin, E. C., Die Heimat der Adressaten des Heiland (*Journ. Engl. Germ. Phil.*, xxi, 2, April).

Pelagia. Eine Legende in mittelniederländischer Sprache. Herausg. von A. F. Winell. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 2 M.

Proost, K. F., De religie in onze literatuur (1880–1920). Zeist, J. Ploegsma. 2 fl. 40.

Ulenspiegel, The Legend of, and Lamme Goedzag. By Ch. de Coster. Transl. 2 vols. London, Heinemann. 30*s.*

English.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

Baum, P. F., The Principles of English Versification. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press ; London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Chambers, R. W., The Teaching of English in the Universities of England. (Engl. Assoc. Pamphlets, 53.) London, Engl. Association. 1*s.*

Flasdieck, H. M., Forschungen zur Frühzeit der neuenglischen Schriftsprache. ii. Halle, M. Niemeyer. (Stud. zur engl. Phil., lxvi.) Gz. 2 M. 50.

Klöpzig, W., Der Ursprung der to be to-Konstruktion (*Engl. Stud.*, lvi, 3).

Meissgeier, E., Beiträge zum grammatischen Geschlecht im Frühmittelenglischen, besonders bei Laȝamon (*Engl. Stud.*, lvi, 3).

Paues, A. C., Bibliography of English Language and Literature, 1921. (Mod. Humanities Research Assoc.) Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Ritter, O., Vermischte Beiträge zur englischen Sprachgeschichte. Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 7 M.

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

ALFRED DER GROSSE, Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus. Herausg. von W. Endter. (Bibl. der angelsächs. Prosa, xi.) Hamburg, H. Grand. 200 M.

CHAUCER, G., The Prioress's Tale; The Tale of Sir Thopas. Ed. by L. Winstanley. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*

GRIENBERGER, T., Widsiδ (*Anglia*, xlvi, 4).

MATTER, H., Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance. (Anglistische Forschungen, lviii.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. Gz. 18 M.

MENNER, R. J., 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight' and the West Midland (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

ROTHSTEIN, E., Die Wortstellung in der Peterborough Chronik. (Stud. zur engl. Phil., lxiv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 3 M.

SEDGEFIELD, W. J., An Anglo-Saxon Verse Book. Manchester, Univ. Press. 9*s.* 6*d.*

SPURGEON, C. F. E., Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism. (Chaucer Society, Second Series, lii–liv.) Parts III–V. London, H. Milford.

TUPPER, F., Chaucer's Lady of the Daisies (*Journ. Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, xxi, 2, April).

(*c*) *Modern English.*

BEACH, J. W., The Technique of Thomas Hardy. Chicago, Univ. Press. $ 2.50.

BIAGI, G., Gli ultimi giorni di P. B. Shelley. Florence, La Voce. L. 10.

BONNELL, J. K., Touch Images in the Poetry of R. Browning (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

BROOKE, TUCKER, The Marlowe Canon (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

BROWNE, SIR THOMAS, Religio Medici. Ed. by W. Murison. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 4*s.* 6*d.*

BRUNNER, K., C. Kingsley als christlich-sozialer Dichter (*Anglia*, xlvi, 4).

BURCHARDT, C., C. Marlowe (*Edda*, xviii, 3).

Cambridge Plain Texts. Bacon: The Advancement of Learning; Hooker: Preface to the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; Montaigne: Five Essays, transl. by J. Florio. Cambridge, Univ. Press. Each, 1*s.* 3*d.*

CRUICKSHANK, A. H., Massinger and 'The Two Noble Kinsmen.' Oxford, B. Blackwell. 2*s.* 6*d.*

EDDY, W. A., Rabelais: A Source for 'Gulliver's Travels' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 7, Nov.).

ENGEL, E., Shakespeare und sein Bühnenwerk. Berlin, F. Schneider. 180 M.

FLECKER, J. E., Collected Prose. London, Heinemann. 6*s.*

FOERSTER, N., Emerson as a Poet of Nature (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

FOWLER, J. H., De Quincey as Literary Critic. (Engl. Association, Pamphlets, 52.) London, Engl. Association.

FREEMAN, J., A Portrait of George Moore in a Study of his Work. London, W. Laurie. 16*s.*

Golden Book of Modern English Poetry, The, 1870–1920. Selected and arranged by T. Caldwell. London, E. Dent. 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOLDRING, D., J. E. Flecker. London, Chapman and Hall. 7*s.* 6*d.*

GRASSO, T., Il bardo Ossian nella sua poesia. Milan, La stampa commerciale.

GRAVES, R., On English Poetry. London, Heinemann. 8*s.* 6*d.*

GRAVES, T. S., Some Aspects of Extemporal Acting (*Nth. Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 4, Oct.).

HAVENS, L. D., The Influence of Milton on English Poetry. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 37*s.* 6*d.*

HILLEBRAND, H. N., The Children of the King's Revels at Whitefriars (*Journ. Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, xxi, 2, April).

HOWE, P. P., The Life of William Hazlitt. London, M. Secker. 24*s.*

HUGHES, H. S., Fielding's Indebtedness to James Ralph (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 1, Aug.).

HUGHES, J. L., The Real Robert Burns. London, Chambers. 6*s.*

HUNT, LEIGH, Poetical Works. Ed. by H. S. Milford. London, H. Milford.

JONES, E., A Psycho-analytic Study of Hamlet. London, Intern. Psycho. Anal. Press.

JUDSON, A. C., A Forgotten Lovelace Manuscript (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 7, Nov.).

KELLNER, L., Shakespeare-Wörterbuch. (Engl. Bibl., i.) Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz. 576 M.

KERNAHAN, C., Six Famous Living Poets. London, T. Butterworth. 12*s.* 6*d.*

LAWRENCE, W. W., The Meaning of 'All's Well that ends Well' (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

MARSTON, J., Antonio and Mellida and Antonio's Revenge. (Malone Society Reprints.)

MATHEW, F., An Image of Shakespeare. London, J. Cape. 18*s.*

MUCCIOLI, A., Shakespeare nella vita e nelle opere. Florence, Battistelli. L. 6.

NICOLL, A., Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare. (Shakespeare Assoc. Papers, vii.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

NICOLSON, M. H., The Authorship of 'Henry the Eighth' (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

RÉBORA, P., Jonathan Swift. Rome, Formiggini. L. 2.70.

REDIN, M., The Friend in Shakespeare's Sonnets (*Engl. Stud.*, lvi, 3).

REDIN, M., Shakespeares sonetter (*Edda*, xviii, 3).

REED, A. W., The Beginning of the English Secular and Romantic Drama. (Shakespeare Assoc. Papers, vii.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

SAINTSBURY, G., A Scrap Book. London, Macmillan. 7*s.* 6*d.*

SCHELLING, F. E., Appraisements and Asperities as to some Contemporary Writers. London, Lippincott. 9*s.*

SCHÜCKING, L. L., Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays. London, Harrap. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SHELLEY, P. B., The Dramatic Poems of. Ed. by C. H. Herford. London, Chatto and Windus. 12*s.* 6*d.*

SMITH, H., A Frvitfvll Sermon vpon Part of the 5. Chapter of the first Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians. Ed. by H. T. Price. Halle, H. Niemeyer. Gz. 2 M. 50.

STEINITZER, A., Shakespeares Königsdramen. Geschichtliche Einführung. Munich, C. H. Beck. 3 M. 50.

STOPES, C. C., The Seventeenth Century Accounts of the Masters of the Revels. (Shakespeare Association Papers, vi.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

STRUVE, H., John Wilson (Christopher North) als Kritiker. Leipzig, Mayer und Müller. 40 M.

THALER, A., Minor Actors and Employees in the Elizabethan Theater (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 1, Aug.).

THOMAS, H., Shakespeare and Spain. The Taylorian Lecture, 1922. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s*.

TINKER, C. B., Young Boswell. Chapters on James Boswell the Biographer. London, Putnams. 15*s*.

WEBSTER, J., Le Démon blanc, suivi de la Duchesse d'Amalfi. Trad. de l'Anglais par C. Cé. Paris, Renaissance du livre.

WHITE, N. I., Shelley's Debt to Alma Murray (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 7, Nov.).

WHITNEY, L., Did Shakespeare know 'Leo Africanus'? (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 3, Sept.).

YATES, M., George Gissing. An Appreciation. Manchester, Univ. Press. 6*s*.

ZARCHETTI, C., Shelley e Dante. Palermo, Sandron. L. 12.

German.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

CURME, G. O., A Grammar of the German Language. Revised and enlarged. New York, Macmillan Co.

KURRELMEYER, W., German Lexicography, IV (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 7, Nov.).

(*b*) *Old and Middle High German.*

BELL, C. H., The Sister's Son in the Medieval Germanic Epic. (Univ. of California Publ. in Modern Philology, x, 2.) Berkeley, Cal., Univ. of California Press. $ 1.75.

BOBBE, H., Mittelhochdeutsche Katharinen-Legenden in Reimen. (Germanische Stud., xix.) Berlin, E. Ebering. 52 M.

BONJOUR, E., Reinmar von Zweter als politischer Dichter. (Sprache und Dichtung, xxiv.) Bern, P. Haupt. Gz. 1 M. 40.

König Rother. Herausg. von Th. Frings und J. Kuhnt. (Rheinische Beiträge zur germ. Phil., iii.) Bonn, K. Schroeder. Gz. 3 M.

SARAN, F., Deutsche Heldengedichte des Mittelalters, I–III. (Handbücherei für den deutschen Unterricht, i–iii.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 3 M. 90.

SCHREIBER, A., Neue Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte Wolframs von Eschenbach. (Deutsche Forschungen, vii.) Frankfort, M. Diesterweg. 80 M.

(*c*) *Modern German.*

ADRIAN, W., Die Mythologie in C. Spittelers Olympischer Frühling. (Sprache und Dichtung, xxv.) Bern, P. Haupt. Gz. 1 M. 40.

ARNIM, BETTINA VON, und J. W. VON GOETHE, Briefwechsel. Herausg. von R. Steig. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 500 M.

Aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Th. Apel und Hilde Seeliger zugeeignet Leipzig, A. Weigel. 250 M.

BAB, J., H. von Kleist und seine Bühnenwerke. Berlin, F. Schneider. 50 M.

BECHTOLD, A., Kritisches Verzeichnis der Schriften J. M. Moscheroschs. Munich, A. Stobbe. 250 M.

BOHNENBLUST, T., Anfänge des Künstlertums bei C. F. Meyer. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 300 M.

BRODFÜHRER, E., Untersuchungen zur vorlutherischen Bibelübersetzung. (Hermaea, xiv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. Gz. 8 M.

DEHMEL, R., Mein Leben. (Dehmel-Gesellschaft, ii.) Leipzig. 320 M.

DEINHARDT, H., Beiträge zur Würdigung Schillers Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen. Neu herausg. von G. Wichsmuth. Stuttgart, Der kommende Tag. Gz. 3 M. 50.

DINGELSTEDT, F., and J. HARTMANN, Eine Jugendfreundschaft in Briefen. Herausg. von W. Deetjen. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 200 M.

DRESCH, J., Börne et son histoire inédite de la Révolution française (*Rev. litt. comp.*, ii, 3, Sept.).

ELSTER, H. M., H. von Hofmannsthal und seine besten Bühnenwerke. Berlin, F. Schneider. Gz. 1 M.

ENGERT, H., G. Hauptmanns Sucherdramen. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. Gz. 1 M. 60.

ENZINGER, M., Das deutsche Schicksalsdrama. Eine akademische Antrittsvorlesung. Innsbruck, Tyrolia. 25 M.

FRANKE, C., Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers. III. Halle, Waisenhaus. 2. Aufl. 100 M.

FREYHAN, M., G. Hauptmann. Berlin, E. S. Mittler. 125 M.

GEIBEL, E., und P. HEYSE, Briefwechsel. Herausg. von E. Petzet. Munich, J. F. Lehmann. Gz. 6 M.

GLÖEL, H., Goethe und Lotte. Berlin, E. S. Mittler. 375 M.

GOETHE, J. W. VON, Vom unbekannten Goethe. Eine neue Anthologie. Herausg. von E. Ludwig. Berlin, E. Rowohlt. 200 M.

Goethe-Gesellschaft, Jahrbuch der. IX. Weimar, Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft. 100 M.

GRUBER, F. E., F. Grillparzer und seine Bühnenwerke. Berlin, F. Schneider. 150 M.

GUDDE, E. G., Freiligraths Entwicklung als politischer Dichter. (Germanische Studien, xx.) Berlin, E. Ebering. 50 M.

GÜNDERODE, K. VON, Gesammelte Werke. 3 vols. Berlin-Wilmersdorf, O. Goldschmidt. 1200 M.

HAENISCH, K., G. Hauptmann und das deutsche Volk. Berlin, J. H. W. Dietz. 80 M.

HAMERLING, R., Sämtliche Werke in 16 Bänden. Herausg. von M. M. Rabenlechner. (Deutsche Klassiker Bibliothek.) Leipzig, Hesse und Becker. 4500 M.

HAUPTMANN, G., Gesammelte Werke in 8 Bänden. Jubiläumsausgabe. Berlin, S. Fischer. 5000 M.

HOFFMANN, E. T. A. Briefe. Eine Auswahl. Herausg. von R. Wiener. Vienna, Nikola Verlag. 240 M.

JOHNSON, E. F., Weckherlin's Eclogues of the Seasons (Johns Hopkins Diss.). Tübingen, H. Laupp.

JOHNSON, F., The German Mind as reflected in their Literature from 1870 to 1914. London, Chapman and Dodd. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Juden in der deutschen Literatur. Essays über zeitgenössische Schriftsteller. Herausg. von G. Krojanker. Berlin, Welt-Verlag. 700 M.

KAPPSTEIN, T., H. Sudermann und seine besten Bühnenwerke. Berlin, F. Schneider. Gz. 1 M. 20.

KOLATSCHEWSKY, V., Die Lebensanschauung Jean Pauls und ihr dichterischer Ausdruck. (Sprache und Dichtung, xxvi.) Bern, P. Haupt. Gz. 1 M. 90.

KÜHNEMANN, E., G. Hauptmann. Fünf Reden. Munich, C. H. Beck. Gz. 1 M. 80.

LÜDEKE, H., L. Tieck und das alte englische Theater. (Deutsche Forschungen, vi.) Frankfort, M. Diesterweg. 420 M.

MÜLLER, C. F., Reuter-Lexikon. Leipzig, Hesse und Becker. 100 M.

NEUBERT, F., Goethe und sein Kreis. 2. Aufl. Leipzig, J. J. Weber. 400 M.

POLLMER, A., F. W. Riemer und seine 'Mittheilungen über Goethe.' (Probefahrten, xxx.) Leipzig, R. Voigtländer. 88 M.

Reinhold, C. F., H. Heine. Berlin, Ullstein. Gz. 6 M. 25.

Satori-Neumann, B. T., Die Frühzeit des Weimarischen Hoftheaters unter Goethes Leitung, 1791–1798. (Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, xxxi.) Berlin.

Schlenther, P., G. Hauptmann. Leben und Werk. Neue Ausg. umgearbeitet von A. Eloesser. Berlin, S. Fischer. 100 M.

Spaulding, J. A., The Lower Middle Class in Tieck's Writings (*Journ. Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, xxi, 2, April).

Specht, R., A. Schnitzler. Der Dichter und sein Werk. Berlin, S. Fischer. 250 M.

Steinberg, H., Die Reyen in den Trauerspielen des A. Gryphius. Diss. Göttingen.

Stephan, H., Die Entstehung der Rheinromantik. Cologne, Rheinland Verlag. Gz. 5 M.

Voss, L., Goethes unsterbliche Freundin (Charlotte von Stein). 2. Aufl. Leipzig, Klinkhardt und Biedermann. Gz. 5 M.

Walzel, O., Vom Geistesleben alter und neuer Zeit. 2. Aufl. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 400 M.

Witkop, P., Frauen im Leben deutscher Dichter. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 300 M.

Wolff, R., Die neue Lyrik. Eine Einführung in das Wesen der jüngsten Dichtung. Leipzig, Dieterich. 15 M.

Zentner, W., Studien zur Dramaturgie E. von Bauernfelds. (Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, xxx.) Leipzig, L. Voss. Gz. 4 M. 50.

BULLETIN OF THE
Modern Humanities Research Association

JANUARY 1923 NUMBER 17

¶ The Modern Language Review for 1923 (to members, 15s.) and the 1922 issue of the English Bibliography (to members, 3s.) may now be ordered through the Hon. Treasurer, Professor Allen Mawer, The University, Liverpool.

OUR NEW PRESIDENT

PROFESSOR MANLY, the new President of the Association, is one of the most distinguished and brilliant of American scholars. As Head, for many years, of the Department of English at Chicago University, and General Editor of *Modern Philology*, a very large number of students have come under his influence. He was himself one of the several distinguished pupils of Professor Child of Harvard, and he has continued Professor Child's tradition of a mediaeval scholarship at once sound and humane. His publications include many articles in periodicals, encyclopedias, etc., several editions and volumes for use in University classes. His two-volume edition of the pre-Shakespearian dramatists has been in general use for nearly a generation. His best-known contribution to English scholarship is without doubt his theory that *Piers Plowman* was written by a group of five writers: the articles in which he argued this theory, together with those written by M. Jusserand supporting the traditional point of view, were reprinted by the *Early English Text Society*.

When America entered the war, Professor Manly volunteered for five years' service and rendered invaluable assistance at Washington in the Intelligence Department, for which he was peculiarly fitted by his knowledge of ciphers.

PUBLICATIONS

The new *Bibliography of English Language and Literature* was completed early in the Long Vacation, but it seemed best to defer publication until October. It may now be obtained by members from the Hon. Treasurer (3*s*. net), and by non-members through any bookseller (4*s*. 6*d*. net). Thanks to the unremitting labours of Miss Paues and her collaborators the *Bibliography* is nearly twice the size of the 1921 issue (which is still obtainable also). It contains in all 2119 titles of books, pamphlets and articles published in various countries during 1921 upon English Language and Literature. It should be in every member's library: we hope that before long it will.

***

The accounts of the year's working of the *Modern Language Review* reveal a loss of over £105. This, though rather less formidable a deficit than last year's, is a cause of considerable anxiety to the Committee, and a perusal of the Balance Sheet for 1921–2 reproduced in this number will shew that unless the *Review* can be made to pay its way our Capital Fund will be completely extinguished. We need only 150 new subscribers to accomplish this, and if as many as two-thirds of our members subscribed to their journal we should have a substantial credit balance and be in a position to increase the number of pages in each issue. The moral is obvious, and subscriptions should be sent to Professor Mawer without delay.

APPOINTMENTS AND ELECTIONS

Professor W. P. Ker has been elected a Vice-President of the Association. Professor J. G. Robertson, Editor of the *Modern Language Review*, has been elected Chairman of the General Committee for the year 1922–3. M. Edouard Guyot, 1bis Boulevard de Montmorency, Paris XVI, has been appointed co-secretary for Paris. The following correspondents have been appointed: Professor R. L. Graeme Ritchie (Birmingham); Professor W. L. Renwick (Newcastle); S. J. Crawford, Esq. (Southampton); Dr Fidelino de Figueiredo (Portugal, *vice* M. Ricard who has left the country); Professor Hans Hecht (Göttingen); Professor H. V. Jones (Illinois, U.S.A.). Miss Hope Emily Allen has been elected a member of the Publications Sub-Committee.

GROUP NOTES

EARLY ENGLISH

(*Organiser:* Miss A. C. Paues, Ph.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.)

It is a pleasure to record the steady growth of the Early English Subject Group and the varied activities of its members.

As examples of collective work we may mention the *Bibliography of English Language and Literature for* 1921 which appeared at the beginning of the autumn term in an attractive cover. It should prove a useful adjunct to the scholar's table and save him hours of tedious search. Especial thanks are due to the main collaborators Professor Northup and Miss Seaton. We live in hopes of bringing out the 1922 volume at a much earlier date. Meanwhile our ardent desire is that members should act as press-agents and help to dispose of the present issue as quickly as possible, that we may have the wherewithal for extensions and improvements in the next. Some notes on Place-name study are given below.

The following publications by members of the Group have appeared in the course of the year (or are on the point of appearing): Miss Beatrice Allen is working on "The History of Alliterative Diction in Middle English Poetry"; Miss Hope Allen has drawn attention to "Another Latin Manuscript of the 'Ancren Riwle'" in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII. 403, and has an article on "Some 14th Century Borrowings from the Ancren Riwle" coming out in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* for Jan. 1923, and one on "A 13th Century English Coronation Rubric" in the *Church Quarterly Review* of next year. Miss M. Ashdown has written on "The Single Combat in Certain Cycles of English and Scandinavian Tradition

and Romance" in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII. 113–30; Professor R. W. Chambers' pamphlet on *The Teaching of English in the Universities of England* printed by the English Association, July, 1922 (Pamphlet 53), should be read by every member of the Group; his Inaugural Lecture at the beginning of the October term dealt with "Some Great Teachers of the English Language"; Mr S. J. Crawford's *The Old English Heptateuch, and Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament* is on the point of appearing; he has about half-finished a revision (in metrical form), with the Latin original, of Ælfric's *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*; Mr G. G. Coulton has had two articles in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII. 66–9, 69–71 on "The Authorship of 'Ancren Riwle,'" and on "The Owl and the Nightingale"; furthermore we are happy to learn that the first of the three "fat" volumes on *Five Centuries of Religion* (1050–1550) is in the press; Miss M. Deanesly has an article on "John de Caulibus" in the *Collectanea* of the British Society for Franciscan Studies; students of Richard Rolle will be interested in Miss D. Everett's investigations of the "Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole" dealing with "the relations of the MSS. to one another, the sources of Rolle's Translation of the Vulgate, and the purpose and history of the interpolated copies of the work" in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII. 217–27, 337–50. Miss F. E. Harmer (Manchester) is working on some Place-name problems and similarly Miss Alice Selby (Nottingham); Mr I. Jackson has a note on "Sir Gawain's Coat of Arms" in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII. 289, another on "Manannan MacLir, the Celtic Sea-god" will appear in *Folk Lore*. Miss H. M. R. Murray of Girton College has contributed Section 3, "Philology: General Works" for the *Year's Work in English Studies*. Professor E. W. Scripture prints a brief but important paper on "Die Verskunst und die experimentelle Phonetik" in the *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* (No. 33, 1922): "die bisherige Metrik [ist] nur ein künstlicher Aufbau, welcher mit dem wirklichen gesprochenen Vers nichts zu tun hat." Miss N. Kershaw (Mrs H. M. Chadwick) has published an important study of *Some Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (Cambridge Univ. Press) including the following O.E. poems: *The Wanderer*, the *Seafarer*, the *Wife's Complaint*, the *Husband's Message* and the *Battle of Brunanburh*. Mr P. G. Thomas's notes on *Beowulf*, ll. 1604–5, 2085–91, and on *Cleanness* appeared in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII. 63–6. Professor W. J. Sedgefield has published *An Anglo-Saxon Verse-Book* (Manchester Univ. Press) where the selections are arranged according to their literary affinities, viz. "Germanic Legend and Story," "Elegiac Lyric and Moralizing," "Narrative and Descriptive," "Biblical and Christian." Mr A. J. Wyatt has had the pleasure of seeing the Second Impression of his *Anglo-Saxon Reader* during this year.

SURVEY OF ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES

During the last few months the work has been going steadily forward and organized work has begun on several new counties. Three points have become specially apparent during that time. The first is the very great value of and necessity for work upon unpublished documents, chiefly at the Public Record Office, if the foundations of our work are to be laid aright. Valuable as are the series of Calendars issued by the Record Office, it is important to realise that there is a very large mass of thirteenth century material in the form of Assize Rolls, Plea Rolls and the like, which are full of matter for the place-name student, and that the material to be found there often gives early forms

for names hitherto entirely unrecorded and fresh and illuminating forms for others already known. Offers of help in reading such documents are much needed from those skilled in reading 13th and 14th century MSS. Many students of M.E. dialects are learning under the stimulating guidance of Professor Wyld to value place-name material. It is not perhaps fully realised as yet how rich is the material to be found in unpublished documents, material often more reliable than a good deal that is in print, because it is based very largely upon local depositions. If any such students could at the same time pursue their linguistic researches and give the forms found to the Survey for its own uses they would be rendering it rich service.

The second point is that we are finding more than ever the value of the aid of the topographers in the construction of County Gazetteers of all the place-names to be found in a county. These enormously shorten the work of identification in working upon unpublished material, enabling workers upon the historical documents to find with the utmost rapidity whether there is any survival of the old place-name upon the modern map.

If any one is working upon such documents as those named above and would apply to the Survey for the use of such a Gazetteer as this an effort would be made to supply it.

The third point is that in Professor Ekwall's book on the *Place-Names of Lancashire* we have a living demonstration of the truth and value of the ideal which the Survey has set before itself, viz. a combination in due proportion of the linguistic, the historical and the topographical aspects of place-name study. Dr Ekwall shows in most convincing manner the rich harvest of instruction to be drawn from Place-name study if pursued on these lines.

Finally it may be mentioned that the Survey has now completed plans for an Introductory volume to the whole Survey. Many prominent scholars drawn from various fields of Place-name study are contributing to it and it is hoped shortly to make a public announcement on the subject.

A. M.

MEDIAEVAL LITERATURE

The Modern Language Association of America sends us a notice of its recent formation of a Group on the Influence of Latin Culture on Mediaeval Literature.

The main purpose of the organization is to synthesize in a constructive programme the efforts of all individuals or groups from Modern Languages, Classics, History, Philosophy, and related fields who are interested in the Latin cultural aspects of the Middle Ages. Naturally, during the earlier stages of its activity the Group will centre its efforts primarily on members of the Modern Language Association, though from the first it has had the active co-operation of others.

As a first step, the Committee is making a survey of the condition of Mediaeval Latin in the graduate colleges and universities of the United States. On the completion of this task, the results of which will be published, a committee will study the situation and present recommendations for the development of the study of Mediaeval Latin Culture in the graduate colleges and universities. This concerns specific courses, interdepartmental activity, and co-operation with English and Continental universities and learned societies.

The Committee is attempting also to encourage various definite problems or tasks which individuals or small, compact groups have assumed or are assuming. One such definite project is already under way. Professor C. H.

Beeson is now at work on a Mediaeval Latin primer or anthology for graduate students who wish to begin or continue their studies in this field. This will include carefully graded specimens of Mediaeval Latin from Cassiodorus to the time of Roger Bacon.

The Group Secretary is Professor George R. Coffmann, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, U.S.A., who will be pleased to give further information.

BRANCH COMMUNICATIONS

The French sub-secretary sends for publication the following list of manuscript theses (*Diplômes d'Etudes Supérieures*) submitted to the University of Paris (Sorbonne) in June, 1922. A provincial list is in process of compilation.

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPT THESES (*DIPLÔMES D'ETUDES SUPÉRIEURES*) DEFENDED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS (SORBONNE) IN JUNE, 1922

I. English Literature and Philology

M. Battistini: J. H. Newman dans le mouvement d'Oxford de 1833 à 1839: sa pensée, son rôle, et son influence.
Melle Bornand: The subjunctive in Chaucer.
Melle Chide: John Denham précurseur des classiques.
Melle Demoulin: The Historical Ballads in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765.
Melle Denans: La pensée et le sentiment religieux chez Christine Rossetti.
Melle Derreal: L'imagination plastique dans l'*Arcadia* de Sir Philip Sidney.
Melle Desgruelles: R. L. Stevenson as a literary critic.
Melle Emerique: Rudyard Kipling écrivain pour la jeunesse.
Melle Fretin: Hindu elements in Sir Rabindranath Tagore's works.
M. Gilbert: Robert Ferguson.
Melle Godier: Bacon's attitude towards religion. (Published in part by the *Revue de l'Enseignement des Langues Vivantes*.)
Melle Guillaume: An edition of the *Lay Le Freine*, a Middle English "Breton Lay."
M. Loiseau: The Middle Classes in the Comedy of the Restoration (1660–1670).
M. Malas: La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes en Angleterre jusqu'à Swift.
M. Mayoux: Thomas De Quincey's moral and literary criticism.
Melle Menjaud: La description exotique chez Lafcadio Hearn et Rudyard Kipling.
M. Obrier: A Study of the comic element in Fielding's novels.
M. Olive: The element of "caricature" in Smollett's novels.
Melle Picard: Sarah Margaret Fuller (a study in literary criticism).
M. Ploquin: L'optimisme et le pessimisme chez Tennyson.
M. Prat: Les emprunts au français chez Thackeray.
Melle Prieur: Woman in the chief works of Arnold Bennett.
Melle Rivard: Figures and types of children in the works of Rudyard Kipling.

II. German Literature

M. Chiquot: Jean Tauler et le Meisters Buch.
Melle d'Ham: La Ballade de Fontane.
M. Fourquet: La vie et l'œuvre esthétique d'Anton Raffael Mengs.
M. Michel: Les nouvelles d'Eichendorff.
M. Montigny: Wieland et ses opinions sur la Révolution française.
M. Normond: Le *Gargantua* de Fischart.
M. Surugue: Görres polémiste politique.
M. Valembert: George Forster: l'homme, le révolutionnaire.

III. Italian Literature

M. Caraccio: Etude sur les Promenades dans Rome de Stendhal.

La *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (organe de la Société d'histoire littéraire de la France, 18 rue de l'Abbé de l'Epée, Paris, v^e^) est en voie de réorganisation. Elle serait heureuse de recevoir tous les ouvrages intéressant l'histoire littéraire de la France (à l'exclusion des études de littérature comparée qu'il est préférable d'envoyer à la *Revue de littérature comparée*, 5 quai Malaquais, Paris). Il en sera publié un compte-rendu, ou l'auteur sera prévenu des raisons qui empêchent de donner ce compte-rendu. D'autre part, elle désire qu'on lui signale, en en donnant au besoin un court résumé, les articles de revues anglaises intéressant l'histoire littéraire française; il importe seulement que les articles signalés ne soient pas seulement des jugements critiques mais apportent une contribution à la connaissance historique de cette littérature. Les notes ou tirages à part peuvent être adressés soit directement au secrétaire de la Revue soit au correspondant pour l'Angleterre, Mr G. Rudler, Professeur à l'Université, 18 Bradmore Road, Oxford. La chronique de la Revue signalera les articles et brochures qu'on aura ainsi fait connaître.

ARTICLES RECEIVED

[Books and complete journals will in future be acknowledged by the editor of the *Modern Language Review*. Offprints and pamphlets will be noticed in the *Bulletin*, and will be available for members who wish to consult them. Application for pamphlets dealing with English should be made to Miss A. C. Paues, and for all others to the Hon. Secretary.]

H. R. Patch, "The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna" (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*), April, 1922.

E. F. Johnson, *Weckherlins Eclogues of the Seasons*, 1922.

G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Corneille's Cinna and the Conspiration des Dames" (*Modern Philology*), August, 1922.

Anna Benedetti: E. D. Thoreau, *Il Solitario di Walden*, March, 1919; *Mazzini e Margherita Fuller*, 1918; *Ruperto Brooke*, October, 1919; *Sinfonie in Versi*, January, 1920; *Nella Poesia di Giovanni Keats*, February, 1921; *Notizia Letteraria*, August, 1922; *Un Poeta Inglese*, William Ernest Henley, February, 1922; *Una Novella di Mrs Aphra Behn*, December, 1921.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1922

EXPENDITURE	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	INCOME	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Printing, Postage, Stationery		7 3 7	Subscriptions		68 11 9
Publication and cost of *Bulletin*	219 0 6		Life Members' Subscriptions	34 13 0	
Less Received from Sale of Publications	134 2 10		*Less* Allocated to Capital Fund	23 2 0	
		84 17 8			11 11 0
Secretarial Expenses		45 6 1	Excess of Expenditure over Income carried to Balance Sheet		57 4 7
		£137 7 4			£137 7 4

BALANCE SHEET 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1922

LIABILITIES	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ASSETS	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Capital Fund:					
Balance as per last Account	226 10 7		Cash at Bankers	358 3 0	
Proportion of Life Members' Subscriptions during year	23 2 0		Cash in hand	15 0	
Donations during year	7 9 2				358 18 0
		257 1 9			
Celtic Fund as per last Account		1 1 0			
Sundry Creditors:					
Due to Treasurer for Postage, etc.	9 10 0		Adverse Balance of Income and Expenditure Account		49 7 3
Due to University Press for Printing	140 12 6				
		150 2 6			
Income and Expenditure Account:					
Balance as per last Account	7 17 4				
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income 1921–2	57 4 7				
Deficit per contra	49 7 3				
		£408 5 3			£408 5 3

We have examined the foregoing Abstract Financial Statement with the Books and Vouchers, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith.

PETERS, ELWORTHY AND MOORE *Auditors*.

7, Downing Street, Cambridge.
11th *October*, 1922.

MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

GENERAL INFORMATION

MEMBERSHIP. Membership is open to graduates (and persons of the standing of graduate) of all Universities, British and Foreign; to other persons, at the discretion of the Committee; and to approved institutions and associations.

SUBSCRIPTION. The minimum annual subscription is 7*s*. 6*d*. and should be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Professor Allen Mawer, The University, Liverpool. A single payment of £5. 5*s*. entitles to life membership.

FEDERATED BODIES. The Association is federated to the Modern Language Associations of England and America, and any member may join the American Association by paying the reduced subscription of 10*s*. 6*d*. ($2.50) through its Hon. Treasurer.

CAPITAL FUND. It is particularly desired to draw the attention of members to the **Capital Fund**, founded to enable the Association to carry into effect some of its most urgent schemes. **The Committee appeals to all members who have not yet done so to make a special contribution, large or small, to this Fund, preferably a guarantee for five years.**

The Modern Language Review, published for the Association in January, April, July and October, is supplied to members (and by a special arrangement to members of the English Association and of the English and American Modern Language Associations) at an annual subscription, *payable in advance* through the Treasurer of the body concerned, of 15*s*. ($3.75) post free. To other persons and institutions the annual subscription is 25*s*. net post free, single numbers costing 7*s*. net; this subscription may be sent to any bookseller or to Mr C. F. Clay, Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4.

The contents of the *Review* may be classified generally thus: (1) Original Articles, embodying the results of research or criticism; (2) Texts and Documents, hitherto unprinted; (3) Miscellaneous Notes and Discussions; (4) Reviews and Minor Notices of Books; (5) Notes on matters of literary and scientific interest, including a quarterly chronicle of the Association; (6) Classified Bibliography of New Publications.

The collaboration of all interested in linguistic and literary research is invited. Contributors will receive six copies of Articles and Notes free. Additional copies and copies of Reviews may be had at cost price: Communications respecting these (which should be ordered when the proof is returned) should be addressed to Mr J. B. Peace, The University Press, Cambridge.

Editorial communications of a general kind and contributions relating especially to German should be addressed to the General Editor, Prof. J. G. Robertson, 90, Regent's Park Road, London, N.W. 1; those dealing with English should be sent to Prof. G. C. Moore Smith, 31, Endcliffe Rise Road, Sheffield; and those which relate to the Romance languages to Prof. Edmund G. Gardner, The University, Manchester. Books for review should be sent to the Editors of *The Modern Language Review*, c/o Mr C. F. Clay, Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4. Other business communications, and requests for advertising space, should be addressed to Professor E. Allison Peers, The University, Liverpool.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY J. B. PEACE, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

133

PLAGIARISM, SOURCES, AND INFLUENCES IN SHELLEY'S 'ALASTOR[1].'

SHELLEY presents some of the complexities of the problem of plagiarism. One type of mind can regard him as a plagiarist pure and simple. 'Of celebrated poets,' says a critic[2], 'Shelley seems to me the most imitative, and assuredly he does not improve on his originals.' Another[3] refines on this statement by taxing the poet with 'unconscious plagiarism,' adding: 'It is indeed scarcely possible that anyone should knowingly venture to imitate, in so undisguised a manner, and so frequently in the same piece, a poet who is in everyone's hands' (i.e. Shakespeare). Professor Baynes[4] enlarges on the term 'unconscious': 'But though Shelley was in this way acquainted with most of the English poets, it is abundantly clear that he went through them in a vital and impassioned rather than in a reflective and critical manner. In a word, he read their poetry as he composed his own, under conditions of imaginative excitement that enabled him rapidly to realize the substance, and to assimilate the leading and emotional conceptions without paying any separate or mental attention to details of form or phraseology.'

These two points of view cover the main varieties of plagiarism, those of idea, form, and expression. The two former varieties may be either general or specific. There are the main ideas current in a particular age; and individual ideas, such as those of *Prometheus Bound* or Bion's *Lament*. These last Shelley is acknowledged to have used in so masterly a fashion that the charge of plagiarism cannot be seriously considered.

As regards expression Shelley is notorious for verbal echoes so obvious that we pause to ask whether the fact itself is not a problem. Has the defence of unconscious plagiarism a real meaning?

On plagiarism Shelley uttered himself explicitly. 'I do not propose to enter into competition with our greatest contemporary poets. Yet

[1] The substance of this essay formed an appendix to my dissertation *The Personality of Shelley*, presented at the University of Leipzig in 1907. It has been enlarged and altered. L. H. A.

[2] Yardsley, *Notes and Queries*, IV, p. 285.

[3] 'Some Notes on Othello,' *Cornhill Magazine*, October, 1868.

[4] *Edinburgh Review*, 1871, pp. 443–4.

I am unwilling to tread in the footsteps of any who have preceded me. I have sought to avoid the imitation of any style of language or versification peculiar to the original minds of which it is the character, designing that even if what I have produced be worthless, it should still be properly my own.' He argues, however, that any age stamps a certain resemblance on all its writers. 'This is an influence which neither the meanest scribbler, nor the sublimest genius of any era can escape, and which I have not attempted to escape[1].' When his art was more mature he prefaced *Prometheus Unbound* with a finer statement of the same position. Beyond doubt he understood the matter in all its bearings, and not least the power of unconscious influence. 'There must be a resemblance which does not depend on their own will between all the writers of any particular age.'

Realizing the inalienable force of genius, he knew that with the poet the mind acted on the influence rather than the influence on the mind by virtue of what he calls its 'uncommunicated lightning,' its 'internal powers to modify the nature of others.' However deeply in moments of depression he felt his own defects, he claimed that whatever influence he absorbed from the spirit of his age became his own. That principle he could well have extended to an influence from any preceding age or writer. There is, for instance, a strong resemblance between the atmosphere of *The Cenci* and that of Shakespeare's tragedies, especially *Macbeth*. This makes it the least original of his works; but is it not, in the final analysis, an original creation?

The question is, however, how many of such resemblances are conscious? The answer lies in his own phrase, quoted above, 'a resemblance which does not depend on their own will.' This infers that the mind is seized from without by a dæmonic power which makes the poet sibylline, hardly conscious of his utterances. 'The poet,' he says, 'is a different thing from the rest of the world. Imagination steals on him he knows not whence. Images float before him: he knows not their home. Struggling and contending powers are engendered within him which no outward impulse, no inward passion, awakened. He utters sentiments he never meditated. He creates persons whose originals he has never seen; but he cannot command the power which called them out of nothing. He must wait until the god or dæmon-genius breathes it into him.'

In Shelley creation was, what genius essentially is, the working together of the whole man, conscious and subconscious, which made him

[1] Introduction to *The Revolt of Islam*.

a kind of medium, a vacuum for the occupation of the divine. But because this cooperation is never quite perfect in any mind, the subconscious not only contributed to the force of the poet's inspiration, but also interpolated foreign fragments, not recognized as such, exactly as in dream.

This, I believe, is the explanation and defence of Shelley's verbal plagiarisms. I have endeavoured to enlarge on the initial hint, given by Professor Baynes, by relating the phenomenon more closely to the texture of Shelley's mind. His plagiarisms may be regarded as the intrusions of his dream-personality on his inspiration; but they are attendant only on the highest kind of inspiration.

A mere glance at his juvenilia shows that a mind so impressionable must have precipitated much into its subconsciousness. His salad poems, those of *Victor and Cazire*[1], contain this crude paraphrase of Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*:

> See'st thou the sunbeam's yellow glow
> That robes with liquid streams of light
> Yon distant mountain's craggy brow
> And shows the rocks so fair, so bright?
> 'Tis thus sweet expectation's ray
> In softer view shows distant hours,
> And portrays each succeeding day
> As dressed in fairer, brighter, flowers.

Even *Queen Mab*, when Shelley was a prodigy of eighteen, begins with an obvious imitation of the opening of *Thalaba*. What would he have said, in those callow days, if he had been confronted with the parallels? He said once of Sgricci: 'The idea, it is true, comes from Euripides, but he made it his own.' Would that have been his self-defence in such cases, or would he have denied the similarity altogether? Impossible as the latter may seem at first sight, it is not unnatural in a mind where subjectivity at times reached delusion in common affairs that might have seemed to exclude it[2].

The habit of echoing older poetry clung to Shelley throughout his writings. Even in his last work, *The Triumph of Life*, the phrase 'what seemed the head' is from Milton's description of Death. Indeed, the monster's encounter with Satan embedded itself in his mind, for its outcrops appear in other passages. Compare the following with the episode in Milton's epic:

> Faith, the Python, undefeated
> Even to his bloodstained steps drags on
> Her foul and wounded train. (*Ros. and Helen*, 701[3].)

[1] See R. Garnett's edition, 1898; and H. Richter, *Englische Studien*, xxvi.
[2] See the episode of Williams' visit, related in Peacock's *Memoirs*.
[3] All lines are numbered according to Locock's edition.

> While I behold such execrable shapes. (*Prom. Unb.* I, 449.)
>
> [of Demogorgon] neither limb
> Nor form nor outline. (*Prom. Unb.* II, 4, 5.)

Echoes from other poets are no less unmistakable. The phrase 'the effect and it' from *Macbeth* is repeated (*Rev. Isl.* IX, xxvii, 4) and 'all that it inherits' (*Hellas*, 780) in a passage strongly reminiscent of Prospero's speech. From Coleridge comes:

> I chewed the bitter dust
> And bit my bloodless arm, (*Rev. Isl.* III, xxi, 8.)

and

> Till Death cried, 'I win, I win!' (*Eug. Hills*, 240.)

Is it possible that these cases, and others equally patent, were all unconscious? Or is it only just to the poet to make some qualification? Probably some borrowings, at least in the case of contemporaries, were tributes to the original. In one instance the debt is acknowledged. The phrase 'too deep for tears' in *Alastor* is printed in quotation marks, while in the same poem 'obstinate questionings' and 'natural piety' appear without them. It strains our credence to believe that two were unconscious and one conscious. Is it not more likely that a particular expression, to the borrower's mind the most inalienable, was selected to indicate a general acknowledgment? For quotation marks are the antithesis of poetry. They destroy the spontaneous and personal atmosphere. The poetic filcher might answer slily to his accuser: 'Must I, then, write in the style of the *Ingoldsby Legends*:

> One touch to her hand and one word in her ear,
> (I've borrowed this line from Sir Walter, I fear)?

We shall never know now which of Shelley's borrowings were conscious, and which unconscious, but if we approach him in the spirit of poetry, not of exegesis, we shall make a just discount.

A further distinction should be made. Translations from foreign languages, acknowledged or not, are not plagiarism. Any writer so doing knows that some scholar will soon track him down, but if the appropriations are well applied he need suffer no qualm. Many of Shelley's expressions are of this sort, such as: 'Revenge and wrong bring forth their kind' (*Hellas*, 729) from Æschylus; 'Lucan, by his death approved' (*Adonais*, XLV, 8) from Lucan; 'Happier they their happiness who knew' (*Adonais*, V, 3) from Vergil; 'One Shape of many names' (*Rev. Isl.* VIII, ix, 6) from Æschylus. With these may be mentioned adaptations from such originals. Thus the phrase last quoted becomes later 'O many fearful natures in one name' (*Prom. Unb.* 458).

For what Shelley did, Shelley answered or disdained to answer. He was great enough to do both. But for what Shelley did not, let him not be called to account. There is a tendency among scholars and critics in our own age, which is over-sensitive on the subject of originality, to push analysis too far. In their attempts to recreate a poem as it arose in its maker's mind they leave it a muddle of *disjecta membra*. Such a process may be a token of deep admiration in the critic, but it has the effect of violation. For a creation is an elusive thing, being more than the sum of its parts. It is incumbent on the critic, however learnedly he may handle his subject, not to destroy that sense of atmosphere which hangs like an aroma round a work of art.

This has been done by Dr Richard Ackermann in his discussion of *Alastor*[1]. His research is no attempt to belittle the poet's individuality; rather, he emphasizes its original quality: 'Shelley, rightly called one of the most subjective among lyric poets, is fond of starting his poems, whether confessedly, whether consciously, or not, from some model which gives him the stimulus, often merely the name (*Alastor*), or the idea, the atmosphere, the exterior clothing (*Epipsychidion, Adonais*, etc.): even if he follows his model in the first part, his independence gradually increases so that the development receives a purely individual, modern and subjective stamp.'

But the application of his scalpel to *Alastor* hardly leaves this impression. He allows that 'the exposition of the argument (*Fabel*) is completely original. Echoes, models and influences received from his masters *are found only in details*[2].' After reading Ackermann's analysis, however, the poem, as a whole (which is important), seems lost in details (which are unimportant).

The essay begins with a recognition of Brandl's assertion that Shelley, Byron and Keats, the 'Post-Romantics,' built on Wordsworth and Coleridge. The first exemplification of this follows. Speaking of the Romantics (Wordsworth and Coleridge) Ackermann says: 'The two most prominent of these ideas (i.e. of the Romantics) are the philosophy of nature and the impulse to freedom, in the most varying respects. As regards the relation to Nature we find in Wordsworth a loving contemplation which extends to its smallest and least apparent parts. Coleridge, on the other hand, whose mystic tendency seeks to unravel the deepest secrets of Nature, encounters her with a timid reverence. *Alastor* at once gives plain evidence of the way in which these two

[1] *Quellen, Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelleys poetischen Werken.* Erlangen and Leipzig, 1890.
[2] The italics are mine.

influenced Shelley. The exaggerated sentiment of humanity which taught Wordsworth to regard animals as creatures kindred to man, and his equals in their rights; which led Coleridge to compose his poem *To a Young Ass*; and which inspired Southey to write *The Pig, a colloquial poem...was seized passionately by Shelley*[1], as his introductory lines on Nature (1–17) show.'

The following passages are then compared:

Alastor, 13–15.

If no bright bird, insect, or gentle beast
I consciously have injured, but still loved
And cherished these my kindred...

The Excursion, II, 41–47.

Birds and beasts,
And the mute fish that glances in the stream,
And harmless reptile coiling in the sun,
And gorgeous insect hovering in the air,
The fowl domestic, and the household dog—
In his capacious mind, he loved them all:
Their rights acknowledging he felt for all.

We must begin by distinguishing between the general and the particular. That Shelley was influenced by his age is only to be expected. That he was influenced by contemporaries in a general way is natural. Mrs Shelley leaves us in no doubt as to the Romantics. 'The love and knowledge of Nature developed by Wordsworth, the lofty melody and mysterious beauty of Coleridge's poetry, and the wild fantastic machinery and gorgeous scenery adopted by Southey composed his favourite reading[2].'

All this in its general, indefinable aspect is granted. But when we are told that Shelley 'seized passionately' a particular thing, a particular sentiment, we come to details; and there is much room for pause.

Was not the 'sentiment of humanity,' whether exaggerated or not, inborn in the man who describes himself as

a nerve o'er which do creep
The else unfelt oppressions of the earth,

who wished 'no living thing to suffer pain,' and who was a vegetarian? If Wordsworth had never lived would not the 'sentiment of humanity' have existed in one who seems to his posterity to have been born to utter it? It is true that *Alastor* appeared two years after *The Excursion*, that it contains three quotations from Wordsworth; but does that prove that Shelley 'seized passionately' from Wordsworth what was the very core of his being? If it be true, as Locock observes, that the invocation in *Alastor* is 'Wordsworthian in sentiment,' it is only because Wordsworth gave something of his colour to what was innate in the younger

[1] The italics are mine.

[2] Introduction to *Queen Mab*.

man. Allow it as an influence, half-conscious, half-unconscious, a subtle informing factor. But when we come to the details, to the diction, which Locock tells us is also Wordsworthian, do Ackermann's parallels carry the slightest conviction?

In animadverting on another critic who asserted a resemblance between a passage from Shelley and one from Milton, Ackermann says: 'It almost borders on mania to brand as plagiarism the presence of these commonly used words[1].' What resemblance is here but that of 'commonly used words'? I find nothing but 'bird,' 'insect,' and 'beast.' Further, if we look again at what is alleged to have been 'seized passionately' by Shelley we find it is sentimentalities on asses and pigs. Now Wordsworth mentions 'the fowl domestic and the household dog,' precisely what, on this showing, Shelley should have included, and precisely what, if he ever remembered Wordsworth's lines, he omitted.

The resemblance, next noted, between ll. 37–45 and *Tintern Abbey*, 94–100, is genuine enough, though, the reminiscence being probably unconscious, we find Wordsworth's 'mind of man' transformed by Shelley to 'the deep heart of man.' Here is the contemplative as opposed to the emotional, which gives the reason why, in the presence of Nature, Shelley is, as Ackermann notes, 'insatiable,' whereas Wordsworth is 'disturbed' with the 'joy' of 'thoughts.'

If the instance quoted above is an example of the specific, of influence in detail, of verbal similarity, in short, is it at all remarkable that for this poem of 720 lines the following 'sources' have been alleged: Arrian, Coleridge, de Lisle, Goethe, Ben Jonson, Landor, Scott, Charlotte Smith, Southey, Volney, Wordsworth? Some of these are undoubtedly genuine, but I wish to point out a few that are not, because only what is carefully sifted and certainly established should stand.

Following Brandl[2] who sees a link between *Alastor* and Coleridge's *Frost at Midnight*, and notices that Coleridge's ear 'catches in the faint seldom-observed tones of the elements the weaving of Nature's divine life,' Ackermann compares:

> I have watched
> Thy shadow, and the darkness of thy steps,
> And my heart ever gazes on the depth
> Of thy deep mysteries. I have made my bed
> In charnels and on coffins, where black death
> Keeps record of the trophies won from thee,
> Hoping to still these obstinate questionings
> Of thee and thine, by forcing some lone ghost,
> Thy messenger, to render up the tale
> Of what we are, (*Alastor*, 20–29.)

[1] 'Studien zu *Prometheus Unbound*,' *Englische Studien*, XVI, 28 ff.
[2] *S. T. Coleridge und die englische Romantik*, p. 201.

with Coleridge's poem, and particularly with the final lines:

> Or if the secret ministry of frost
> Shall hang them [the eve-drops] up in silent icicles
> Quietly shining to the quiet Moon.

If the poems be taken as a whole there is little similarity between a man sitting quietly and safely by his fireside on a winter night, moved to reflection by his sleeping infant, and a 'desperate alchymist' sitting in charnels. The unapparent motions of Nature come to Coleridge insensibly and of themselves, while Shelley is bent to tear them from her. If the resemblance lies in details, there is a passage far more closely akin to Shelley than that quoted. Does not the line:

> When night makes a weird sound of its own stillness

chime remarkably with:

> 'Tis calm indeed! so calm, that it disturbs
> And vexes meditation with its strange
> And extreme silentness,

as though silence were palpable, if not audible?

Such things, however, are superficial, and easily manufactured. Thus, we could quote from *Remorse*:

> Or hover round, as he at midnight oft
> Sits on my grave and gazes at the moon. (Act I, Sc. ii.)

The context, of course, presents no parallel; nor does that of *Frost at Midnight.*

In Shelley, no less than in Coleridge, the power of subtle distinction was native. This was one of the few things on which Shelley prided himself. 'I am framed,' he wrote, 'if for anything not in common with the herd of mankind, to apprehend minute and remote distinctions of feeling, whether relative to external nature or to the living things about me.' In conveying these distinctions he and Coleridge were quite opposed. Coleridge, wrapped in his transcendental cloud, touches the reader impersonally, as though the impact came straight from beyond the 'undiscovered bourne.' Shelley transfers it directly through his own feeling. The very line, 'When night makes a weird sound of its own stillness[1]' speaks of tingling nerves, over-excited sensitiveness, of mystery

[1] Even Locock doubts if this is authentic: 'Here perhaps is an imitation of Wordsworth's *Yew-Trees*:

> in the midst
> Of its own darkness.'

This use of 'own' is essentially Shelleyan. Cf. 'Fruit suspended in their own green haven' (*P. U.* III, iii, 140). See also ll. 153 and 175 of this Poem. In his note on 'the wind of their own speed' (*P. U.* II, iv, 136) Locock says: 'I have collected nearly 50 examples of similar phrases from Shelley's poems, all of them containing the notion of something *paradoxically automatic*.' I do not follow this obscure phrase, but, whatever the examples mean, the iteration ought to show that it is a Shelleyan idiom.

felt physically. His lines on the Lechlade Churchyard reveal his temperament in a phrase:

> The dead are sleeping in their sepulchres,
> And, mouldering as they sleep, *a thrilling sound*
> *Half-sense, half-thought*, among the darkness stirs.

A man who is capable of so native and startling a phrase as 'the blood is listening in my frame,' in whom, to use his own words, 'ideas assume the force of sensation,' shows little trace, especially in the intense glow of his youth, of Coleridge's dreamy meditation.

Finally, the man who, as a boy, adored *The Monk*, who supped full with the horrors of German ghost-stories, and showed his psychic qualities in strange delusions and visions, gives in this passage a piece of literal autobiography. Hogg tells us:

> He even planned how he might get admission to the vault, or charnel house, at Warnham Church, and might sit there all night, harrowed by fear, yet trembling with expectation, to see one of the spiritualized owners of the bones piled round him[1].

Ackermann also repeats from Brandl a remark which seems to rest on an error in translation. In his comparison of *Alastor* with *Frost at Midnight* the latter says that Shelley, like Coleridge, 'sees himself in lonely conversation with beloved innocence "when night makes a weird sound of its own stillness."' Coleridge's 'beloved innocence' is, of course, his infant child. Is there any parallel situation in Shelley? Of course not. Brandl has obviously read 'love' as 'beloved' in translating:

> Have I mixed awful talk and asking looks
> With my most innocent love,

thereby ruining the transcendental spirit of the words[2].

Alastor, 502–514, in which the poet's life is likened to the course of a stream, is compared with *Excursion* III, 967–991 (p. 9). We are comforted, however, by the admission that it 'may be a coincidence.' So common is the simile that there was no need to cull an instance from the end of Book III. Almost at the beginning, and quite near the passage next to be discussed, we find:

> And hope, or trust,
> That our existence winds her stately course
> Beneath the sun, like Ganges, to make part
> Of a living ocean; or, to sink engulfed,
> Like Niger, in impenetrable sands
> And utter darkness. (259 ff.)

Though the similes 'may be a coincidence,' yet, says Ackermann, 'it is interesting that both end with the desire for death.' The passage in *Alastor* does not end in the desire for death, but with the pathetic

[1] See Locock, *ad loc.*
[2] *Pace* Andrew Lang's Bœotian comment. See Locock, *ad loc.*

thought that death is a scattering of the soul (the 'living thoughts') back to the elements, just as the river is lost in the ocean or evaporated into clouds. It is, in short, a piece of Shelley's well-known 'Atheism,' and the passage I have quoted is more in consonance with the thought.

On page 11 Shelley's descriptions of scenery are discussed. Ackermann will not agree with Stopford Brooke who says that Shelley describes 'scenery which is not directly studied from anything in heaven or earth.' 'We must rather observe,' he says, 'the different influences through which his landscapes have arisen. The immediate clear result is that the poet drew his pictures from personal observation.' He then recalls the journeys on the Reuss, Rhine and Thames, the stay in Wales and Devonshire, and the environs of Windsor Forest where the poem was written. Splendid as some of Shelley's descriptions are, his commentator regards them as none the less taken from Nature, and true to her, while some may correspond to real landscapes. Still, Shelley does not follow Wordsworth's method of bald description. He throws his own soul into Nature. Ackermann's remarks do not really refute Stopford Brooke, who said that Shelley's scenery is not *directly studied* from Nature. Wordsworth took a pride in localizing his landscapes, whereas, so etherealized are Shelley's that geography merely affronts them. Shelley may draw his 'airy nothing' from a 'local habitation,' but only in the mood of 'fine frenzy,' not of 'direct study.' Brooke, therefore, is right in spirit, whatever truth of the letter there be in Ackermann.

We learn that the scenery of *Thalaba* in the main influenced *Alastor* (supplementary, of course, to the original impetus), though in one instance Wordsworth leaves his traces. We are thereupon confronted with an example so Procrustean as to make criticism, if such principles be allowed, neither a tribute nor a judgment, but a Nemesis. We find that the 'silent nook' in *Alastor* (571–601) presents affinities with that in *The Excursion*, III, 50 ff. The reader will remember that the 'silent nook' in *Alastor* is set in a wild and savage scene, perched on the edge of a vast mountain amid 'black gulphs and yawning caves,' and the 'thunder and the hiss of homeless streams' that fall into an 'immeasurable void.' It was 'upheld by knotty roots and fallen rocks.' It was ivy-mantled and littered with leaves borne by the 'children of the autumnal whirlwind,' though then the 'haunt of every gentle wind.' This is compared with Wordsworth's scene of a little nook at the exit of a quiet English valley by a silent waterfall in the neighbourhood of some large rocks, 'uncouth forms.' Such are the main outlines, obviously without affinity. Let us now examine the alleged similarities in the details.

The passage quoted from Wordsworth runs:

> Upon a semi-cirque of turf-clad ground
> The hidden nook discovered to our view
> A mass of rock, resembling, as it lay
> Right at the foot of that moist precipice,
> A stranded ship.

Ackermann tells us that the waters near this nook 'dash over the jagged cliff into the bottomless gulf.' As to Shelley's 'silent nook'

> The children of the autumnal whirlwind bore
> In wanton sport those bright leaves...,

and as it is in the 'haunt of every gentle wind,' so Wordsworth's 'hidden nook'

> Confines the still-voiced whirlwind round and round
> Eddying within its vast circumference. (Ackermann, p. 12.)

In the broadest outlines the terrain of the scenes is quite different. Wordsworth's travellers pursue an upward path (l. 23), while the poet in *Alastor* descends (l. 542). The nook in *Alastor* is surrounded by 'black and barren' rocks rising in 'unimaginable shapes.' With these are compared rocks by no means gigantic, and far from 'unimaginable,' for one of them is illustrated by the very homely image of an upturned ship, while others symbolize Pompey's Pillar, a Theban obelisk, and a Druid cromlech. As for Wordsworth's waterfall, does it launch itself over a 'jagged cliff' into a bottomless gulf? *The Excursion* reads:

> And saw the water that composed this rill
> Descending, disembodied, and diffused,
> O'er the *smooth surface* of an ample crag
> Lofty and steep and naked as a tower, (l. 39.)

and what in common is there between:

> the howl,
> The thunder and the hiss of homeless streams,

and Wordsworth's mild waterfall?

> Voiceless the stream descends into the gulf
> With timid lapse. (l. 92.)

Does it fall into a 'bottomless gulf' (*unendliche Tiefe*, 'immeasurable void')? The travellers stand at the bottom, and the height of the rock is quite eusynoptic.

Lastly, does Wordsworth's nook 'confine the shrill-voiced whirlwind' in its 'vast circumference'? A little reflection might have induced suspicion of a nook that had a 'vast circumference.' What Wordsworth really says is:

> But no breeze did now
> Find entrance; high or low appeared no trace
> Of motion save the water that descended. (l. 67.)

The 'shrill-voiced whirlwinds' have nothing to do with the scene. The Wanderer says that the stones suit his 'antiquarian humour.' He figures, when in reflective mood, this as Pompey's Pillar, that as a Theban obelisk; and when he thinks of human instability these 'freaks of Nature' give him food for melancholy:

> Not less than that huge Pile (from some abyss
> Of mortal power unquestionably sprung)
> Whose hoary diadem of pendent rocks
> Confines the shrill-voiced whirlwind round and round
> Eddying within its vast circumference
> *On Sarum's naked plain.* (ll. 143 ff.)

To cap this, Sweet[1] finds in Charlotte Smith another 'source' for this passage. '*Yet* frequently, amidst the wildest *horrors* of those great objects, was seen some little *green recess.*'

Charlotte Smith's 'yet' is repeated, presumably, in

> Yet the grey precipice and solemn pine
> And torrent were not all. (l. 571.)

What nicety of reproduction! It becomes miracle. Did the self-inflammable genius of Shelley ever need a Charlotte Smith to kindle it? If an everyday phrase like 'green recess' is to have a source, there will be no end of analogies. Coleridge's *Hymn* will suggest itself, especially as Shelley wrote a poem on Mont Blanc which has a distinct echo of Coleridge[2]. Are there not 'wild torrents' in Coleridge? And does not Shelley in *The Woodman and the Nightingale* repeat from the *Hymn* the phrase 'struggling with (the) darkness'? Indeed, this passage from *Alastor* has been crushed by a Tarpeian death.

Another searcher[3] has flung on the pile of similarities the weight of Goethe. The analogy is as forced as Ackermann's and not worth examining, except to show one of the evils of the German dissertation system—the loss of judgment in the pursuit of some diminutive 'theory.' In short, there are none so blind as those who *will* see.

And because Shelley tells us that the crags seem to 'overhang the world,' are we to believe, with Sweet, that he drew from Charlotte Smith's 'rocks which seem to overhang the wondering traveller'? Did he need so obscure a writer to furnish him with so obvious a phrase? Do we judge poets by the *cliché*? To establish cause and effect between

[1] 'A source of Shelley's *Alastor*,' *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, 1890.

[2]
> and when I gaze on thee,
> I seem as in a trance sublime and strange
> To muse on my own separate phantasy. (*Mont Blanc*, 34.)

[3] A. Droop, *Die Belesenheit P. B. Shelleys*, Dissertation, Jena, 1906, pp. 127 ff. *Faust*, 1070 ff., compared with *Alastor*, 550 ff.

such trifling resemblances is to regard Shelley as writing, not from his soul, but from a dictionary.

Comfort now sheds one drop of balm. We learn from Ackermann that the 'dim and hornéd moon' of *Alastor* (602) is not a borrowed one. How do we know this? There is proof. Mary Shelley's journal for the autumn of 1814 contains this passage:

> The evening was most beautiful! the horned moon hung in the light of sunset which threw a glow of unusual depth of redness above the piny mountains and the dark deep valleys....The moon becomes yellow, and hangs close to the woody horizon.

Shelley has narrowly escaped another 'influence'!

> The hornéd moon with one bright star
> Within the nether tip.

That Shelley did use his own eyes, at least for the 'green recess,' seems indicated by a passage in *The Revolt of Islam*:

> The autumnal winds, as if spellbound, had made
> A natural couch of leaves in that recess. (VI, xxviii.)

It is true that Shelley had a trick of repeating himself, but he seldom did so without having received some strong impression[1]. Some natural formation seen on his wanderings must have deeply impressed him.

Ackermann makes another concession, a kind of palliative. 'That the sight of different landscapes,' he says, 'can result in similar descriptions, is shown by the majestic cliff-scenery through which the river winds (*Alastor*, 543 ff.) when compared with a passage in Scott's *Rokeby* (II, 7). One is led to surmise that both poets modelled their composition on the same landscape; and yet Shelley's original is to be sought probably in Wales and North Devonshire' (p. 13). Scott's stanza runs thus:

> The open vale is soon passed o'er:
> Rokeby, though nigh, is seen no more;
> Sinking 'mid Greta's thickets deep
> A wild and darker course they keep,
> A stern and lone, yet lovely road
> As e'er the foot of minstrel trode!
> Broad shadows o'er their passage fell,
> Deeper and narrower grew the dell:
> It seemed some mountain, rent and riven,
> A channel for the stream had given,
> So high the cliffs of limestone grey
> Hung beetling o'er the torrent's way,
> Yielding, along their rugged base,
> A flinty footpath's niggard space,

[1] See B. I. Evans, 'The Persistent Image in Shelley,' *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1922, p. 792. In commenting on the comparison of autumn leaves to ghosts in the *Ode to the West Wind* he says: 'The image was not an inversion of a Vergilian reminiscence, but a recollection of a definite imaginative experience.' With regard to the persistence of images in Shelley, the writer adds: 'There is nothing to indicate that this definite associative value was a thing of conscious or formal growth.'

> Where he, who winds 'twixt rock and wave,
> May hear the headlong torrent rave,
> And like a steed in frantic fit
> That flings the froth from curb and bit,
> May view her chafe her waves to spray,
> O'er every rock that bars her way,
> Till foam-globes on her eddies ride,
> Thick as the schemes of human pride,
> That down life's current drive amain,
> As frail, as frothy, and as vain!

To offer this as a parallel, even fortuitous, worth comment, is to regard as remarkable the fact that the description of similar things involves the use of a certain number of common words; or that Scott and Shelley happened to be familiar with mountain scenery. For that which is typical of the creative minds, the atmosphere of each scene, is as different as the temperaments of the two poets. Scott, describing an actual scene in his photographic style, confines it to earth with his grey limestone and his flint; Shelley, evoking a landscape that might have come from the *Inferno,* is beyond geology.

Yet the resemblances between some of the passages already quoted is no greater than that between these. And does not a mountain torrent give Scott food for reflection on human life?

Ackermann advances another coincidence of this sort as an evidence that different landscapes may produce similar descriptions:

> The oak,
> Expanding its immense and knotty arms,
> Embraces the light beech. The pyramids
> Of the tall cedar overarching, frame
> Most solemn domes within, and far below...
> The ash and the acacia floating hang
> Tremulous and pale. (*Alastor*, 431 ff.)

> Hoary, yet haughty, frowns the oak,
> Its boughs by weight of ages broke;
> And towers erect, in sable spire,
> The pine-tree scathed by lightning fire;
> The drooping ash and birch between
> Hang their fair tresses o'er the green.
> (*Rokeby*, IV, 3.)

It is characteristic that Ackermann should have omitted from the quotation that luminous and intensely Shelleyan line 'like clouds suspended in an emerald sky.' And if only *Alastor* had been continued:

> Like restless serpents, clothed
> In rainbow and in fire, the parasites
> Starred with ten thousand blossoms,

Ackermann might have noted the startling similarity to a Highland landscape. One is compelled to think that Chaucer must have been looking at the very same scene when he wrote 'The bildere ook and eek the hardy asshe' (*Parlement of Foules*, 176). Bare words are the only common factor.

> Ay, in the catalogue ye go for trees,
> As oak, acacia, cedar, beech, and ash.

Sweet, however, finds here a similarity to Charlotte Smith's 'immense pines or mountain ash'; so that, although Ackermann exculpates the poet, he has been at last convicted. Medwin, of course, mentions this very passage as inspired by Windsor Forest; but this does not prevent scholastic acumen from discovering that skeletons are more alike than people.

We learn next from Ackermann (p. 13) that Shelley, in the following passage, 'approaches the oriental scenery of Southey':

> Soft mossy lawns
> Beneath these canopies extend their swells,
> Fragrant with perfumed herbs, and eyed with blooms
> Minute yet beautiful. One darkest glen
> Sends from its woods of musk-rose twined with jasmine... (*Alastor*, 448 ff.)

> And oh! what odours the voluptuous vale
> Scatters from jasmine bowers,
> From yon rose wilderness,
> From cluster'd henna and from orange groves,
> That with such perfumes fill the breeze... (*Thalaba*, VI, 22.)

If verbal resemblances are the criterion, Coleridge is as apt:

> I know the place where Lewti lies
> When silent night has closed her eyes:
> It is a breezy jasmine bower.

The distinctively oriental things in Southey are henna and orange, not found in Shelley. What could be more English than musk-rose, the musk-rose of Keats' *Nightingale*? If there is anything exotic (tropical rather than oriental), it is the parasites.

Charlotte Smith, too, is alleged to have contributed to the picture. Her rich imagination provides the following bald catalogue: 'And the short turf beneath them appeared spangled with the soldinella and fringed pink, or blushing with the scented wreaths of the Daphne Cneorum.'

And all this weight of debt for a scene whose elements are very simple. Do not the indeterminate components become significant only as they meet in the personality? What is significant is what neither Charlotte Smith nor Southey could have said: 'eyed with blooms minute yet beautiful.' Is not this one of Shelley's 'remote distinctions,' proceeding spontaneously from the man who said of himself: 'I find the very blades of grass and boughs of distant trees present themselves to me with microscopic distinctness'? If he could see a needle, was he blind to a haystack?

We proceed now to lines which are, according to Ackermann, 'certainly a reminiscence of *Thalaba*,' though only as an addition to Shelley's own observations of rivers and mountains (p. 14).

Where the mountain, riven,
Exposed those black depths to the azure sky,
Ere yet the flood's enormous volume fell
Even to the base of Caucasus, with sound
That shook the everlasting rocks, the mass
Filled with one whirlpool all that ample chasm. (*Alastor*, 374 ff.)

And lo, where raving o'er a hollow course
The ever flowing flood
Foams in a thousand whirlpools!
There adown
The perforated rock
Plunge the whole waters so precipitous,
So fathomless a fall,
That their earth-shaking roar came deadened up
Like subterranean thunders.
(*Thalaba*, VII, 6.)

'Such similarities,' says Ackermann, 'considering the resemblance in the substance of the story (a journey into the depths of the earth) are not remarkable. We find them not only in Shelley. Compare... Coleridge's...*Kubla Khan*:

> Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
> Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
> Then reached the caverns measureless to man,
> And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean.'

The comparison of these three passages leads, I imagine, to a different conclusion. If something closer than a general resemblance is revealed, it would appear more between Southey's 'subterranean thunders' and Coleridge's 'tumult' than anything Shelley has written. In any case the obligation is too trifling for comment. The main impression is that three men working at a similar idea display general resemblances. It is not criticism to refine on such meagre data.

The general influence of *Thalaba* on Shelley is beyond dispute. We have the direct testimony of Medwin that he 'almost knew it by heart,' and of Mrs Shelley that it was his 'favourite poem': and we know that the boat-journey in *Alastor* took its rise from *Thalaba*, since Mrs Shelley informs us that 'his imagination had been excited by a description of such a voyage.' But that does not infer verbal resemblances in passages where the poet is evidently flying on a free wing. Moreover it makes us look with careful eyes at Ackermann's statement mentioned above (p. 6) that Shelley likes to 'start his poems...from some model which gives him the stimulus.' Shelley neither started, continued, nor ended his poems from anything but his own moods. The stimulus, says Ackermann, was sometimes merely a name, and quotes *Alastor*. According to Peacock, the poem was written before the title was selected[1]. Whenever Shelley was 'influenced' he only received what chimed with a native chord. Thus the boat-journey from *Thalaba* merely harmonized with that love for boats which made him, as a child, sail his paper toys on

[1] Peacock's words are: 'At this time Shelley wrote his *Alastor*. He was at a loss for a title, and I proposed that which he adopted.' Surely the inference is as I have stated.

the Serpentine and which fascinated him to death[1]. The poet in *Alastor* is, of course, ultimately Shelley himself, and if we are hunting for influences we might assert that of Byron in greater degree. Peacock reports: 'He often repeated to me, as applicable to himself...

> But there are wanderers o'er Eternity
> Whose bark drives on and on, and anchored ne'er shall be.'
> (Cf. *Adonais*, LV, 2.)

The poet's Vision (*Alastor* 149–191) is also alleged to have been influenced by *Thalaba*. 'The Vision in *Alastor*,' says Ackermann, 'approaches the poet in a deep ecstasy which communicates itself to him. This is the attitude of Oneiza to her hero' (p. 8).

The passages compared are:

> Soon the solemn mood
> Of her pure mind kindled through all her frame
> A permeating fire.
> (*Alastor*, 161. See also 179 ff.)

> Till that intense affection
> Kindle its light of life,
> Even in such deep and breathless tenderness
> Oneiza's soul is centred on the youth.
> (*Thalaba*, III, 24.)

If the reader will turn to these passages in their context he will find the situations have little affinity. The Vision of *Alastor* acts the part of an ironic Diotima luring the poet with visions which fade into an unsubstantial embrace. If Shelley ever thought of *Thalaba* he reversed it, for in Southey it is the hero who inspires the maid. Oneiza directs on him

> such a look, as fables say,
> The Mother Ostrich fixes on her egg,
> Till that intense affection
> Kindle its light of life.

This ridiculous simile, an example of the 'exaggerated sentiment of humanity,' is paralleled with the ideal beauty of Shelley's passage—and for what reason? I can see none but the occurrence in both of the word 'kindle.' The Vision may kindle the poet (though Shelley says 'kindled through all *her* frame,' not '*his* frame'), but Oneiza does not kindle Thalaba. The point of Southey's comparison is merely the 'breathless tenderness' of her (and the ostrich's) gaze.

The details, too, we are told, have analogies:

> And in their branching veins
> The eloquent blood told an ineffable tale.
> (*Alastor*, 167.)
> And saw by the warm light of their own life
> Her glowing limbs. (174.)

> And through the veins and delicate skin
> The light shone rosy. (*Thalaba*, III, 25.)

[1] See B. I. Evans, *op. cit.* pp. 793–94. Ackermann mentions this, I admit; but not in such a way as to make Shelley's mind, not Southey's, the most important thing.

Southey describes the transparency of Oneiza's fingers when she trimmed the lamp. It is an obvious poetic touch, though none the less beautiful for that. Tennyson describes the Holy Grail as

> In colour like the fingers of a hand
> Before a burning taper;

and, no doubt, that is only one of many other independent instances. Still, this is quite possibly a genuine reminiscence of Southey, whether conscious or unconscious none can determine. But it appears there for exactly the same reason as the boat did, because it appealed to something native in Shelley. What was more original in him than his ethereal conception of the human body? Of his Ariel self he said:

> And now alas! the poor sprite is
> Imprisoned for some fault of his
> In a body like a grave.

He regarded the flesh with Pauline contempt as a hindrance to the activity of the soul. Perfected man will be like the liberated Prometheus:

> his pale wound-worn limbs
> Fall from Prometheus: and the azure night
> Grew radiant with the glory of that form
> Which lives unchanged within.

His ideal creations have glorified or rarified bodies, from Queen Mab to Cythna, who

> Moved upon this earth a shape of brightness
> A power that from its objects scarcely drew
> One impulse of her being—in her lightness
> Most like some radiant cloud of morning dew.

The radiance of the Vision's hands and limbs is caused by no exterior light, but proceeds from within. With this distinctively Shelleyan superiority in the image we should regard it as, at least, highly problematical whether Newcastle has been borrowing coals.

We are told also that when the poet wakes from his delusive dream the scenery 'shows the same colours as in *Gebir*,'

> The cold white light of morning, the blue moon
> Low in the West. (*Alastor*, 193.)

> When at their incantation would the moon
> Start back, and shuddering shed blue blasted light. (*Gebir*, 17.)

The association of the colour blue with death comes from the classics. A little further on from this passage Shelley uses it in this connexion—'death's blue vault' (216). A glance at Locock's note to this line will show that Shelley frequently used the colour in this application. But has the blue moon in *Alastor* anything in common with Landor's, whose colour is suggestive, if not of death, at least of the hideous aspect of the supernatural? Is not Shelley's moon part of a scene of natural beauty

which contrasts with the poet's mood? For though Shelley could paint, as in this poem, a scene of desolation in keeping with a human mood, yet he often drew sharp contrasts between man and nature, as in the *Stanzas written in dejection near Naples*. Shelley's moon is one of beauty, a moon of dawn akin to that evening moon of which Ruskin writes 'those solemn twilights, with the blue moon rising as the western skies grow dim[1].' Shelley is almost too anxious to make us understand that the scene of dawn is meant to emphasize by contrast the poet's misery,

> His wan eyes
> Gaze on the empty scene as vacantly
> As ocean's moon looks on the moon in heaven,

a dead and living moon held before the eye.

The main sentiment—the avenging 'nostalgia for the Infinite'—is so essentially Shelleyan, and has been so definitely explained by the poet himself in his introduction, that he does not seem to have been loaded by Ackermann with any further debt. There is a superficial analogy in the subject with that in Wordsworth's *Lines left on a seat in a Yew-Tree*. On examination the resemblance vanishes as readily as in the cases here discussed. It seems to me that though we have had much eager Shelley study we have not yet established a Shelley canon. The relations of the rich components of his mind to one another and to the Universe should be the first object of our study. We should then understand, in the broad sweep, his interaction with other minds; but we should avoid harrying him with pedantic minutiæ which merely evidence the ingenuity or diligence of his critics.

L. H. Allen.

Duntroon, Federal Territory, Australia.

[1] *Pre-Raphaelitism* (Everyman's Library), p. 35.

THE LEGEND OF AMICUS AND AMELIUS.

THE legend of Amicus and Amelius, the two inseparable friends, was one of the most widely known during the Middle Ages, and versions are found in almost all European languages[1]. Its relationship with a group of folkloristic *motifs* has repeatedly been pointed out[2], and Oriental influences have been held responsible for its rise in Western Europe[3]. Bédier's attitude toward all attempts to discover the folkloristic basis of the legend was extremely sceptical[4]. He was rather inclined to see in it nothing but a feudal and Christian epic. Potter, on the other hand, emphasized once more the folkloristic traits contained in all extant versions, and called attention to several Oriental parallels[5]. However much one may disagree with Bédier's extreme conclusions, his is the uncontested merit of having shown the localization of the legend in the neighbourhood of Mortara, Lombardy, and its undoubtedly hagiographic character[6]. On this basis it will be possible to re-examine the legend with some hope of arriving at more definite results than has been the case heretofore.

The heroes of the legend are two friends, conceived at the same hour, born the same day, baptized together by the Pope, and resembling each other so that it is impossible to distinguish one from the other. After a separation of several years, they start out on the same day in search of each other; having met, they contract eternal friendship and enter the service of the king. After a glorious career and numerous adventures they die on the same day and are buried separately. But by a miracle their corpses are united in the same tomb. Leaving aside for

[1] Cf. *Amis et Amiles und Jourdains de Blaivies*, ed. by Konrad Hofmann, Erlangen, 1882; *Amis and Amiloun* zugleich mit der altfranzösischen Quelle herausg. von Eugen Kölbing (*Altenglische Bibliothek*, Band II), Heilbronn, 1884; E. Kölbing, *Zur Überlieferung der Sage von Amicus und Amilius, Paul und Braune's Beitr.*, IV, 1877, pp. 271 ff.; P. Schwieger, *Die Sage von Amis und Amiles*, Progr. Berlin, 1885; Reinhold Köhler, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by J. Bolte, Berlin, 1900, II, pp. 163 ff. and 659 ff.; Potter, *Ami et Amile, Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIII, 1908, pp. 471 ff.; Ph. Aug. Becker, *Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur*, Heidelberg, 1907, p. 99; C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, Halle, 1913, p. 245; Bolte-Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Berlin, 1913–18, I, p. 56. The recent study by G. Huet, *Ami et Amile, Moyen Age*, XXI, 1919, pp. 162–84, was not accessible to me until some time after the MS. had been in the hands of the Editor.

[2] Cf. the works of Köhler, Potter, Bolte-Polívka and Voretzsch.

[3] G. Paris, *Romania*, XIV, 1885, p. 318; Potter, *op. cit.* Becker, *op. et loc. cit.*, believes that Byzantine *motifs* were introduced into the legend of the two friends.

[4] *Les Légendes épiques*, II, Paris, 1908, p. 178.

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 170–96; cf. also Becker, *op. et loc. cit.*

the present the simultaneous conception and birth of the two, let us consider first their marvellous similarity, their friendship and their death, and let us look for parallels in hagiographic literature.

In the Syriac *Acta Thomae*, Jesus is constantly mistaken for Judas Thomas and *vice versa*. They are so much alike that it is impossible for both believers and unbelievers to tell them apart[1]. In the story of the martyrdom of Polyeuctes, made famous by Corneille's drama, the affectionate relations between Polyeuctes and his friend Nearchus are dwelt upon. Both suffer for their faith on the same day[2]. Common death at the same time is also the fate of Cantius and Cantianus, martyred in Aquileja[3], of Donatianus and Rogatianus, executed at Nantes[4], of Ferreolus and Ferrutius, the martyrs of Besançon[5], of Ferrutius and Ferrutio, martyrs of Mainz[6], and of many other saints[7]. In his important works on the influence of the Dioscuri on the Christian cult, Harris pointed out that all these pairs of martyrs are Dioscuric in character, that is, they were originally twins who replaced pagan twin divinities in the cities of their worship[8]. Later on, the twin element could safely be dropped, but it left visible traces in the acts of those saints[9]. Thus we come to view the simultaneous conception and birth of Amicus and Amelius in a new light, and the story of the two friends would take rank among the large number of twin legends in hagiographic garb scattered all over Southern and Western Europe; for it is clear that the two heroes were not conceived and born simultaneously because they resembled each other and because they suffered death on the same day, but they resembled each other and died together because they were conceived and born together, that is, because they were twins. What confirms this theory is the similarity of their names.

Similarity of name as a characteristic of twin children among all races was repeatedly pointed out by Harris[10]. Generally speaking, we may distinguish four groups of such names:

[1] J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, London, 1903, p. 21.
[2] Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, Paris, 1882; cf. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[3] *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, May 31, VII, p. 428; cf. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 67.
[4] Ruinart, *Acta primor. martyrum*, Amstelod., 1713, fol., pp. 279–82; cf. Harris, *Cult*, p. 68.
[5] Harris, *Cult*, p. 70. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*
[8] The works quoted and *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913.
[9] This is absolutely certain in the case of Polyeuctes and Nearchos, of Cosmas and Damian, and of Protasius and Gervasius; cf. Harris, *Dioscuri*, p. 58; *Cult*, p. 96; *Dioscuri*, p. 42.
[10] *Cult*, pp. 58 ff. It should be noted, however, that this characteristic is not sufficient to prove twinship, as similar names were given also to brothers not twins. Cf. on this subject, K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, Berlin, 1856, pp. 264 ff.; *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, Wien, 1897, pp. 85 ff.

1. Such as are rhyming: *Florus* (*Flaurus*): *Laurus*; *Huz*: *Buz*; *Protasius*: *Gervasius*;
2. Such as are differentiated through ablaut: *Romulus* (*Romus*): *Remus*;
3. Such as have one part in common: *Baltram*: *Sintram*; *Tryphaina*: *Tryphosa*; *Picumnus*: *Pilumnus*;
4. Such as have related meanings: *Sarus*: *Ammius*; *Hilaira*: *Phoibe*; *Idas*: *Lynkeus*; *Lykos*: *Nykteus*[1].

Amicus and Amelius would evidently be ranked in the first group. Their miraculous birth at the same time is a trace left of an earlier stage of the legend in which the two heroes were twins. This conclusion is supported by a few other traits. There is a striking similarity in the rank of the parents of both, the father of Amicus being a knight (*miles*), that of Amelius a count. The parents of Amelius play no part whatever, and we do not learn what becomes of them, while of Amicus' father we at least know that he died, after admonishing his son. Finally, some of the miraculous adventures of the heroes recur in a group of folk tales, the protagonists of which are twins.

The close relationship which exists between the story of Amicus and Amelius and the tale of the *Two Brothers*[2] has been recognized from the time when the Brothers Grimm first published the latter in their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. The traits which they have in common may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a striking resemblance between the two brothers;
2. The one substitutes himself for the other;
3. He lays the sword between himself and his brother's wife.

They differ in that the ingratitude of the second brother who kills his saviour in a fit of jealousy, is unknown to the Amicus and Amelius legend, while the sacrifice of the children does not occur in the *Märchen*.

There is ground for the assumption that the story of Amicus and Amelius has not come down to us in its most original and complete form. The different versions disagree in the motivation of Amicus' misfortune. The Old French *chanson de geste* gives as a reason the fact that Amicus married the king's daughter under his friend's name and that he was guilty of bigamy. The *Vita Amici et Amelii*[3] simply says that the disease was a test; for 'omnem filium quem Deus recipit, corripit, flagellat et castigat.' It is certain, however, that the author of

[1] S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen*, Christiania, 1902, p. 45.

[2] Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 60; A. Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, Helsinki, 1910, type 303.

[3] E. Kölbing in his edition of the Middle English poem quoted above, p. xcvii.

the *Vita* had before him another version; for he makes Amicus say before the judicial combat: 'heu mihi, qui mortem huius comitis tam fraudulenter cupio, scio namque, quod si illum interfecero, reus ero ante supernum iudicem, si vero vitam meam tulerit, de me semper opprobrium narrabitur perpetuum.' The Middle English poem assigns as a reason Amicus' false oath before the duel. Radulfus Tortarius[1], finally, gives no reason at all. None of all these motivations is really satisfactory, although Bédier goes too far when rejecting Schwieger's theory that the leprosy was the punishment for Amicus' having fought Hardré in judicial combat, and saying: 'C'est un contresens que personne n'eût fait au moyen âge[2].' We have seen above that this theory is indeed supported by a reading of the *Vita*, and if mediaeval law permitted judicial combat by hired champions, those champions stood in the shoes of the person who hired them, and if his cause was bad, the champion succumbed. But it is evident that Amicus is more than a champion of Amelius. He passes himself off as Amelius while affirming his own innocence by oath. This oath is true, and Hardré is defeated in consequence; but Amicus' action is none the less fraudulent. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to suppose this motivation which, however correct, is based on the casuistry of mediaeval legal procedure, to be primitive. Bédier thinks the pious motivation of the *Vita* to be the original one. So far as the hagiographic stage of the legend is concerned, this conclusion is undoubtedly correct. As soon as we trace the story back to an ante-Christian stage, this theory naturally breaks down, for it presupposes a spirit unknown to Graeco-Roman paganism. In that case we must seek a different explanation.

Another fact which arouses our suspicion is the sword episode, which in truth has no logical consequences in the course of the legend and which might well be omitted altogether without altering the story. For it is useless to emphasize Amelius' chastity, if no one doubts it. The sword episode occurs in many legends[3], but wherever it is met with, it plays a commensurate part. In the *Tristan* of Thomas, for example, it makes King Mark believe in the chastity of the two lovers. In a narrative mentioned by Reinhold Köhler[4], it occurs to bring out the king's ascetic mode of life. Saxo Grammaticus[5] mentions the episode in order

[1] K. Hofmann in his edition of the *chanson de geste*, p. xxiv.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 180.
[3] B. Heller, *L'Épée symbole et gardienne de chasteté*, *Romania*, xxxvi, 1907, pp. 36–49; xxxvii, 1908, pp. 162–3. Cf. also K. Simrock, *Die Quellen des Shakspeare*, Bonn, 1872, i, p. 93.
[4] *Zum Fabliau vom Stadtrichter von Aquileja*, *Kleine Schriften*, ii, p. 442.
[5] *Gesta Danorum*, ed. by Holder, p. 319.

to emphasize King Gorm's unusual self-control. In the Norse Sigurd story it serves to show Sigurd's innocence, because the hero's death is due to Gunnar's jealousy. In the tale of the *Two Brothers* the sword episode fulfils the same purpose. It is therefore a legitimate conclusion to say that the sword episode in the story of Amicus and Amelius owes its existence to a second episode which once formed a part of the plot, but which dropped out for reasons which will appear later. We suspect that the episode in question was similar to that of the Sigurd legend and the Märchen. What makes this conjecture almost a certainty is a passage in the *chanson de geste* which reads:

1950 'En non deu sire,' li cuens Amiles dist,
'Le mien couvine voz raurai je tost dit.
Lez ta moillier me couchai je dormir.
Il n'a si bele en seissante pais,
Moult m'esmerveil, com en poez souffrir.'

Now these are the very words by which in the tale of the *Two Brothers* the saviour acquaints his brother with the fact that he had lain with his sister-in-law, whereupon he is slain by his jealous brother[1].

The *Vita* and the *chanson de geste* mention two goblets given the two friends by the Pope on the occasion of their baptism. Again we fail to see a sufficiently prominent bearing of this episode on the subsequent events. The only purpose the goblets serve is to facilitate the recognition of the two friends after Amicus has become a leper. In other words, the goblet of Amicus plays the rôle of the ring dropped into a beaker or a glass and which occurs in so many other tales containing the *motif* of separation and reunion[2]. It is clear that the episode of the Pope's gift is not in proportion to the rôle of Amicus' goblet in the later part of the story, and we are driven to the conclusion that another important element has been lost. Everything tends to show that the two goblets originally belonged to the group of objects indicating a danger that had befallen the twin brother[3], an episode still existing in the Märchen of the *Two Brothers*[4].

[1] In the Grimm version the one brother says: 'die junge Königin hielt mich für ihren Gemahl, und ich musste an ihrer Seite essen und in deinem Bett schlafen'; in the story of Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, Berlin, 1918, No. 22, we read: 'erzählte unterwegs der eine Bruder dem andern...wie er zu seinen Schwiegereltern gekommen und bei seiner Frau geschlafen habe'; the version of Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. 337 ff. makes the one brother narrate: 'wie ihn die Prinzessin umarmt und er mit ihr zu Bett gegangen.'

[2] Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, II, p. 615; M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 196; Köhler, *Kleine Schriften*, I, pp. 117 and 584.

[3] Bolte-Polívka, *op. cit.*, I, p. 545.

[4] This interpretation of the goblets in the story of Amicus and Amelius is also that of the Brothers Grimm, *Der arme Heinrich von Hartmann von der Aue*, Berlin, 1815, pp. 183 ff.; cf. Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, I, p. 556.

One of the most striking and most persistent episodes of the tale of the *Two Brothers*, which occurs in practically all versions of this Märchen, is that of the dragon fight and the false dragon-killer. The hero saves a princess by killing a monster, cuts out the tongues of the latter and goes off in quest of new adventures. Meanwhile, an impostor cuts off the heads and passes himself off as the saviour of the princess. He is found out when the hero returns and produces the tongues. This episode left some traces in the *chanson de geste*. There Hardré is described as cutting off the heads of the knights who had perished under the hands of Amicus and Amelius, attaching them to his saddle and boasting that it was he who killed them[1].

While it thus appears that the legend of Amicus and Amelius has not come down in its original form and that the Märchen has preserved more archaic features, it is also clear that the tale of the *Two Brothers* has not remained free from alteration in its turn. The episode of the water of life seems to be a late introduction; it is by no means necessary for the redemption of the brother who had been transformed into stone, because in most variants of this type the stone statue or statues come to life by a touch with the witch's magic staff[2]. But it does appear necessary for the resurrection of the hero slain by his brother in a fit of jealousy, and it is likely that here the water of life came to take the place of something else, human blood.

That the water of life in this group of stories tends to take the place of an older bloody sacrifice can be seen in another Märchen, that of *Faithful John*[3], which has repeatedly been compared with the story of Amicus and Amelius[4]. Here the faithful servant, who in some versions is the brother of the prince[5], is redeemed by blood, sometimes by the water of life, sometimes by some other remedy[6].

From the examination of the divergences of the story of Amicus and Amelius and the Märchen of the *Two Brothers*, and the traces left of an earlier stage in the former, it follows that the original bore far greater similarity to the tale of the *Two Brothers* than does any of the extant versions. The goblets originally warned Amicus of the danger which threatened his friend. He hastens to the rescue, liberates his brother, but is killed by him in a fit of jealousy. Amelius repents his rash deed

[1] Lines 391–5. [2] For instance in the versions of Grimm and Hahn.

[3] Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 6; Aarne, type 516. Cf. Köhler, *Aufsätze über Märchen und Volkslieder*, Berlin, 1894, p. 24.

[4] Potter, *op. cit.*; Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Köhler, *Aufsätze*, p. 34.

[5] In several Italian versions mentioned by Bolte-Polívka, *op. cit.*, I, p. 47, the oldest of which is found in Basile's *Pentamerone*, IV, 9.

[6] By the water of life in a White Russian tale; cf. Bolte-Polívka, I, p. 52.

when it is too late. He then resurrects his dead friend by a blood sacrifice. This theory is confirmed by the Märchen of *Faithful John*, where jealousy of the ungrateful friend or brother is likewise coupled with the blood sacrifice and often with the twin brother *motif*.

The three stories, Amicus and Amelius, the *Two Brothers*, and *Faithful John* undoubtedly belong to one folkloristic group whose origin must be sought in the beliefs of primitive man. In all three the protagonists were originally or still are twin brothers. Twins in the traditions of all races, however, are known to stand in peculiar relationship to each other. They are either the 'quarrelling twins,' hating and persecuting each other, such as Jacob and Esau, Romulus and Remus, Horus and Set[1], or they are the pair of faithful friends and inseparable companions, constant in their affection for each other, such as they appear in the legends of the Greek Dioscuri, in the tale of the *Two Brothers* and in *Faithful John*. However, even there traces of what was perhaps a former stage of the legend are not lacking. On two Roman coins a duel between Castor and Pollux was represented[2]. According to an old tradition, the two brothers once came to blows in their temple at Sparta[3]. This feature also comes out clearly in the two Märchen.

The origin of the legend of Amicus and Amelius must then be sought in an old Dioscuric cult which flourished in Upper Italy from very early times. There is nothing unlikely in such a hypothesis, since it has been shown that Gallia Cisalpina was teeming with twin sanctuaries[4] and that the cult of Castor and Pollux played an important part among the Romanized population of that part of the country[5]. Christianity had to supplant these cults; it did so by substituting twin saints for twin gods, and as in Milan Protasius and Gervasius came into prominence, so in the neighbourhood of Mortara Amicus and Amelius took over the inheritance of their predecessors. And it was no mean inheritance, inasmuch as those pagan twins possessed a very elaborate cult legend. As for the latter, it could not be admitted into the Christian sanctuary without some modifications. Thus the *motif* of the fratricide was too crude and altogether too bloody for the new age, and so a disease was substituted for death. It was natural to choose leprosy, partly on account of the many parallels in Biblical narrative and sacred history[6],

[1] Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 86, 92, 159, 179, 180.
[2] De Witte, *Revue numismatique*, 1839, pp. 92–3.
[3] Lactantius, ad Statium, *Thebaid.*, VII, p. 412.
[4] Harris, *Dioscuri*, p. 42; *Cult*, pp. 80 and 126.
[5] M. Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, Paris, 1883, p. 46.
[6] Grimm, *Der arme Heinrich von Hartmann von der Aue*, Berlin, 1815, p. 198; Wackernagel, *Der arme Heinrich Herrn Hartmanns von Aue*, Basel, 1885, p. 194; H. L. Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube*, München, 1892.

partly because of the wide-spread belief that blood could cure leprosy, and partly because leprosy meant social death[1]. But since Amelius could not well inflict leprosy on his brother, the disease had to be motivated in some manner. Of the reasons alleged in the different versions that of the *Vita* is after all the most natural; God sends the affliction to Amicus in much the same way in which he sends it to Miriam[2], to Gehazi[3], to King Uzziah[4], to Job, and to Constantine[5]. It is the natural motivation and which suggested itself most readily to a monkish chronicler[6]. The episode of the sword thus became useless. The incident of the marvellous goblets was likewise dropped, probably because it was not thought to fit quite in the new pious frame; but it left some traces. In the *chanson de geste*, Amelius is warned by a dream of the danger threatening his friend. This is an episode which occurs in the legend of Saint Andrew[7], but also in a version of the tale of the *Two Brothers*[8]. Last of all, the twin character of the heroes was no longer insisted on, but the simultaneous conception and birth remained.

Those pagan Dioscuri, whether they were Roman or Celt[9], were undoubtedly very similar to Castor and Pollux, that is, they were thought horsemen and warriors. Only thus can it be explained how they became heroes of a feudal epic. As was pointed out by Bédier[10], Mortara is situated on the pilgrim road to Rome, and this no doubt accounts for the favour which the legend found with the French minstrels. In this new stage it underwent another modification. The figure of the false dragon-killer was remodelled, evidently under the influence of the type of the conventional traitor in the *chansons de geste*.

It is unnecessary to hold Oriental or Byzantine influences responsible for the rise of the legend. The motifs which compose the tale of the *Two Brothers*, of which the legend of Amicus and Amelius is but a variant, are partly universal, as that of the marvellous conception of the

[1] Num. xii. 12.
[2] Num. xii. 10.
[3] 2 Kings v. 27.
[4] 2 Chron. xxvi. 19.
[5] A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1882-3, II, p. 81.
[6] On the Christian, or rather clerical, spirit which pervades the story, cf. Grimm, *Der arme Heinrich*, p. 156; Schwieger, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[7] G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, Boston and New York, 1916, p. 87.
[8] K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*, Kiel, 1845, p. 450.
[9] Of the Celts Diodorus Siculus says that they *μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν τοὺς Διοσκούρους: παραδόσιμον γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων τὴν τούτων τῶν θεῶν παρουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ γεγενημένην*.
[10] *Op. et loc. cit.* Cf. also K. Körner, *Über die Ortsangaben in Amis und Amiles*, *Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 195.

heroes[1], that of the object indicating the accident[2], the grateful animals and the transformation into stone, and partly found in classical antiquity, as the episode of the dragon fight[3]. Nor is there any ground for a theory of a Teutonic origin of the legend such as Schwieger proposed[4]. The situation of the sanctuary of Mortara in Lombard territory would sufficiently account for the small number of Teutonic features which can be distinguished in the legend.

It is true, in the ancient Dioscuri myths which have come down to us we do not find the episode of the blood sacrifice. A trace of it may be seen in Pollux's cession of half of his immortality to his brother, if we remember that in many instances the sacrifice of the children or the eldest son takes the place of the sacrifice of their father[5]. Also it should be noted that in a Rumanian tale the two brothers are actually called the morning and the evening star[6].

The *Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*[7] is the only version which records the death of the two inseparable friends at the hands of Ogier. This version cannot be due to the author of the *chanson de geste*, as it makes its hero appear in an odious light. Since the locality of the murder is again Upper Italy, where both the twins and Ogier were well-known legendary characters, we must conclude that the version of the *Chevalerie* goes back to a local tradition current in the neighbourhood of Mortara and Novara. What was its origin?

In the Dioscuri legends of Roman and mediaeval times we look in vain for a situation analogous to that of the *Chevalerie*, where both Dioscuri are killed by a hero and a sympathetic character. But there exists a very close parallel in Greek legend. Apollonius Rhodius, in the first book of his *Argonautica*, tells the following story:

1298 καί νύ κεν ἂψ ὀπίσω Μυσῶν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵκοντο
λαῖτμα βιησάμενοι ἀνέμου τ' ἄλληκτον ἰωήν,
εἰ μὴ Θρηικίοιο δύω, υἷες Βορέαο
Αἰακίδην χαλεποῖσιν ἐρητύεσκον ἔπεσσιν,
σχέτλιοι· ἦ τέ σφιν στυγερὴ τίσις ἔπλετ' ὀπίσσω
χερσὶν ὑφ' Ἡρακλῆος. ὅ μιν δίζεσθαι ἔρυκον.
ἆθλων γὰρ Πηλίαο δεδουπότος ἂψ ἀνιόντας

[1] Bolte-Polívka, *op. cit.*, I, p. 544.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 545; R. Andrée, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, N. F., Leipzig, 1889, pp. 21 ff.; W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1904, I, p. 48; J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, II, pp. 61, 102, 118.

[3] Bolte-Polívka, *op. cit.*, I, p. 547.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 35–6.

[5] J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, London, 1914, pp. 160 ff.; *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, London, 1914, pp. 13, 24 ff.

[6] M. Kremnitz, *Rumänische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 204. In many versions the children have a star on their forehead; cf. J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, München, 1918, II, p. 357.

[7] Ed. Barrois, ll. 5847 ff.; cf. J. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182.

Τήνῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ πέφνεν, καὶ ἀμήσατο γαῖαν
ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς, στήλας τε δύω καθύπερθεν ἔτευξεν,
ὧν ἑτέρη, θάμβος περιώσιον ἀνδράσι λεύσσειν,
κίνυται ἠχήεντος ὑπὸ πνοιῇ βορέαο.

The resemblances of this episode with the passage of the *Chevalerie* are quite remarkable. They may be stated as follows:

1. The victims are two young twin brothers.
2. They are slain by a national hero and a sympathetic character, for no adequate reason.
3. They encounter their slayer on the road, returning from a pious mission, the Boreades from the funeral games of Pelias, Amis and Amiles from the Holy Land.

Does there exist any historical connection between the two episodes? The Greek legends occur besides in Apollodorus' *Library*[1] and in Hyginus[2]. The work of Apollodorus was no more known in the Latin middle ages than the *Argonautica*. Hyginus was known in Western monasteries[3]. Yet it seems extremely unlikely that mediaeval monks should have picked out this story, replaced Hercules by Ogier and the Boreades by Amicus and Amelius. But it would be as hazardous to declare the resemblances fortuitous. The most probable hypothesis, though it can hardly be more than a hypothesis, would be that the story of the death of the Dioscuri formed a part of the old tradition of the pagan sanctuary, that the twin divinities, whatever their origin, had in Roman times been identified with the Greek Boreades and that the death of Zetes and Calais had been grafted on their legend, which was all the easier because the Greek Heracles played a very prominent part in Italic cults[4] and because Italy was the scene of a large number of his exploits[5].

It can be said, then, that the legend of Amicus and Amelius is an ancient Dioscuric myth which was preserved in a corner of Italy, thanks to the accommodating character of the Church which generously admitted pagan twins into its shrines, sanctuaries and martyrologies, insisting only upon a few minor changes which are not great enough really and effectively to conceal the origin of the story.

A. H. KRAPPE.

FLAT RIVER, MO., U.S.A.

[1] III, 15, 2. [2] *Fab.* 14.

[3] Cf. Manitius, *Rheinisches Museum*, XLVII, 1892, Ergänzungsheft, p. 40.

[4] Cf. Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* I, 40, 6: *πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀνεῖται τεμένη τῷ θεῷ καὶ βωμοὶ κατὰ πόλεις τε ἵδρυνται καὶ παρ' ὁδοῖς, καὶ σπανίως, ἂν εὕροι τὶς Ἰταλίας χῶρον, ἔνθα μὴ τυγχάνει τιμώμενος ὁ θεός.*

[5] Cf. Dion. Hal. *op. cit.*, I, cap. 34 ff., 38–44; Diod. Sic. IV, cap. 20–2; Prop. IV, 9: Virg. *Aen.* VIII, 201 ff.; Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 543 ff.

THE SEVEN SONGS OF MARTIN CODAX.

THE discovery a few years ago by Don Pedro Vindel, the well-known bookseller of Madrid, of a manuscript of the seven songs of Martin Codax inside the parchment binding of a 14th century codex of Cicero's *De Officiis* is enough to set scholars ripping up the bindings of all their old folios. Blessings on the disdain which could use the lyrics of Galicia to stiffen the binding of a classic and has thus brought about this delightfully adventurous survival. Although the songs of Codax were already known in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* published by Ernesto Monaci in 1875, the later discovery was of very great value, since the songs in the new text are accompanied by musical notes, and moreover various disputes as to text and spelling have been set at rest. It is reproduced in facsimile at the end of *Las Siete Canciones de Amor*, edited by Señor Vindel (Madrid, 1915), which was followed by important studies on Codax and his lyrics by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos and D. Eladio Oviedo y Arce. In the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* the seven songs are numbered 884–890, but the collector may have been in doubt as to whether no. 883:

A do mui bon parecer
Mandou lo adufe tanger

was not also by Codax, since at the end of no. 882 occurs the following line, which has perhaps crept into the text from the margin:

M' Codaz, esta non acho fechada.

This raises the question as to the form of the name, the meaning of which is also doubtful. Codax was one of the humbler singers, an almost anonymous *jogral*. D. Eladio Oviedo y Arce, indeed, made an unsuccessful attempt to convert him into a *segrier*, wrongly deriving *segrier* from *seguir*, 'to follow,' and Codax from Italian *codazzo*, 'following,' 'series.' If one must go to the Italian *codazzo*, it is more tempting to derive the name of the singer of Vigo's sea from it through *codaste*, 'stern-post' (in Portuguese *codaste* and *cadaste*). If Codaz is the correct form it might mean 'the large-elbowed,' he of the projecting elbows, although one is inclined to think that it might refer to a different peculiarity: the resemblance of bandy legs to arms akimbo. On the whole the shortening of *codaste* by time may appear the more probable and would explain the variants *codax*, *codaz*; it seems at least certain

that the *x* is due to corrupt pronunciation, and the derivation from 'Codex' may be dismissed. Whatever the precise form and meaning of their author's name, these charming songs form a delightful section in what might be a fascinating anthology, a Galician-Portuguese *Cancioneiro do Mar*. These sea-lyrics would begin with King Alfonso X's beautiful poem (C. M. 313) and would include the *barcarolas* of Admiral Pai Gomez Chariño, Julian Bolseiro (C. V. 774), Roy Fernandez (C. V. 488) and other 13th century Galician poets; the fragmentary C. M. B. 458: *Meus ollos van polo rio* (*mar*) *Mirando van o navio* (*Portugal*), or in line 2, *Mirando van meu amigo* (Professor Henry Lang in C.G.C. pp. 140, 237), or *Buscando van Douro e Minho* (Professor Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in C. A. M. V. ii, 918); the *Perdia a vista do mar* from the *Fragmento de um cancioneiro do seculo xvi* published by the late Epiphanio Dias in the *Revista Lusitana*, vol. iv (1895–6), pp. 142–79; Bernardim Ribeiro's *Pola ribeira de um rio*; Gil Vicente's *Remando vão remadores*, and so on to Senhor Guerra Junqueiro's *Mar tenebroso, mar pavoroso*, Dr Lopes Vieira's *Ilhas de Bruma*, and the popular quatrains. The text of Roy Fernandez' poem, full of the sea's rhythm, should certainly be set to music:

Quand' eu veo las ondas	When I watch the sea
E las mui altas ribas	Round the high cliff swelling
Logo me veen ondas	Ever thoughts of thee
Al cor pola velida:	To my heart come welling:
Maldito sea 'l mare	Ah sorrow on the sea
Que me faz tanto male.	That brings such grief to me.
Nunca veo las ondas	And woe for the high cliffs
Nin las mui altas rocas	And waves that know no quelling
Que me non vennan ondas	Still to thoughts of thee
Al cor pola fremosa:	My sad heart compelling:
Maldito sea 'l mare	Ah sorrow on the sea
Que me faz tanto male.	That brings such grief to me.
Se eu veo las ondas	And I watch the sea
E veo las costeras	About the steep rocks swelling
Logo me veen ondas	The dirge unceasingly
Al cor pola ben feita:	Of my heart's love knelling:
Maldito sea 'l mare	Ah sorrow on the sea
Que me faz tanto male.	That brings such grief to me.

Centuries before the sea route to India was discovered, medieval Galician poets sang of the sea in lyrics filled with a wistful melancholy and music. The Galician *rías*, the lovely waters of Vigo's bay, are pre-eminently worthy to be sung; and Martin Codax, without the use of adjectives or any attempts at description, has the true poet's gift of making us feel intimately the beauty, even the colour, the transparent depths, the swell and foam of the waters of the *ría*, and the silent charm

of the solitary church at the water's edge, where many a prayer went up for the safe return of those who went down to the sea in ships from the little town of Vigo, now a great city. The very first line of the first poem 'Ondas do mar de Vigo' has in it all the rhythmic swell of the noontide ocean. Like the other poems, it is of extreme simplicity of form and thought, just a cry of the heart expressed in the parallel strophes of the *cossante*: Waves of Vigo's sea, have you seen my love? In the second poem the lover is coming home, and it may seem strange that he is 'del rey privado,' but this proves not that Codax was of high rank but that his lyrical gift was appreciated by high-placed ladies (the *cossantes* pretend to be composed by women, as originally and among the people they no doubt really were). The third poem is somewhat unusual because the speaker addresses not only her sister but her mother (the meeting with both her lover and her mother in the church at Vigo, obtained by reading *madr' e* instead of *madre*, would be even more unusual). The explanation probably is that the mother here, as so often in the early lyrics, is regarded as hostile: the daughter implores her sister's support, and, having obtained it, turns triumphantly on her mother—they are now two to one—and tells her with defiance that she is going to meet her lover. These lyrics, simple as they are in expression and structure, are sometimes dramatic. The fourth and seventh are lonely cries of *soedade* for the absent lover. The first line of No. 5, half *barcarola*, half *bailada*, *Quantas sabedes amar amigo*, faintly recalls the more potent music of the almost contemporary *Donne ch' avete intelletto d' amore*. No. 6 is a fascinating religious dance-song, of which the music in the newly-discovered text is unfortunately missing. The text of the seven songs here given is based on that of the Vindel manuscript:

I.

i	i
Ondas do mar de Uigo se uistes meu amigo, e ay Deus, se uerrá cedo !	O flowing waves of Vigo's bay Have you seen my love who is gone away ? Ah God, will he soon come to me ?
ii	ii
Ondas do mar leuado se uistes meu amado, e ay Deus, se uerrá cedo !	O waves, fair waves of the swelling sea, Have you seen my lover, woe is me ? Ah God, will he soon come to me ?
iii	iii
Se uistes meu amigo, o por que eu sospiro, e ay Deus, se uerrá cedo !	Have you seen my love for whom I sigh And sorrowing weep incessantly ? Ah God, will he soon come to me ?
iv	iv
Se uistes meu amado, por que ei gran coidado, e ay Deus, se uerrá cedo !	Have you seen my lover for whom alway I sorrowing grieve by night and day ? Ah God, will he soon come to me ?

II.

i

Mandad' ei comigo
ca uen meu amigo,
e irei, madr', a Uigo.

ii

Comig' ei mandado
ca uen meu amado
e irei, madr', a Uigo.

iii

Ca uen meu amigo
e uen san' e uiuo,
e irei, madr', a Uigo.

iv

Ca uen meu amado
e uen uiu' e sano,
e irei, madr', a Uigo.

v

Ca uen san' e uiuo
e del rei amigo,
e irei, madr', a Uigo.

vi

Ca uen uiu' e sano
e del rei priuado
e irei, madr', a Uigo.

i

My love's coming home,
For his message has come,
I will hie me, mother, to Vigo.

ii

He is coming to-day,
As his message doth say,
I will hie me, mother, to Vigo.

iii

Coming home presently,
Safe and well comes he,
I will hie me, mother, to Vigo.

iv

My love's on the way,
Well and safe comes to-day,
I will hie me, mother, to Vigo.

v

Safe and well, I wis,
The King's friendship is his,
I will hie me, mother, to Vigo.

vi

Well and safe comes to me,
The King's favourite he,
I will hie me, mother, to Vigo.

III.

i

Mia yrmana fremosa, treides comigo
a la ygreia de Uig' u é o mar salido
e miraremos las ondas.

ii

Mia irmana fremosa, treides de grado
a la ygreia de Uig' u é o mar leuado
e miraremos las ondas.

iii

A la ygreia de Uig' u é o mar salido
e uerrá y, mia madre, o meu amigo,
e miraremos las ondas.

iv

A la ygreia de Uig' u é o mar leuado
e uerrá y, mia madre, o meu amado,
e miraremos las ondas.

i

O sister fair, come haste with me
To Vigo church the waves to see,
We will look upon the ocean waves.

ii

Fair sister mine, be fain to go
To Vigo church where the waves flow,
We will look upon the ocean waves.

iii

To Vigo church, where the waves beat,
There, mother mine, my love to meet,
We will look upon the ocean waves.

iv

To Vigo church where breaks the foam,
There, mother mine, my love will come,
We will look upon the ocean waves.

IV.

i

Ay Deus, se sab' ora meu amigo
com' eu senneira estou en Uigo,
e uou namorada.

i

Ah God, couldst thou, my lover, know
In Vigo I so lonely go,
And all in love, in love go I.

ii

Ay Deus, se sab' ora meu amado
com' eu en Uigo senneira manno,
e uou namorada.

iii

Com' eu senneira estou en Uigo
e nullas gardas non ei comigo
e uou namorada.

iv

Com' eu en Uigo senneira manno
e nullas gardas migo non trago
e uou namorada.

v

E nullas gardas non ei comigo,
ergas meus ollos que choran migo,
e uou namorada.

vi

E nullas gardas migo non trago,
ergas meus ollos que choran ambos,
e uou namorada.

i

Quantas sabedes amar amigo
treides comig' a lo mar de Uigo
e bannar nos emos nas ondas.

ii

Quantas sabedes amar amado
treides comig' a lo mar leuado
e bannar nos emos nas ondas.

iii

Treides comigo a lo mar de Uigo
e ueeremolo meu amigo,
e bannar nos emos nas ondas.

iv

Treides comigo a lo mar leuado
e uereemo[lo] meu amado,
e bannar nos emos nas ondas.

i

Eno sagrado en Uigo
baylaua corpo uelido,
amor ei.

ii

En Uigo no sagrado
baylaua corpo delgado,
amor ei.

iii

Baylaua corpo uelido
que nunca ouuer amigo,
amor ei.

ii

Ah God, my love, I fain would tell
How lonely I in Vigo dwell,
And all in love, in love go I.

iii

So solitary in Vigo I,
None watches o'er my privacy,
And all in love, in love go I.

iv

Lonely in Vigo I remain
And none to guard goes in my train,
And all in love, in love go I.

v

None o'er my ways a watch doth keep
But my two eyes that weep and weep,
And all in love, in love go I.

vi

And none to guard goes in my train
But my two eyes that weep amain
And all in love, in love go I.

V.

i

All ye who are of love's fair train,
To Vigo's sea come haste amain,
We will bathe us in the ocean waves.

ii

All ye whose hearts love's secret know
Hasten with me where the sea-waves flow,
We will bathe us in the ocean waves.

iii

Hasten with me to Vigo's sea
Thither my love will come to me,
We will bathe us in the ocean waves.

iv

Hasten to where the sea flows free
And there my lover shall we see,
We will bathe us in the ocean waves.

VI.

i

In Vigo and on holy ground
A body fair danced round and round,
All in love am I.

ii

In Vigo, in this holy place,
Danced so slim and full of grace,
All in love am I.

iii

Danced a fair body round and round
That never had a lover found,
All in love am I.

iv

Bailaua corpo delgado
que nunca ouuer amado,
amor ei.

v

Que nunca ouuer amigo,
ergas no sagrad' en Uigo,
amor ei.

vi

Que nunca ouuer amado
ergas en Uigo no sagrado,
amor ei.

iv

Danced so slim and full of grace
That ne'er had looked upon love's face,
All in love am I.

v

That never had a lover found
And dancèd there on holy ground,
All in love am I.

vi

That ne'er had looked upon love's face
And dancèd in this holy place,
All in love am I.

VII.

i

Ay ondas que eu uin ueer,
se me saberedes dizer
porque tarda meu amigo
sen mi?

ii

Ay ondas que eu uin mirar,
se me saberedes contar
porque tarda meu amado
sen mi?

i

Waves that I came to see,
Ah waves, say unto me
Why my lover lingers thus
Away from me.

ii

O waves that ebb and swell,
Will you not to me tell
Why my love tarries thus
Away from me?

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

JUDAS' SUNDAY REST.

I.

It is altogether pleasant to find, among the mediæval traditions which betray such an obvious delight in heaping damnation upon damnation on the head of the Arch-Traitor, the story of Judas' weekly respite from the torments of hell. The conception of a Sunday rest is indeed oriental, but its transference to Judas Iscariot and the invention of a reason for his relief from torture must be credited to Western Europe at the very beginning of the Middle Ages.

In the *Vita Sancti Brendani*, chapter xxv, it is related that St Brendan and his followers were walking abroad during a severe snow-storm, and the brothers asked him if the cold of hell was any worse. 'Nos vidimus Judam Domini proditorem,' replied the saint, 'in pelago horribili in Dominico die flentem et plangentem supra petram asperam et lubricam qui nunc mergebatur fluctibus et nunc altior mari modice extra. Unus fluctus igneus ab oriente et alius glaceali frigore ab occidente super petram veniebat et intingebat terribiliter Judam et haec pena maxima sibi requies videbatur. In dominicis enim diebus pro requie sibi clementia Dei talis locus datur. Quid est igitur esse in inferno[1]!'

The meeting of Judas and St Brendan, which is here very concisely told, is narrated at considerable length in the famous *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. After sailing to the southward for seven days, the voyagers came in sight of the Smoky Mountain, and then there appeared on the horizon an indistinct little figure. Some thought it was a bird, others a ship. 'Steer thither,' ordered St Brendan. When they came near they saw a man seated on a rock in the midst of surging waters: before his face hung a bit of cloth suspended from two iron forks (*furcillae ferreae*), and the wind flapped it continually in his eyes. Being questioned, the figure answered: 'Ego sum infelicissimus ille Judas, negotiator pessimus. Non pro merito habeo istum locum, sed pro misericordia ineffabili Jhesu

[1] P. F. Moran, *Acta Sancti Brendani*, Dublin, 1872, p. 22. This incident is slightly different in detail in the *Vita Prima Sancti Brendani* printed by Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, vol. I, pp. 98 ff. (Judas, p. 147), from two MSS. which are variously dated from the first half of the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest Lives of Brendan apparently do not contain the Judas episode; its presence here being due to conflation with the *Navigatio* (see below).

Christi. Non mihi computatur penalis iste locus, sed pro indulgentia redemptoris et pro honore resurrectionis sue sancte.... Mihi enim videtur, quando hic sedeo, quasi in paradiso deliciarum sim propter timorem tormentorum que ventura sunt mihi in hac vespera.' The *infelicissimus* tells of his hot and cold torments within the Smoky Mountain, along with Herod and Pilate and Annas and Caiaphas; only Sundays has he release and on certain feast-days. He then implores respite until the following dawn: which St Brendan promises. In answer to further queries he explains that the rock whereon he sits he had placed across a ditch in a highway for the convenience of pedestrians; the iron forks he had given to the Holy Temple 'ad cacabos sustinendos'; the cloth hanging from them he had given to a leper, yet it is less a protection than a hindrance because it was not his own to give. At sunset come the devils to carry Judas back to hell; but St Brendan forbids them to do so, and a long altercation follows, in the course of which they put the significant question to St Brendan: 'Quomodo invocas nomen Domini super illum cum ipse sit traditor Domini[1]?' In the morning, however, they return, threaten Judas with redoubled torments (which St Brendan forbids), and carry him off 'cum magno impetu et ululatu[2].'

A much longer version of this episode occurs in another redaction of the *Navigatio* printed by Plummer (II, pp. 270 ff., Judas 285–9) from a

[1] There is no general survey of the 'scholarship' of the Brendan legend. The most important recent discussions, which contain abundant bibliography, are: Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, London, 1893, II, pp. 516 ff., Wahlund (see below note 2), and Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xxxvi ff. Cf. also *Celtic Review*, I (1904), p. 135 and V (1909), p. 273; and *Romania*, XXII (1893), pp. 578 ff. The Rev. Denis O'Donoghue's *Brendaniana*, Dublin, 1893, 2nd ed. 1895, contains the Irish *Life* with translation, and translations of both the Latin *Vita* and the usual version of the *Navigatio*, together with various notes and data on the historical Brendan. Although the following study aims to be complete only in what concerns the Judas episode alone, I may add here the following details which are not mentioned in the text below. Suchier refers to a redaction of the Brendan story in Latin tetrameters in a manuscript of Lincoln College, Oxford. Solovev, Къ легендамъ объ Іудѣ Предателѣ, Харьковъ, 1895, p. 122, names a Czech remaniement: 'Kronika o sv. Brandanu,' Polívka, *Drobne prispêvky literarne historické*, 1891, p. 107. Solovev devotes several pages to Judas' Sunday Rest (Chapter VI, pp. 121–36), but his discussion is repetitious and wandering, and dependent almost entirely on the articles of Graf cited below. I am indebted to him, however, for a few suggestions. In *Poems*, Dublin, 1882, Denis Florence MacCarthy has turned the Brendan story into verse. Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* (*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, hrsg. von A. Hilka, ii), no. 47, contains under the rubric 'An suffragia damnatis prosint' the Judas episode taken from the longer version of the *Navigatio* (T. F. Crane, *Mod. Phil.*, X (1913), p. 316). In the Latin poem of the mediæval Life of Judas, printed by Mone, *Anzeiger*, VII (1838), col. 532 ff., and reprinted by Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 326 ff., there is a passage referring to the Judas episode in the Brendan voyage (reprinted by Du Méril, p. 335, n. 4). The Judas incident occurs separately in Irish in the Book of Fermoy. A Spanish translation of the *Navigatio* is sometimes mentioned, but it has not been traced.

[2] Carl Wahlund, *Die altfranz. Prosaübersetzung von Brendans Meerfahrt*, Upsala, 1900, pp. 80, 82, 84, 86. The Latin text is a 'Kompromiss-Text'; cf. Einleitung, p. lxxxvi.

Bodleian MS. 'of about the end of the ninth century.' In contrast to the simple narrative in the usual pedestrian Latin of mediæval tales, this version is elaborate in manner and in detail, uses a large vocabulary, and, in a word, is composed in the humanistic manner. Though it is about two and a half times longer than the other, it says nothing of the cause or origin of Judas' relief, nor of the ineffable mercy of Jesus Christ, nor of the iron hooks which Judas gave to the priests; and it omits the long quarrel between Brendan and the devils over allowing Judas the few extra hours on his rock. The chief addition is the detailed account of Judas' round of tortures: on Monday, he is whirled through the air; on Tuesday, dragged into a valley and bound to a spiked bed; on Wednesday, boiled in tar and then roasted; on Thursday, subjected to terrible cold; on Friday, flayed and rolled in salt, and given melted lead and copper to drink; on Saturday, shut in a damp reeking prison[1].

St Brendan himself died in 577 or 583. There are various accounts of his career dating from the ninth century onwards, but the *Navigatio* is probably not much earlier than A.D. 1000. This work was exceedingly popular in the Middle Ages. Eighty manuscripts of the Latin form are known, and there are translations into most of the vernacular languages. It is not necessary here to enter into a discussion of the origin of the legend or its subsequent history[2]. The translations are for the more part fairly faithful. In the following account of the vernacular versions I shall note only the important variants so far as they concern the Judas episode.

The earliest translation is from the longer Latin redaction into Anglo-Norman verse[3]. It was made about 1125 by a monk named

[1] There are more fundamental differences between the usual form of the *Navigatio* and this longer recension, but they do not appear in the treatment of the Judas incident. For a concise statement of other variations cf. Heinrich Calmud, *Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe des ältesten französischen Brendanlebens*, Bonn Diss., 1902, pp. 152 ff. (Judas, pp. 191–7).

[2] Ward and Wahlund accept essentially Zimmer's theory (*Zs. f. d. deutsche Altertum*, XXXIII (1889), pp. 129–220, 257–338; and *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1891, I, pp. 279 ff.) that it is based on the Irish Imram Maelduin (itself suggested by Virgil), and contains many items of popular tradition, some perhaps from the Orient. Plummer remarks that 'the relation of the Maelduin and Brendan stories requires further investigation.' The incident in the Imram Maelduin which 'corresponds' to the Judas incident of the *Navigatio* is § 33 of Zimmer's analysis (pp. 171 ff.): The voyagers see something in the distance like a white bird on the waves. As they approach they find it is an old man seated on a rock. In answer to their questions he tells his story—how he was a thievish cook of the monastery of Torach; how once when he was burying a dead body a voice from the earth commanded him to dig the grave elsewhere and promised him eternal life with God; how afterwards he set sail in a new boat, met a man sitting on the water who urged him to throw overboard his stolen treasures, gave him seven loaves and a goblet of whey, and bade him stop where his boat brought him; and how he had for a long time been living here on food miraculously provided for him.

[3] Published, *diplomatico more*, in 1875 by Suchier, *Romanische Studien*, I, pp. 553 ff. (Judas begins l. 1211, p. 580); and in 1878 by Francisque Michel, *Les Voyages Merveilleux de Saint Brandan* (Judas, pp. 59 ff.). The same translation, in the Picard dialect of the

Benoit, and was dedicated to the second queen of Henry I of England, Adelais de Louvain (to whom also Philippe de Thaon dedicated his Bestiary). In MS. Cotton, Vespasian D IX, of the late fourteenth century, occurs a rendering of this version back into Latin, in the 'Mihi est propositum' stanza ('in zierlichen Reimen,' says Suchier)[1]. A few stanzas will illustrate the versifier's talent. Judas on the rock:

Rupes ibi cernitur : rupis supra pinnam
Nudus quidam sorciens : sortem inconcinnam
Culpam dignis planctibus : prosequens malignam
Culpam indignissimam : omni planctu dignam.

Nudus ibi residet : herens columpnelle
Heret ei firmiter : fretum ob rebelle
Panno tectis vultibus : hic potatur felle
Felle plus quam felleo : fluctus et procelle.

Judas explains his good deed, and is attacked by the devils:

Hic obsistit fluctibus : sed non ibi penis
Agit sic de sumptibus : sumptus alienis
Lapis mihi subsidens : tantis trito trenis
Pons est quem exstruxeram : locis in obscenis.

Patuit periculis : locus plenus ceni
Pontem hoc de lapide : construens subveni
Dixit et prosiliunt : demones milleni
Arrepturi miserum : et minantes seni.

Rapitur protrahitur : obstat fides sancti
Obstat reluctantibus : obstant réluctati
Usque mane parcere : precipit, obstant hii
Adjuratos obligat : cedunt adjuranti.

About 1247 there was made an Old French verse rendering of the usual *Navigatio*[2]; and this was included bodily (1759 verses) in the second redaction of the *Image du Monde* of Gautier de Metz[3]. In the thirteenth century the usual *Navigatio* was also translated twice into Old French prose[4]; and likewise in the thirteenth century it was given a freer Anglo-Norman rendering[5]. In all of these translations the Judas incident offers no variants of interest.

first half of the thirteenth century, was published by Auracher, *Zs. f. roman. Philol.* II (1878), pp. 438 ff. (Judas begins l. 1162, p. 451). In Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, XXXIX, p. 807, there is a summary of this poem with verse translations. E. Pfitzner, *Das anglonormannische Gedicht von Brendan als Quelle einer lateinischen Prosafassung*, Halle Diss., 1910, argues that the writer of the longer Latin redaction was unacquainted with the usual *Navigatio*, and based his work solely on the Anglo-Norman poem. Thus the many differences between the two Latin versions would be due to the Anglo-Norman poet.

[1] Published by Moran, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff., and by Martin in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, XVI (1873), pp. 289 ff. The Judas episode occupies about forty of the 311 stanzas.

[2] Published by A. Jubinal, *La Légende Latine de S. Brandaines*, Paris, 1836, p. 105.

[3] Cf. C. Fant, *Image du Monde*, Upsala, 1886, p. 26, and Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 336 ff.

[4] Published by Wahlund, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 5, 7 ff. (=Jubinal, pp. 57 ff.) and pp. 103, 105, 107 ff.

[5] In British Museum MS. addit. 6524 (mentioned by Suchier, p. 558). Cf. Ward, II, pp. 549, 550, who says it was made by Jean Belet in the early fourteenth century.

There exists in Provençal, in a manuscript of the middle of the fifteenth century, a prose translation (based on a Latin text represented by the *Legenda in Festo Sancti Brendani*, printed by Moran), which contains excerpts from the *Navigatio*[1]. The Judas episode here occupies nearly one fourth of the whole *Legenda*[2].

In Italian there are four prose translations, extant in several manuscripts. Two of these have been published; one by Fr. Novati[3], in which the Judas incident follows the usual Latin *Navigatio*; the other by P. Villari[4], in which the translator 'ha siffatamente raffazzonato, alterato ed allungato il testo, senza retto giudizio e senza fantasia.' Here when Brendan asks the wretched man on the rock who he is, Judas replies with a rather full narrative of his earthly life, taken not from the longer redaction of the *Navigatio*, but from the general stock of Judas legend. 'Know that I am dead,' says he, 'and that I am Judas Iscariot. I killed my father with a stone. I married my mother without knowing it was she, had several children by her, and also was a prosperous merchant, and always cheated and kept all the money that came into my hands, and was an usurer and a thief *e tutto vizioso*. Then I put all these things away and became an apostle of Jesus Christ. In order that I might bring up my children the better, Jesus permitted me to keep the tithe of all that was given me, and I did so. And because Mary Magdalen wasted the precious ointment...I betrayed my Lord for thirty pence... and when I saw him condemned to death I was sorry and returned the money, and was so overcome with grief that I went out into a field *e apiccàmi per la gola a guisa d' uno ladro*. And when I died I came here.' The remainder agrees with the usual *Navigatio*, except that to the customary days of respite is added All Saints'[5].

English has two renderings of the story, one in verse in the Gloucester legendary of the late thirteenth century[6], the other in prose, 'rather

[1] Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[2] C. Wahlund, *Eine altprovenzalische Prosaübersetzung von Brendans Meerfahrt*, in *Festgabe für Wendelin Förster*, Halle, 1902, pp. 175 ff.

[3] *La 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' in antico Veneziano*, Bergamo, 1892 (Judas, pp. 52 ff.). Novati thinks that the Italian texts (which agree in the main with the Latin, except for an elaborate expansion at the end) derive from a single translation made in the Venetian dialect in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

[4] *Antiche Leggende e Tradizioni che illustrano La Divina Commedia*, Pisa, 1865, pp. 82 ff. (Judas, pp. 96 ff.); also in *Annali delle Univers. Tosc.*, VIII (1865), pp. 82 ff.

[5] The story of Judas' parricide and incest I have discussed in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXI (1916), pp. 481 ff.

[6] Ed. C. Horstman, *The Early South-English Legendary*, E.E.T.S., LXXXVII (1887), Brendan, pp. 220 ff. The life of Brendan was printed separately by T. Wright (Percy Society, XIV, 1844); by O'Donoghue in an appendix (from Wright); and with a collation of the MSS. by Martha Bälz, *Die mittelenglische Brendanlegende des Gloucesterlegendars*, Berlin, 1909. I quote from the last, in which Judas begins l. 520.

confused,' based upon the poem[1]. The Gloucester translation is adorned with several moral observations. For example, when Judas explains that the cloth does him more harm than good because he bought it with stolen money, he adds: 'Here one may see what it is to give away other people's money wrongfully, as many rich men are wont every day to take from the poor unrighteously and then give it as alms.' And he concludes:

Vewe gode ded ich abbe ido of wam ich mowe telle,
Ac non so lute, þat ine fynde her oþer in helle.

A characteristic blunder of the prose version is its mistaking the 'tongen' of the poem, the hooks which Judas gave to the priests of the Temple, for *tongues*: 'and also there were two oxe tongues and a grete stone that he sate on, which dyd hym full grete ease[2].'

The Romance translations and the English do not differ greatly from the Latin on which they are based, but the German versions offer some interesting peculiarities. Of these versions the principal[3] are (1) a

[1] First printed by Caxton in 1483, who inserted it into the Golden Legend; then by Wynkyn de Worde in the *Nova Legenda Angliae*, 1516 *et seq.*; reprinted by Wright from the 1527 imprint of Wynkyn de Worde. Graesse, *Trésor*, I, p. 519, mentions a separate print of the Brendan (Suchier). Cf. Ward, II, p. 555.

[2] These tongues were a real benefit to Judas: 'I bought them with myne owne money,' says Judas, 'and therefore they ease me, bycause the fysshes of the sea knawe on them and spare me.' The verse rendering of the incident by Sebastian Evans is here rather moving:

For He whom the gates of the hells obey,
Each winter hath granted me here to stay
From Christmas Eve for a night and a day.

And this is my paradise, here alone
To sit with my cloth and tongues and stone,
The sole three things in the world mine own.

The cloth I bought from the Lord's privy purse,
But gave to a leper. It hath this curse,
That it beats on my skin, but it saves from worse.

These tongues I gave to the poor for meat,
In the name of Christ—and the fish that eat
Thereon as they list, forbear my feet.

This stone I found by a road where it lay,
And set for a step in a miry way;
Therefore sit I on stone, not ice, this day!

On the mediæval virtue of road-mending see Skeat's note on *Piers Plowman*, Oxford, 1886, II, p. 119.

It is interesting to note that these tongues reappear in Lady Gregory's vivid telling of the story: 'And there was a cloth tied to his chin and two tongues of oxen with it.' (*A Book of Saints and Wonders*, London, 1907, 'Voyage of Brendan,' pp. 185 ff.) The significance of the original *furcae ferreae* is not very clear, and of course the ox tongues do quite as well so far as the story is concerned. Another curious variant appears in the account of Brendan given by the Rev. John O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Dublin, [n.d.], vol. v, p. 434: 'He had a cloth tied about his head, and holding a javelin in his hand, he seemed hanging between two iron *forceps*, and tossed about by the waves, like a vessel labouring in a storm.' This author has a few other similar variants.

[3] To which may be added: a Low German prose version in the *Passional*, Lübeck, 1488; a High German translation of this by Valentin Forster, Magdeburg, 1603 (Keller, *Altfranz.*

Middle High German poem of the twelfth century, (2) a somewhat condensed and confused rifacimento of this in Low German in a kind of rough verse, (3) a Netherlandish poem of the twelfth century, and (4) a High German prose redaction of the late fifteenth century frequently reprinted as a Volksbuch[1]. The exact interrelations of these four are not clear. Suchier argues that (1), (2), and (4) are independent redactions of a lost Middle Frankish original; Bonebakker, on the other hand, thinks the Netherlandish poem is based on a High German text related to that printed by Schroeder. However this may be, the first three and a special recension of the Volksbuch represent essentially the same version. Judas is discovered seated upon a glowing rock; one side of him is frozen so hard the flesh is scaling off, and on the other side he is burned by the rock[2]. His only protection is *ein wîȝeȝ twehelîn*. A striking addition to Judas' usual complaint is his remorse for having lost faith in God's forgiveness —the mediæval sin of *desperatio*.

> Hêt ich gehabet rûwe,
> Got der ist so getrûwe,
> Er hette mich entphangen drât[3].

After hearing of his sufferings, Brendan wishes to pray for Judas, but Judas declares it is useless, for God will never relent. Another notable difference of the German versions is the omission of Judas' second and third good deeds: only his charity of the garment is mentioned—but the Netherlandish poem enhances this with the following bit of edification:

Sagen, II, 1, Tübingen, 1840); and a translation by the Bavarian, Johann Hartlieb, who died in 1471 or 1474 (Paul's *Grundriss*, II, i², 344); and translations also by Rollenhagen, Kosegarten, and A. von Keller (Schroeder, pp. xvii f.). A Dutch translation of the usual Latin *Navigatio* is found in a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century; published by H. E. Moltzer, *Leven ende Pelgrimadse des Heiligen Abts Brandanus* (*Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, XLV, Gröningen, 1891), Judas, pp. 32 ff. On the Dutch versions of Brendan see J. Bergsma, *Bijdrage tot de wordingsgeschiedenis en de critiek der middelnederlandsche Brandaenteksten*, Gröningen, 1887.

[1] The first, second, and fourth of these were published by C. Schroeder, *Sanct Brandan, Ein lateinischer und drei deutsche Texte*, Erlangen, 1871. The third has been frequently edited, last by E. Bonebakker, Amsterdam, 1894.

[2] Compare the *Acta S. Brendani* quoted above, p. 169. This form of torture is very common. It is found in the hell of the Buddhists, in the *Book of Enoch* (whence perhaps its entrance into western Christian tradition), and in the *Visio Pauli* (ed. Brandes, pp. 66, 67 and note). Cf. E. J. Becker, *Contributions to the Comparative Study of the Mediæval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899. Solovev cites Bautz, *Die Hölle*, Mainz, 1882, p. 183. Cf. *Job* xxiv, 19.

[3] Middle High German poem, ll. 977 ff. Schroeder, in a note, p. 114, quotes from Leyser, *Pred.*, 34, 31: 'Daȝ dritte ist desperacio...daȝ du lichte zwiveles an gote...tustu daȝ so tûstu als Cayn und Judas, die da biede ewicliche vertümet sint und verlorn: wanne hetten sie genade gesucht an gote, so hetten sie genade an im vunden.' Wahlund (*op. cit.*, p. 255) mentions in this connection an interesting remark by Verlaine: 'Je dis que Judas est damné; mais pas pour avoir livré le Christ; non, pas pour cela. Il est damné pour s'être pendu de désespoir, pour avoir mis en doute l'infinie miséricorde de Dieu.' (*Revue bleue*, Aug. 22, 1896.) Compare also the splendid scene between Judas and Désespérance in Jehan Michel's *Passion*, as well as the incident in Huon de Bordeaux (p. 177, below).

Al en mach het also vele niet sijn,
Als oft met rechte mijn hadde ghezijn,
Nochtan helpet mi, heere,
Harde vele meere
Jeghen desen heeten brant,
Om dat ict selve gaf metter hant,
Dan mi nu holpe alle die have,
Al waert dat mense over mi gave,
Die nu in der weerelt es;—
Dies moghedi sijn ghewes.
So wel helpt dat goet
Dat die meinsche selve doet
Ende dat hi selve gheeft
Al die wijle, dat hi leeft;
Want achter weldade
Commen dicwile spade,
Ende datmen near dleven doet,
Dat heeft aermen spoet
Te helpene, die selve niet en gheeft
Dor Gode die wijle, dat hi leeft.

The Low German poem follows its original in the main, but abbreviates and alters the arrangement somewhat. And one of the chapbooks (the last in Schroeder's list, p. xvi) belongs to the same tradition in omitting Judas' other two acts of kindness. The usual prose recension, however, of which Schroeder mentions twelve prints down to 1521, while it agrees for the most part with the German versions in contradistinction to the other vernacular versions, records with great fullness all three of Judas' virtuous deeds:

Besunder so koment mir dise drei guottat so ich begangen hab, mit sambt den genanten tuochlein auch zuo hilf an meinem leiden, als ich dir sagen und erzelen wil. Es was ein tieffe gruob in der stat zu Jherusalem, darein vielen bei der nacht die lewt und das vich, und es was niemand so barmhertzig das er die selben gruoben zuofüllet, das sölicher schade nicht geschah: wann ich nam stein holtz und ertrich und machet die selben gruoben zuo. Das ander guot werck das ich tät: man machet einen umbhang in den tempel zuo Hierusalem, da zeran tuochs an, das gab ich darzuo damit das der umbhang volbracht ward. Es zerunnen auch zweier eißnin hacken daran man den selben hencken solt: die ließ ich machen und bracht die zuo wegen das der selbig umbhang gehenckt ward[1].

II.

The marvellous story of St Brendan's voyage, popular as it was in the Middle Ages, copied and recopied in the manuscripts, translated and retranslated in the vernaculars, has never found favour with the more critical members of Holy Church. The Bollandists have of course rejected it; and even Vincent de Beauvais, who set down in his thirteenth-century encyclopedia many a tale that staggers the imagination, called it 'deliramenta apocrypha.' To the mediæval story-lovers, however, it held a double attraction; it contained elements of the other-world vision

[1] Schroeder, p. 180.

literature, and it had all the fascination of a wonderful journey through strange seas in search of the promised land. Yet of all the miraculous adventures that befell St Brendan and his monks, it is the discovery of lonely Judas on his wave-swept rock that seems to have made the deepest impression on the mind and memory of the readers. Not merely is it one of the very few incidents to be borrowed from the *Navigatio* during the Middle Ages; it is also the only incident that has survived into modern literature, when all the other events of the voyage have been forgotten.

If time is a test, certainly the conception of Judas freed for a moment from the pangs of everlasting torment was a work of real creative imagination. But though the conception itself has lived, the original setting has undergone a change. Matthew Arnold writes a very mediocre poem on this Judas episode and names it 'Saint Brandan.' Once a year, on Christmas night, Judas arises from 'the sinners' lake' and cools his 'burning breast' on a white iceberg.

> That furtive mien, that scowling eye,
> Of hair that red and tufted fell—
> It is—Oh, where shall Brandan fly?—
> The traitor Judas, out of hell!
>
> Palsied with terror, Brandan sate;
> The moon was bright, the iceberg near.
> He hears a voice sigh humbly: 'Wait!
> By high permission I am here.'

There is no need to quote further. Perhaps Arnold was interested in the 'moral' of the story; but 'morals' and poetry dwell on different stars. Again Judas appears on an iceberg[1]—most probably a direct reminiscence of Arnold—in Mr Kipling's 'The Last Chantey.' And one must confess that the later poet comes nearer attaining the artistic effect that the situation deserves. When God proposed to fulfil his prophecy of destroying the sea, Judas was the first to object:

> Then said the soul of Judas that betrayèd Him:
> 'Lord, hast Thou forgotten Thy covenant with me?
> How once a year I go
> To cool me on the floe?
> And Ye take my day of mercy if Ye take away the sea!'

But even in the Middle Ages the picture of Judas on his rock was taken from the Brendan frame and made the basis of a separate incident in two of the French romances, *Baudouin de Sebourc* and the continuation of *Huon de Bordeaux* known as *Esclarmonde*. In one of their

[1] The iceberg motif may be an extension of the freezing which Judas suffered in the German versions; or, more probably, it arose from a confusion with Dante's picture of Judas in the icy pit of hell.

innumerable adventures Baudouin and Poliban come upon an island of terrible appearance, which they discover to be the entrance of hell. There they hear pitiful cries issuing from a thicket, and Baudouin asks who it is. 'My name is Judas,' replies the voice. 'What,' says Poliban, 'am I now in hell?' 'No,' answers Judas:

> Trestous les samedis qui sont de grant valour
> Et le dymenge aussi sui chi trestoute jour.
> Le lundi au matin revois en mon labour
> En enfer, où deable me boutent en lor four. (15,365 ff.)

Poliban inquires how this can be. Then Judas explains that the rock is granted him in return for a plank which he put across a large stream to save the people from loss; thus he has a respite every Saturday. He enjoys the Sunday holiday because he once, out of pity, gave all the money he had to a 'ladre de maladie enclos.' Then hell is described, with its three divisions, one for unbaptized infants, another for infidels and suicides, the third (in which Judas is placed) for murderers and other great criminals. Poliban proceeds to pick a quarrel with Judas, and when the devils catch sight of him he and Baudouin have difficulty in escaping to their ship. Poliban in fact is so frightened that he vows to receive baptism as soon as he reaches a Christian land, and in honour of this event he takes the name of Brendon[1].

In *Esclarmonde*[2] the Judas episode is not only a direct borrowing from the Brendan legend, but is probably also influenced by the incident in *Baudouin de Sebourc*[3]. After his fight with the Emperor, Huon withdraws quietly to Bordeaux, takes ship, and is soon on the open sea. Before long, however, the ship is drawn from its course and the steersman confesses he does not know where they are. Looking across the ocean in despair Huon perceives

> Vne grant piece de toile sor la mer
> & voit les ondes a la toile hurter
> & redoissier & arrier retourner
> Voient I home ȝtre la toile ester

[1] *Histoire Littéraire*, xxv, pp. 574 ff. That the Brendan story furnished the basis of this incident is clear from the author's general acquaintance with Brendan (cf. vol. I, 123, 302, vol. II, 54, 61–64, 66, 68, 70–73 of the Valenciennes edition, 1841) as well as from the direct mention of the saint in this context. I have not seen Kleinschmidt, *Das Verhältnis von 'Baudouin de Sebourc' zu dem...'Brandan,'* Göttingen Dissertation, 1908.

[2] Edited by Max Schweigel, Marburg, 1889, in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, LXXXIII. Of this continuation of *Huon de Bordeaux* there are two redactions in verse and one in prose. Cf. C. Voretzsch, *Die Composition des Huon von Bordeaux* (*Epische Studien*, I), Halle, 1900, and Fritz Klauber, *Characteristik und Quellen des altfranz. Gedichts Esclarmonde*, Heidelberg Dissertation, 1913. Lord Berner's translation was made from the French edition of 1545.

[3] Klauber argues for this point. There are obvious similarities between these two versions of the story in which they differ from the usual tradition.

Dusqua la teste fu en mer affondrés
Les iex auoit de la teste bendés
Sestoit plus noirs quarremens destēprés
Tousiours crioit caitis malëurés
Pour coi nasqui je quant tant ai de laste. (996 ff.)

Huon and the steersman ask who he is, and he answers that he is Judas. He had not dared pray God for mercy, and so he was placed here for punishment. And here, with all the water of the whirlpool rushing over him, he must remain until the end of the world,—but he has some protection from the piece of sail:

Cun poi de biē li miēs caitis cors na
De cele toile que vous veés ila
Lés mō vizage Jesūcris mize la
De ces grans ondes souuēt deffēdu ma
Dendroit la toile nul mal ne me fera. (1038 ff.)

Then Judas warns them of the Magnetic Mountain, and they depart[1].

The Marquis of Bute, in a lecture on *Brendan's Fabulous Voyage*[2] suggests that such a subject as this of Judas ought not to be treated at all. One wishes he had made clear his reasons for such an opinion; for certainly the solitary figure of the great sinner, wave-buffeted and remorse-smitten, trying to enjoy his momentary relief from eternal punishment, might well move the mind with tragic pity and terror. But we may agree with the Marquis—though it is dangerous to compare a nameless tenth-century monk with Dante—that when we place this picture of Judas beside Dante's picture of Judas ground between Lucifer's teeth, we must admit that the 'Irish fabulist' has done better.

III.

It is now well known that the belief in a periodic respite for the damned souls is of ancient Jewish origin[3] and seems to have sprung from

[1] In the prose version, of which Lord Berner's translation (ed. S. L. Lee, E.E.T.S., E.S., XL, XLI, XLIII, L, 1882–1887) is very close, Chapter CVIII is entitled, 'How Huon aryued on the perelous Goulfe, whereas he spake with Iudas, and howe he aryued at the porte of the Adamant.' Huon is struck with terror as they approach the gulf, where all the waters of the world surge together, for it is one of the entrances of hell. But, as it happens, at this moment the gulf is full, and they are able to sail over it without harm. Huon and his company kneel and thank God. Huon then sees beside him a great piece of canvas, and hears a voice complaining. The pilot asks who he is. No reply. Huon asks. Judas answers at great length. He is fluent and talkative, and insists by fourfold repetition that 'if he had trusted in God's great mercy all his trespass would have been forgiven him.' (This idea, both here and in the verse redaction, echoes the German versions.) Huon urges Judas still to ask mercy. Judas answers that he is damned for ever; and exhorts Huon to hasten from the Perilous Gulf.

[2] *Scottish Review*, XXI (1893), pp. 371 ff.

[3] On this subject see chiefly A. Graf, *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, XI (1888), pp. 344 ff.; A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, Turin, 1892, I, pp. 241 ff.; and I. Lévi, *Revue des Études Juives*, XXV (1892), pp. 1 ff., and XXVI (1893), pp. 131 ff. Cf. also Batiouchkof, *Romania*, XX (1891), pp. 1 ff., 513 ff., especially pp. 44 and 560. There is an Irish tradition that all the souls in suffering are released yearly for forty-eight hours com-

a feeling that the Sabbath ought to be a day of rest for the dead as well as for the living. In the ninth century it was already a popular custom to add on Saturday a prayer for the prolongation of the relief which the damned were supposed to be enjoying; and the conception itself may be traced as far back as the *Visio Pauli*, composed probably by the end of the fourth century[1]. It was certainly through this work that the idea became current among the Christians of the West. Among the earliest witnesses of this heresy (for it was never sanctioned by Rome) are St Augustine and the poet Prudentius (348–408?). The former says in his *Encheiridion*, cap. cxii: 'poenas damnatorum, certis temporum intervallis existiment, si hoc eis placet, aliquatenus mitigari.' And in the following chapter: 'Manebit ergo sine fine mors illa perpetua damnatorum, idest alienatio a vita Dei, et omnibus erit ipsa communis, quilibet homines de varietate poenarum, de dolorum revelatione vel intermissione pro suis humanis motibus suspicientur.' The verses of Prudentius run:

Sunt et spiritibus saepe nocentibus
Poenarum celebres sub Styge feriae
Illa nocte sacer qua rediit Deus
Stagnis ad superos ex Acherontiis...

Marcent suppliciis tartara mitibus,
Exultatque sui corporis otio
Umbrarum populus, liber ab ignibus,
Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure[2].

Graf notes many instances of the general belief, from the sixth century onwards, in a single day's respite for the damned, usually the day of Christ's resurrection; and he is right in observing that the respite would naturally be extended and transferred in the course of time from groups of persons to individuals. For example, Charlemagne saw in a vision his father Louis standing in boiling water one day and in clear

mencing on Holy Eve (*Folk-Lore*, x (1899), p. 121). For Germany cf. also Fischart, *Binenkorb*, II, viii (ed. 1581, p. 114ª). For the Orient cf. A. Wünsche, *Der Babylonische Talmud*, Leipzig, 1886–89, II, 3, p. 113: 'Am Sabbath steigt kein Rauch vom Grabe des Sünders, denn am Sabbath feiert auch die Hölle' (*Zs. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, II (1892), p. 297). For a Slavic account of the Virgin Mary's intercession for the damned, whereby their punishment was remitted between Green Thursday and Pentecost, see M. Gaster, *Greeko-Slavonic Literature*, London, 1887, pp. 59–61. On the early history of the Hebrew Sabbath cf. Hutton Webster, *Rest Days*, New York, 1916, chap. VIII.

[1] Cf. II Cor. xii, 2–4. (Nevertheless Paul wrote down his vision, but buried it under his house in Tarsus. In the time of the Emperor Theodosius an angel revealed its existence to one who dwelt in the house.) The original is supposed to have been in Armenian; but according to Abbé le Hir (cited by Lévi) it was the work of a Palestinian monk of the fifth century. It is now extant in Greek, Latin, and Syriac; cf. Tischendorf, *Apocal. Apocryph.*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 34–69. Cf. also Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, pp. 397 ff. There is an attempted reconstruction of the original by Hermann Brandes, Halle, 1885. Cf. also Brandes, *Über die Quellen der mittelenglischen Versionen der Paulus-Vision*, in *Eng. Stud.*, VII (1884), pp. 34 ff.

[2] *Cathemerinon*, v. Cf. Rösler, *Der kathol. Dichter Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*, Freiburg im B., 1886, on the diffusion of this belief.

tepid water the next, all through the prayers of St Peter and St Remigius[1]; and King Comarchus, in Tundal's vision, was tormented for only three hours a day[2].

We have here then very clearly the ultimate source of Judas' temporary rest; though Cholevius oddly enough found in the Brendan incident a reminiscence of Orpheus, who lightened by his singing the pains of Tantalus and Ixion. The express mention of Judas' days of relief, from Saturday evening to Sunday evening, corresponds closely, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Hebrew tradition of the Sabbath respite. The extension of the period to include certain church holidays was a natural elaboration due to Christian influence, and the additional few hours won for Judas by Brendan's intercession merely enlarge that tradition[3].

What, however, is much more interesting is the fact that Judas should be chosen for an example of the divine mercy. The author of the *Navigatio* must have been somehow conscious of this peculiarity: witness the question of the devils to St Brendan, 'Why do you invoke the name of the Lord in behalf of him who betrayed the Lord?' Elsewhere in mediæval literature and popular tradition, as indeed in the Gospels, Judas is despised and accursed. The Hebrew belief applies to all souls who have gone to the *doloroso regno*, regardless of special merit, and the lightening of Judas' punishment is due (as he explains) solely to the ineffable indulgence of our Lord. Why is this indulgence shown to Judas, and not to 'Herod and Pilate and Annas and Caiaphas,' his fellows in hell? Moreover, the bit of cloth, the iron hooks, and the rock, by which Judas is both blessed and tortured, are details without foundation in the New Testament, and must have been imagined for him in accord with the belief that a good deed in this life has its due reward in the next, even though the deed is not altogether pure. We return then to the problem, why Judas should be singled out among the arch-sinners for temporary comfort from the pains of hell, and why the kindly acts should have been invented for him.

[1] Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Script.*, v, p. 458 (Graf).

[2] Schade, *Visio Tnugdali*, Halle, 1869, pp. 18, 27. On Tundal see O. Mausser, *Eine Fahrt durch die Reiche des Jenseits*, in *Walhalla*, vi, pp. 200–71; and Kałużniacki, *Zur Litteratur der Visionen in der Art der Visio Tundali*, in *Arch. f. slav. Phil.*, xvi (1894), pp. 42–6.

[3] The Virgin Mary's intercession with her Son in behalf of sinners is familiar; and there is the particular tale mentioned above. Solovev points to the analogy between such tales and the Judas incident, and suggests that the latter was influenced by the former, especially inasmuch as Judas is freed 'on all the holidays sacred to the Blessed Virgin' (p. 135). The analogy is clear; some connection is not improbable; but in view of the facts that the Sabbath respite is a very old tradition (which Solovev seems not to have known), and that the earlier texts of the *Navigatio* do not emphasize the festivals of Mary but rather each Sunday as Judas' rest days, it is very unlikely that this incident of Judas was inspired or directly suggested by the Virgin's intercession for other sinners.

All that can be offered for answer to this question is mere hypothesis. Graf's distinction between theology of sentiment and doctrinal theology is helpful; and there is something in the suggestion of P. Douhaire: 'L'idée d'une damnation à jamais irrévocable affligeait l'imagination tout évangélique des hommes du moyen-âge; ils voulaient espérer contre toute espérance dans le retour du pécheur; et quand ce retour était impossible, quand la damnation était consommée, ils faisaient violence à la rigidité du dogme théologique pour faire descendre dans l'éternel séjour des supplices l'intervention fraternelle des prières du juste. N'est-ce pas ainsi, en effet, qu'ils font suspendre quelque temps les souffrances de Judas par les prières de saint Branden? Écoutez la légende du traître et voyez tout ce qu'il y avait de miséricorde dans le cœur de ces simples chrétiens du onzième et du douzième siècle[1].'

One would like to think that in contrast to the popular imagination of the Middle Ages, which regarded Judas as the image and emblem of all wickedness, there were some few in whom the Christian spirit of mercy and forgiveness was abundant enough to include the sinner of sinners, some who would pray: 'Father, forgive him, for he knew not what he did,' and who would believe that one whom the Master had chosen must be worthy of some sympathetic feeling of charity. If there is nothing in the earliest versions of the Brendan legend to suggest a meeting with Judas at the Smoky Mountain, why did a tenth-century redactor add it unless to register a conviction that the lovingkindness of Jesus had embraced Judas?

It is of course the custom of scholars to hunt out a source for every detail of popular tradition, and it is generally true that ideas can be followed back from one context to another until a probable *causa causans* is found. It is even possible to suggest a 'source' for this figure of Iscariot freed temporarily from the intense sufferings of the damned. But scholars are somewhat prone to overlook the peculiarities of the human mind, and to forget that the same notion often comes independently to different persons; and they are sometimes unwilling to recognize the importance of the individual fancy or feeling of men whose names have not survived. It is therefore entirely possible that the innominate monk who produced the present version of the *Navigatio* did himself invent the incident of Judas, having in mind for a point of departure merely the tradition that some of the doomed souls were allowed moments of respite from the eternal torment. Nowadays he

[1] *Cours de l'histoire de la poésie chrétienne*, in *L'Université Catholique*, VII (1839), p. 282 (quoted by Wahlund, pp. 254–5).

would not fail to provide that his name should be preserved with his work, but before the Renaissance, although *individuals* existed as they do now, anonymity was the rule in authorship. One may furthermore, by the same hypothesis, attribute to the same man the invention of Judas' charity to the leper, the gift of the iron hooks, and the laying of the stone across the highway.

If, on the other hand, one wishes to seek historic reasons for this Christian attitude toward Judas, one may find it, strangely enough, among the early opponents of Christianity. Now it is certain that some ideas perilously near heresy itself filtered into the minds of the early fathers from their contact with Gnostic teachings; and one of the Gnostic sects, the Cainites, is known to have specially reverenced Judas Iscariot[1]. The importance of this in the present connection lies in the fact that the lost Greek version of the *Visio Pauli* is mentioned by Epiphanius in his *Adversus Haereses* under the heading 'Adv. Caianos' (38)[2] and Epiphanius is among those who were charitable in their judgment of Judas. Moreover, the other Greek version of the *Visio Pauli*, that which is now extant, is mentioned by Augustine (in his 98th Tract on the *Gospel of John*), who was himself far from condemning Judas utterly[3]. The nexus is admittedly very tenuous, but after all proper allowance is made for coincidence and for our fragmentary knowledge of the whole matter, it remains a possibility with some slight show of probability that the germ of this conception of Judas' periodic respite is to be found among those early fathers who knew both the Jewish belief recorded in the *Visio Pauli* and the Gnostic admiration for Judas Iscariot. It is but a single step to combine the two ideas into a notion that Judas himself was honoured, through the grace of our Lord, with a remission of punishment every Sabbath. And this notion may well have persisted, though we have now no documentary evidence, until the anonymous author of the complete *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* gave it permanence.

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA, U.S.A.

[1] Cf. Tertullian, *Liber de Praescriptione*, 47 (ed. Leopold, Leipzig, 1841, III, p. 35). On the Cainites, see e.g. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1893, I, i, p. 163.

[2] *M.S.G.*, XLI, col. 656.

[3] Augustine says that in betraying Jesus Judas did quite the same thing that God and Christ did, except that Judas acted from a different motive. Judas was but an instrument by which God wrought the salvation of mankind—'nesciente scienter utebatur' (in *Joan. Ev. Tract.* LV, 4 (ed. Paris[2], 1837, III, 1, 2216); cf. also IV, 1, 922; IV, 2, 1457; V, 97, etc.).

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON COLERIDGE.

II[1].

Coleridge and Herder.

Herder's views are so different from those of Kant that one might expect to find nothing in common between Herder and the Kantian Coleridge. There is, however, a little in common. We have no need to hunt for evidence that Coleridge studied Herder[2]. In the British Museum there is a copy of the *Kalligone* which was once in Coleridge's possession and contains marginal notes in his handwriting[3]. We may take it for granted that Coleridge could not have been long in Göttingen without being urged to read Herder. At Göttingen Coleridge went to Heyne[4] for his reading matter. Heyne was a great friend of Herder's; much of their correspondence is preserved, and from their letters we learn that they were interested in and admired each other's work, and exchanged their publications. Heyne would naturally highly recommend Herder's work to an Englishman interested in literary criticism.

We should expect *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst*[5] to appeal to Coleridge. He would welcome the denunciation of those critics who were still judging Shakespeare's works by Aristotelian (or pseudo-Aristotelian) rules, and would agree with Herder's proposition, 'Sophokles Drama und Shakespears Drama sind zwei Dinge, die in gewissem Betracht kaum den Namen gemein haben[6].'

Herder was the first critic to discuss Greek drama and Shakespearean drama historically, and to ascribe the differences to the fact that the two kinds of drama arose under different conditions. Coleridge treats this subject in much the same way. Herder says that the Greeks produced

[1] Continued from *Modern Language Review*, vol. xvii, p. 281.

[2] In his *Biographia Literaria* (chap. xi) Coleridge states that Herder 'combined the successful pursuit of the Muses...with the highest honours...of an established profession.'

[3] In one passage, dated Malta, Dec. 19, 1804, he expresses disgust at Herder's attacks on Kant in the *Kalligone* and in the *Metakritik*, and mentions as some of Herder's 'better' works the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, *Briefe das Studium der Theologie betreffend*, and '*Vermischte Blätter*' (? *Zerstreute Blätter*).

[4] For Heyne see below.

[5] See below for evidence that Coleridge knew Goethe's contribution to this volume as well as Herder's.

[6] *Herders Werke* (edited Suphan), v, p. 210. Coleridge, comparing Shakespeare's dramas with those of Sophocles, says they are 'a different genus, diverse in kind not merely different in degree' (*Notes*, p. 204).

the manifold from the simple; Shakespeare united the manifold to a whole. Thus in Greek drama we find the unities of time and place observed. Coleridge says that the deviation from the simple forms and unities of the ancient stage is an 'appropriate excellence' of modern drama, 'for these unities were to a great extent the natural form of that which in its elements was homogeneous[1].'

The similarity of the following views, especially their similar presentation, is striking. Coleridge, dealing with Shakespearean criticism, remarks that some critics hold 'after Corneille and Racine, that Sophocles is the most perfect model for tragedy and Aristotle its most infallible censor...that Shakspere was a sort of irregular genius[2],' that other critics admit 'the splendour of the parts,' which compensates, 'if aught can compensate for the barbarous shapelessness...of the whole[3],' and admit 'islands of fertility' which 'look the greener from the surrounding waste[4].' These other critics, Coleridge says, are 'Shakspere's own commentators and (so they would tell you) almost idolatrous admirers[5].' Herder also contrasts the critics; he says that Shakespeare's boldest enemies have mocked him, comparing him unfavourably with Sophocles and Corneille, whilst his boldest friends have satisfied themselves with excusing him, 'seine Schönheiten nur immer mit Anstoss gegen die Regeln zu wägen, zu kompensieren, ihn als Angeklagten das Absolvo zu erreden, und denn sein Grosses desto mehr zu vergöttern, je mehr sie über Fehler die Achsel ziehen mussten[6].'

Coleridge remarks that 'even whole nations' are often 'enslaved to the habits of their education' and thus do not judge correctly 'on subjects of taste and polite literature.' For 'instead of deciding...by any rule of reason, nothing appears rational, becoming, or beautiful to them, but what coincides with the peculiarities of their education[7].' Thus it has happened that 'whole nations have combined' in condemning Shakespeare[8]. Herder says that just as children are not governed by reason, but by their general training and habits, 'so sind ganze Nationen in Allem, was sie lernen, noch weit mehr Kinder,' and thus err in judgment of literature[9].

[1] *Notes*, p. 204. Herder, in another essay, deals with a common error of critics in not recognizing the fact that there are no 'fixed forms.' He says, 'Wer sich an Eine Zeit... sklavisch schliesst, das Zeitmässige ihrer Formen für ewig hält, dem bleibt jene unerreichbare lebendige Idee fern und fremde, das Ideal, das über alle Völker und Zeiten reichet' (*Werke*, XXIII, p. 76). And Coleridge says, 'O! few have there been among critics, who have followed with the eye of the imagination the imperishable yet ever wandering spirit of poetry through its various metempsychoses, and consequent metamorphoses...' (*Notes*, p. 203).

[2] *Notes*, p. 51. [3] *Ib.*, p. 227. [4] *Ib.*, p. 228. [5] *Ib.*, p. 229.
[6] *Werke*, V, p. 208. [7] *Notes*, p. 226. [8] *Ib.*, p. 228. [9] *Werke*, V, p. 209.

Coleridge and Herder have the same charge to bring against French drama, it is artificial. Coleridge demands 'language inspired by the passion, and the language and the passion modified and differenced by the character[1].' And Herder, who elsewhere states that 'Ausdruck' and 'Gedanke' must be related as soul to body, that the poet 'soll Empfindungen ausdrücken[2],' complains of Racine's diction: 'Es sind Gemälde der Empfindung von dritter fremder Hand, nie oder selten die unmittelbaren, ersten, ungeschminkten Regungen, wie sie Worte suchen und endlich finden[3].'

Possibly Coleridge adopted from Herder the term 'northern' to distinguish English and German poetry from that of ancient Greece.

Before leaving Herder's essay one more example might be given. Both men are struck by the artistic skill shown in the first scene of *King Lear*. Coleridge says 'these facts, these passions, these moral verities, on which the whole tragedy is founded, are all prepared for, and will to the retrospect be found implied, in these first four or five lines of the play[4].' Herder says that Lear 'in der ersten Scene der Erscheinung trägt schon allen Saamen seiner Schicksale zur Ernte der dunkelsten Zukunft in sich[5].'

The relations of the poet to nature and to God are the same for Coleridge and Herder. To Coleridge Shakespeare is the chosen poet of nature; Shakespeare is not merely a wild irregular genius, for 'does God choose idiots by whom to convey divine truths to men[6]'? So too Herder, 'Wie die ganze Natur Gottes, wie alle Geschichte zu uns spricht, so spreche auch die Dollmetscherin beider, die göttliche Dichtkunst[7].' For, says Herder, 'Ein Dichter ist Schöpfer eines Volkes um sich; er gibt ihnen eine Welt zu sehen und hat ihre Seelen in seiner Hand, sie dahin zu führen...immer aber und überall kann nur ein Gott solche Dichter geben[8].' And again Herder tells us that God uses 'erwählte, grössere Menschen' for his work ('sittliche Fortbildung in menschlichen Seelen')[9]. In the ancient world Homer dispensed wisdom; Herder's 'Sittlichkeit, Kunst und Weisheit,' which the Greeks derived from Homer, is in Coleridge 'wisdom,...writings...ennobling us by grand thoughts and images[10].'

With regard to the dependence of genius on public taste, Coleridge remarks that poets like Milton and Shakespeare are not corrupted by it[11],

[1] *Notes*, p. 212. [2] *Werke*, I, p. 394. [3] *Ib.*, V, p. 215.
[4] *Notes*, p. 329. [5] *Werke*, V, p. 220. [6] *Notes*, p. 229.
[7] *Werke*, VIII, p. 362. Compare also '[Shakespeare] ist Dollmetscher der Natur in all' ihren Zungen' (*Werke*, V, p. 219).
[8] *Werke*, VIII, p. 433. [9] *Ib.*, XIII, p. 351.
[10] *Notes*, p. 65, and *Werke*, VIII, p. 371. [11] *Notes*, p. 214.

for 'true poets...write from a principle within[1].' Herder says, 'Jeder Mensch von feinem Gefühl erfährt,...dass in halbgebildeten oder irregeführten Völkern nichts so selten sey, als das reine Gefühl und Wohlgefallen am echten, geschweige am erhabenen Schönen. Der wahre Künstler arbeitet daher nicht für den gemeinen Geschmack, ist auf das Urtheil des Pöbels nie stolz[2].' The artist works under 'die Idee, die in ihm liegt, die ihn treibt und beseligt[3].'

The following passages in which we find the same thoughts, conveyed in the same way (viz. the relation of outward form and inward idea, scorn of the application of the epithet 'barbarian' to Shakespeare, Shakespeare's immense range), make it almost impossible to believe that Coleridge is here quite independent of Herder. Coleridge says that earnest poetry is like plastic art, 'where the perfection of outward form is a symbol of the perfection of an inward idea[4].' Then, after alluding to Voltaire's criticism of Shakespeare (viz. 'la tragédie d'Hamlet, c'est une pièce grossière et barbare,...on croirait que cet ouvrage est le fruit de l'imagination d'un sauvage ivre'), he proceeds:

> The organic form, on the other hand, is innate; it shapes, as it developes, itself from within, and the fulness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form. Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms; each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within, its true image reflected and thrown out from the concave mirror; and even such is the appropriate excellence of her chosen poet, of our own Shakspere—himself a nature humanized, a genial understanding directing selfconsciously a power and an implicit wisdom deeper even than our own consciousness[5].

This is expressed, more concisely, by Herder:

> Da alles Äussere nur Abglanz der inneren Seele ist: wie tief ist nicht der barbarische, gothische Shakespear durch Erdlagen und Erdschichten überall zu den Grundzügen gekommen, aus denen ein Mensch wächst[6].

The passages quoted above to show the influence of Herder on Coleridge are from Coleridge's lectures and notes on English poetry, where one would expect to find an application of his general aesthetic principles to particular cases[7].

[1] *Ib.*, p. 232. [2] Compare also *Notes*, p. 55. [3] *Werke*, XXII, p. 105.
[4] *Notes*, p. 189. [5] *Ib.*, p. 229.
[6] *Werke*, VIII, pp. 183–4 (cp. also below, p. 189).
[7] For further examples see the third section of this paper. The general trend of the first section of the 'Lectures of 1818' is the same as that of a large section of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. Coleridge uses the word 'Poesy' as the 'generic or class term, including poetry, music, painting, statuary, and ideal architecture, as its species' in the syllabus of his 1818 lectures. Herder says, 'In der Cultur zum Schönen, die wir der Kürze halben Poesie nennen wollen' (*Werke*, XVIII, p. 5). Further, both writers compare Poetry with Science, treat Epic and Drama (Fate as the deciding factor) in much the same way. They sum up the question of 'imitation of nature' similarly. Coleridge says, 'art cannot exist without, or apart from, nature; and what has man of his own to give to his fellow-men, but his own thoughts or feelings?' (*Notes*,

The formal aesthetical essays of Coleridge bear every mark of Kant's influence. Coleridge, like Schiller, found the three *Critiques*[1] convincing (at least within limits), but occasionally doubt seems to have arisen in his mind. The essays on *Taste* and on *Beauty* are mere fragments, and one cannot read them without feeling that the abrupt endings are due to indecision. There seems to be a faint echo of Herder in such passages as: 'As to lines, the rectilineal are in themselves lifeless, the determined ab extra, but still in immediate union with the cycloidal, which are expressive of function.... These are not arbitrary symbols, but the language of nature...[2].' Herder remarks: 'Wo es anging, hat die Natur die Linie der Richtigkeit mit dem Kreise der Vollkommenheit umwunden...so hat sie auch am Körper die Linie der Vestigkeit mit Rundheit umkleidet[3].'

The distinction between 'refined' and 'gross pleasures[4]' reminds the reader of Herder's distinction between the agreeable and the beautiful, a distinction based on the difference between the 'gröbere' and the 'feinere Sinnesorgane[5].' Herder says that the lower senses are limited 'blos auf die thierische Erhaltung unsres Ichs[6],' whilst in the case of the higher senses one forgets self: 'Vermöge des Wesens, das mich aus mir selbst setzt, indem es sich mir aneignet, vergesse ich meiner[7].' This may be the meaning of Coleridge's statement on the lower senses, which 'appear in part passive, and combine with the perception of the outward object a distinct sense of our own life[8].' Kant postulates a kind of 'Stimme des Geschmacks' parallel to the 'Stimme des Gewissens,' whilst Herder will not accept 'allgemeingültige Geschmacksurteile[9],' and Coleridge seems to end the essay on *Taste* with a note of indecision

p. 227). Herder says, 'Ohne Natur und ohne uns selbst könnten wir uns weder Natur noch Empfindung erfinden' (*Werke*, xxiii, p. 73). In his definition of 'poetry' Coleridge says: we expect 'from each part the greatest immediate pleasure compatible with the largest sum of pleasure on the whole...that splendour of particular lines, which would be worthy of admiration in an impassioned elegy,...would be a blemish and proof of vile taste in a tragedy or an epic poem' (*Notes*, p. 184). Herder points out that Milton and Klopstock avoid this fault in their epics, and continues: 'Wer beim Drama das Drama vergisst,...dagegen aber an Sentenzen, an malerischen Situationen, an einzelnen Charakteren haftet; wie fern ist er vom Erhabnen Sophokles und Shakespears!' (*Werke*, xxii, p. 275).

[1] But Kant's influence on Coleridge is not confined to the *Critiques*; Coleridge read Kant's earlier essays. The passage on 'the lax hold which principles have on a woman's heart' (*Notes*, p. 290) is taken from Kant's essay on the *Beautiful and the Sublime*. Coleridge also takes from Kant the curious comparison between mathematics and philosophy (cp. *Misc.*, p. 10 and Kant, *Werke*, Berlin, 1912 etc., ii, p. 182).

[2] *Misc.*, p. 40.

[3] *Werke*, viii, pp. 64–5. There is also a general likeness between Coleridge's remarks on the senses, especially on the sense of 'touch' and Herder's remarks (cp. *Misc.*, pp. 25, 36–7 and *Werke*, xv, p. 534).

[4] *Misc.*, p. 41. [5] *Werke*, xxii, pp. 34 and 40. [6] *Ib.*, xxii, p. 40.

[7] *Ib.*, xxii, p. 96. [8] *Misc.*, p. 37. [9] *Werke*, xxii, p. 34.

and admits 'the consciousness of our liability to error[1].' In the essay on *Beauty* the historical treatment of aesthetic which is just hinted at[2] is more akin to Herder than to Kant, whilst the final paragraph seems (for it is rather unclear) to tend to unite, with Herder, the agreeable, the good and the beautiful, instead of divorcing them; for Herder protests against 'was die Natur in uns zart verschlungen hat, unerbittlich zu trennen[3].' The long essays on *The Principles of Genial Criticism* owe a great deal to Kant[4]; here the good and the beautiful are rigidly separated, but in judgment of the beautiful Kant's 'demand' that all other people shall agree is weakened in Coleridge to 'expect[5].'

However much Coleridge may owe to Kant in these aesthetical essays, one cannot discover much trace of Kant in the application of general principles in his lectures and notes on Shakespeare and other poets. It is doubtful whether Coleridge as a literary critic derived the slightest advantage from a study of Kant's aesthetic. His gain from studying Schiller and Herder is obvious, at the very least estimate their work justified the faith that was in him. As soon as Coleridge leaves the bare formal theory and gets to work on poetry, overboard goes all 'Zweckmässigkeit ohne Vorstellung eines Zweckes,' all formal distinctions between the agreeable, the beautiful and the good; the atmosphere is entirely that of Herder, for to Herder there is no firm dividing line between the agreeable, the beautiful and the good: 'unsre Natur in allen ihren Begriffen und Gefühlen' is '*Eine* Natur'; 'Möge die Kritik ihre drei specifisch verschiedne Vorstellungsarten siebenfach unterscheiden; böse für sie, wenn ihr Schönes nicht angenehm, und ihr Gutes nicht schön ist[6].' And Coleridge can find no application for such definite distinctions in his concrete literary criticism. In his lectures Coleridge has little to say about 'the beautiful' and 'taste,' and what he does say is more akin to Herder than to Kant. To Herder experience is a great factor in forming taste[7], and Coleridge says: 'Taste is an attainment

[1] *Misc.*, p. 38. [2] *Ib.*, p. 40. [3] *Werke*, xxii, p. 9.

[4] See *Biographia Literaria and Aesthetical Essays*, edited by J. Shawcross, ii, pp. 304–15. [5] *Ib.*, ii, p. 314.

[6] *Werke*, xxii, p. 35. With Herder the question is 'wie sie zu scheiden oder zu verbinden seyn' (*Werke*, xxii, p. 36).

[7] Herder says: 'Jede Kunst...erfodert Fleiss, Mühe, Übung' (*Werke*, xxx, p. 76). 'Wahrer Geschmack...lässt sich nur durch stilles Nachdenken, durch ausharrenden Fleiss, durch fortgesetzte, wiederholte Übung erlangen' (*Werke*, xxx, p. 279). Herder says also: 'Was das schnelle Erfassen des Wahren dem Verstande, was die Regung des moralischen Gefühls dem Willen, ist zwischen beiden in Ansehung des Schönen und Angenehmen sowohl in Empfindung als Übung der Geschmack, d. i. die leichte und sichre Comprehension desselben im feinsten Punkt seines Reizes' (*Werke*, xxii, p. 219). Although Herder says 'Ein Tyrann des Geschmacks ist...die albernste Figur' (*Werke*, xxii, p. 105), yet he admits that we can feel our taste is right, 'sobald wir unsres Geschmacks sicher sind,' but we must not try to force this taste on others (*Werke*, xxii, p. 106).

after the poet has been disciplined by experience,' it is attained only 'by painful study'; when attained the poet 'knows what part of his genius he can make acceptable and intelligible to the portion of mankind for which he writes.' 'In my mind it would be a hopeless symptom, as regards genius, if I found a young man with anything like perfect taste[1].' Discussing the beautiful, Coleridge says:

> We call, for we see and feel, the swan and the dove both transcendently beautiful. As absurd as it would be to institute a comparison between their separate claims to beauty from any abstract rule common to both, without reference to the life and being of the animals themselves,...not less absurd is it to pass judgment on the works of a poet on the mere ground that they have been called by the same class-name with the works of other poets in other times and circumstances, or on any ground, indeed, save that of their inappropriateness to their own end and being, their want of significance, as symbols or physiognomy[2].

This is all in Herder's style: 'Selbst den schönen Schwan mögen wir am liebsten schwimmen sehen,...so sehen wir jeden Vogel des Himmels am liebsten in *seiner* Luft, auf *seinen* Zweigen[3]'; we see in the bird an 'Inbegriff von Eigenschaften und Vollkommenheiten seines Elements, eine Darstellung seiner Virtualität als eines Licht-, Schall- und Luftgeschöpfs, dem in jeder Gattung sein Habitus zustimmt[4]'; 'Wenn jedes lebendige Geschöpf, seiner Gestalt nach, ein Maximum seiner Bedeutsamkeit an sich trägt, dessen Anerkennung, verständig oder sinnlich, uns den Begriff seiner Schönheit, d. i. des Wohlseyns in seinem Element gewähret, wird dem Menschen dieser Ausdruck seiner Virtualität fehlen[5]?' 'Nur die Bedeutung innerer Vollkommenheit ist Schönheit'—'Schönheit ist...sinnlicher Ausdruck der Vollkommenheit zum Zwecke'—Innere Vollkommenheit = 'Gesundheit, Leben, Kraft, Wohlseyn in jedem Gliede [des] kunstvollen Geschöpfes[6].'

It has already been pointed out that Coleridge, like Schiller[7], lays stress on the powerful attraction which the Beautiful exerts in relation

[1] *Notes*, p. 81. Compare also: 'the merits which taste and judgment can confer are of slow growth' (*Notes*, p. 101). Kant (*Kritik der Urteilskraft*, § 50) says that taste must be combined with genius to produce fine art: 'Der Geschmack ist so wie die Urtheilskraft überhaupt die Disciplin (oder Zucht) des Genies.'

[2] *Notes*, pp. 202–3. Reynolds also, in the *Idler*, No. 82, compares the swan and the dove. He and Coleridge partly agree and partly disagree. Kant (*Kritik der Urteilskraft*, § 48) says that to estimate a beauty of nature it is not necessary to know the material finality (the end). The mere form pleases on its own account. Contrast with the above Coleridge's remarks on the sense of Beauty in the appendix to his essays on the Fine Arts (*Misc.*, p. 33). In his formal essays on general principles he follows Kant closely. The above passage from Coleridge together with its continuation (*Notes*, p. 203) contains matter which is treated in more detail in Herder's essay on 'veste Formen des Schönen' (*Werke*, XXIII, pp. 73–6).

[3] *Werke*, XXII, p. 82. [4] *Ib.*, XXII, p. 83. [5] *Ib.*, XXII, p. 85.

[6] *Ib.*, VIII, p. 56.

[7] 'Schon der Zweck der Natur bringt es mit sich, dass wir der Schönheit zuerst entgegeneilen...' (Schiller's *Werke*, XII, p. 273).

to man, but it is just possible that Coleridge's curious etymological adventure, 'Hence the Greeks called a beautiful object *καλόν*, quasi *καλοῦν*, i.e. calling on the soul[1],' was suggested by Herder's 'Bei den Griechen...bezeichnete das Schöne (*το καλον*) was hervorscheint und gleichsam hervorruft an Glanz und Ansehen...[2].'

Finally, in his essay on 'Life[3],' Coleridge discusses 'unity in multeity' and defends the use of 'analogy' from physical science to explain life; so, too, Herder states that 'Bildwörter' and the use of 'Analogie' are necessary in speaking of our whole 'Psychologie,' and mentions 'das Gefühl von dem Einen, der in aller Mannichfaltigkeit herrschet[4].'

III.

The Charge of Plagiarism.

Coleridge definitely repudiates the charge of plagiarism in the case of Schelling and Schlegel:

> In this instance, as in the dramatic lectures of Schlegel, to which I have before alluded, from the same motive of self-defence against the charge of plagiarism, many of the most striking resemblances, indeed all the main and fundamental ideas, were born and matured in my mind before I had ever seen a single page of the German Philosopher; and I might indeed affirm with truth, before the more important works of Schelling had been written, or at least made publick[5].

And Coleridge claims to have put forward his views of *Hamlet* before he knew a word of German, and before Schlegel had delivered his lectures[6].

Writing to Poole (March 16, 1801), Coleridge says, 'I have not formed opinions without an attentive perusal of my predecessors from Aristotle to Kant,' and in a letter to Davy (Sept. 11, 1807), Coleridge states that he is writing out lectures on poetry; his scheme includes: (1) general principles, (2) Shakspere, his genius, relatively to predecessors and contemporaries, his merits and defects, which of them belong to his age, (3) Spenser, (4) Milton, (5) Dryden and Pope. This will give the 'whole result of many years' continued reflection on the subjects of taste, imagination, fancy, passion, the source of our pleasures in the fine arts....' And in a letter to Davy in 1801 Coleridge states that he intends to write 'an essay concerning poetry, and the pleasures to be derived from it, which would supersede all the books of morals, and all the books of metaphysics too[7].' These statements of intentions support the hy-

[1] *Misc.*, p. 31.
[2] *Werke*, xxii, pp. 92–3.
[3] *Theory of Life* (*Misc.*, pp. 386–7, and 404).
[4] *Werke*, viii, pp. 169–71.
[5] *Biographia Literaria*, chap. ix. See also letter to Green (*Letters*, ii, p. 683).
[6] *Notes*, pp. 342–3.
[7] *Letters*, i, p. 353.

pothesis that Coleridge had collected practically all the material for his lectures, even for those of 1818, before Schlegel delivered his lectures[1].

A. W. Schlegel.

It is possible to make out a formidable list of parallel passages in Coleridge and Schlegel[2]; in some cases there is even a striking verbal similarity, and the problem is to reconcile these similar passages with Coleridge's denial of plagiarism[3]. A few of these parallel passages are examined below.

There is a general likeness between Schlegel's strictures on Kotzebue[4] and those of Coleridge[5], a likeness that might be mistaken for a borrowing on Coleridge's part—but there is no borrowing. Coleridge knew Kotzebue (through translations) before he went to Germany, and the passage in the lecture referred to above was based on a letter which Coleridge wrote in Germany in 1798[6]. This passage serves a double purpose of showing that a similarity need not imply a borrowing, and that Coleridge in his lectures of 1813–14 was using material at least fifteen years old.

The next example will serve the same double purpose. In speaking of Shakespeare's characters Coleridge says:

> And it is well worth remarking that Shakspere's characters, like those in real life, are very commonly misunderstood, and almost always understood by different persons in different ways. The causes are the same in either case. If you take only

[1] This hypothesis gains further support from a little book, thirty copies of which were printed for private circulation in 1913, containing Coleridge's *Letters Hitherto Uncollected*, edited by W. F. Prideaux. In a letter dated Sept. 1800 (p. 11), Coleridge speaks of giving up poetry altogether, and devoting himself to interpretative literary criticism. In another letter (undated, but the fact that he mentions his age fixes the date 1818) to Mudford he states (p. 35), 'My next Friday's lecture will...be interesting, and the points of view not only original, but new to the audience,' and refers to his lectures on Shakespeare of '16 or rather 17 years ago.' This passage clearly implies that he was using in 1818 matter which, though 'new to the audience,' had been used in far earlier lectures and was original.

There are also several passages in his lectures which show that Coleridge used matter collected early for his later lectures. Thus, for example, in 1818 he speaks of having been at Helmstadt 'a few years ago' (*Notes*, p. 198). Coleridge left Germany in 1799. His remarks on the diction of Catullus in 1811 (*Notes*, p. 46) might well have been written in the *Lyrical Ballads* period, viz. before he went to Germany.

[2] Such a list has been made by A. A. Helmholtz, *The Indebtedness of S. T. Coleridge to A. W. v. Schlegel*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907.

[3] Views on this question are extreme. Traill, in his life of Coleridge (p. 165), denies that Coleridge owed anything to Schlegel; but he entirely ignores the many similar passages, and is rather too contemptuous of German critics. Brandl, on the other hand, too readily assumes that these similar passages are definite proof of wholesale borrowings. Pizzo, in his article in *Anglia* (Band xxviii), takes a middle course; he assumes considerable influence, but says that Coleridge 'entdeckte mehr Schönheiten als Schlegel.'

[4] *Lectures*, trans. Black, p. 459.

[5] *Notes*, p. 485.

[6] Coleridge read to the audience a portion of *Satyrane's Letters*, II. These letters from Germany provided material for other lectures; e.g. the absence of 'sentimental rat-catchers' in Shakespeare's dramas is noted both in *Satyrane's Letters* and in one of the lectures (cp. *Notes*, p. 239).

what the friends of the character say you may be deceived, and still more so, if that which his enemies say; nay, even the character himself sees himself through the medium of his character and not exactly as he is. Take all together, not omitting a shrewd hint from the clown or the fool and perhaps your impression will be right, and you may know whether you have in fact discovered the poet's own idea, by all the speeches receiving light from it, and attesting its reality by reflecting it[1].

And Schlegel says:

[Shakespeare's characters] serve to bring out each other's peculiarities...for we can never estimate a man's true worth if we consider him altogether abstractedly by himself; we must see him in his relations with others; and it is here that most dramatic poets are deficient. Shakspeare makes each of his principal characters the glass in which the others are reflected, and by like means enables us to discover what could not be immediately revealed to us....Illadvised should we be were we always to take men's declarations respecting themselves and others for sterling coin ....Nobody ever painted so truthfully as he has done the facility of self-deception, the half self-conscious hypocrisy towards ourselves[2].

The likeness of the above passages is striking. Coleridge, however, did not borrow this thought from Schlegel. We find it partially stated and fully implied in a note in Coleridge's handwriting on his translation of the *Piccolomini* and the *Death of Wallenstein* in the library of Rugby School. This note was first published in 1912[3]. Coleridge translated *Wallenstein*, Dec. 1799—Apr. 1800. In his preface he remarks that it is 'more decorous to point out excellencies than defects.'

The following passage is taken from this note:

The defects of these dramas are all of an instructive character, for tho' not the products of genius, like those of Shakspere, they result from an energetic and thinking mind. (1) The speeches are seldom suited to characters—the characters are truly diversified and distinctly conceived—but we learn them from the descriptions given by other characters, or from particular speeches. The brutal Illo repeatedly talks language which belongs to the Countess etc.[4]

It is clear that Coleridge is not indebted to Schlegel for this view of Shakespeare's characters. Another passage in this note is repeated by Coleridge in his criticism of *Macbeth*. The note reads:

The assassins talk ludicrously. This is a most egregious misimitation of Shakspere....It is wonderful, however, that Schiller, who had studied Shakspere, should not have perceived his divine judgment[5] in the management of his assassins, as in Macbeth. They are fearful and almost pitiable Beings—not loathsome, ludicrous miscreants.

In his criticism of *Macbeth* Coleridge says:

Compare Macbeth's mode of working on the murderers in this place with Schiller's mistaken scene between Butler, Devereux and Macdonald in 'Wallenstein.' The

[1] *Notes*, p. 241. [2] *Lectures*, pp. 368–9.

[3] See *Coleridge's Poems*, edited by E. H. Coleridge, II, p. 598.

[4] This is Coleridge's opinion at the time of translation; see letter to Sotheby (Oct. 10, 1802).

[5] Compare with this early note Coleridge's statement: 'In all the successive courses of lectures delivered by me...it has been...my object, to prove that...the judgment of Shakspere is commensurate with his genius' (*Notes*, p. 226). It supplies further evidence that Coleridge had his material ready long before Schlegel delivered his lectures.

comic was wholly out of season. Shakspere never introduces it, but when it may react on the tragedy by harmonious contrast[1].

Coleridge[2] and Schlegel[3] agree that Shakespeare's characters are 'genera' and yet 'individualized,' and that his characters 'supply materials for a profound theory of their most prominent and distinguishing property.' But all this again occurs in *Satyrane's Letters*; and in other passages[4] we find Coleridge comparing poetry and geometry, which he had done in this connection in *Satyrane's Letters*.

One of the most striking parallels between Coleridge and Schlegel is found in the comparison of ancient and modern drama with ancient and modern architecture. In his first lecture Schlegel says: 'The Pantheon is not more different from Westminster Abbey or the church of St Stephen at Vienna than the structure of a tragedy of Sophocles from a drama of Shakespeare[5].' And Coleridge says: 'And as the Pantheon is to York Minster or Westminster Abbey, so is Sophocles compared with Shakspere[6].'

If the passages from which these extracts are taken are compared, the reader may too readily assume that Coleridge has borrowed the ideas (and, to some extent, the mode of expressing the ideas) from Schlegel. This is, however, not the case. Schlegel's contrast between ancient and modern architecture is based largely on Goethe's *Deutsche Baukunst*. This we recognize in the following quotation:

> A style of architecture, which has been called Gothic, but ought really to have been termed old German. When, on the general revival of classical antiquity the imitation of Grecian architecture became prevalent, and but too frequently without a due regard to the difference of climate and manners or to the purpose of the building, the zealots of this new taste, passing a sweeping sentence of condemnation on the Gothic, reprobated it as tasteless, gloomy and barbarous.

The above quotation condenses a part of Goethe's essay. Schlegel then mentions 'the powerful, solemn impressions which seize upon the mind at entering a Gothic cathedral'; on investigating the source of this impression we recognize the 'profound significance' of Gothic architecture[7]. Schlegel is clearly basing his remarks on Goethe's essay.

Now in Coleridge we have two other versions of this comparison between architecture and drama of the ancient and modern world[8]. Of the three versions the most complete is found in the lecture on Dante, which has been fully quoted[9]. It was pointed out that much was suggested by Schiller's *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, but some

[1] *Notes*, p. 377. [2] *Notes*, p. 282. [3] *Lectures*, pp. 363–4.
[4] *Notes*, pp. 11, 68. [5] *Lectures*, pp. 22–3. [6] *Notes*, p. 234.
[7] *Lectures*, pp. 22–3.
[8] *Notes*, p. 461, and *Misc.*, p. 142 (cp. also p. 92).
[9] In the first part of this paper (*Modern Language Review*, July, 1922, pp. 275, 278).

parts seem to have been suggested by Goethe's essay. We find in it matter which is in Goethe's essay, but does not occur in Schlegel[1]. This fact shows that Coleridge was working directly on Goethe's essay, and did not make use of Goethe through Schlegel. Thus the similarity of the passages is due simply to the fact that both writers used a common source. Schlegel's sole contribution to Coleridge is the illustration of the likeness between the Pantheon and the ancient drama on the one hand and that of Westminster Abbey and modern drama on the other, viz. examples to illustrate a principle, a very slight contribution indeed[2].

The parallel passages are to be found not so much in detailed criticism of Shakespeare's work as in the more general discussion of the fine arts, and in descriptions of Greek sculpture and literature. Both Coleridge and Schlegel had read the same German critics, both had heard the lectures of Heyne[3]. Thus they had common sources.

No doubt a good deal that Schlegel writes on ancient art was based on what he learnt from Heyne. A few examples must suffice. Schlegel says: 'both costume and mythology were handled by dramatic poetry with the same independence and conscious liberty[4].' This recalls Heyne's 'Die Dichterfabel ist aber die erste Mythologie nicht mehr[5].' Another example is found in Schlegel's: 'for the Grecian gods are mere powers of nature, and although immeasurably higher than mortal man, yet, compared with infinitude, they are on an equal footing with himself[6],' and Heyne's: 'die Gottheit in menschlicher Gestalt, als Mensch, aber in allem über den vollkommensten der Menschen erhaben[7].' Schlegel's

[1] Coleridge's distinction between 'simple beauty or beauty simply' and 'majestic beauty or majesty' corresponds to Goethe's distinction between 'schöne Kunst' and 'grosse Kunst.' Coleridge's statement: 'Hence in a Gothic cathedral, as in a prospect from a mountain's top, there is, indeed, a unity, an awful oneness, but it is, because all distinction evades the eye' corresponds to Goethe's: 'Wie oft hat die Abenddämmerung mein durch forschendes Schauen ermattetes Aug', mit freundlicher Ruhe geletzt, wenn durch sie die unzähligen Theile, zu ganzen Massen schmolzen, und nun diese, einfach und gross, vor meiner Seele standen, und meine Kraft sich wonnevoll entfaltete, zugleich zu geniessen und zu erkennen.' Helene Richter seems to be hardly justified in saying (in her article in *Anglia*, referred to above): 'Völlig unberührt scheint Coleridge von Goethes Kunstansichten.'

[2] The Pantheon and York Cathedral are favourite examples with Coleridge, see *Essay on the Fine Arts*.

[3] C. G. Heyne, Professor in Göttingen, lectured on Greek Art and Poetry, and was especially interested in Greek Mythology. He was a polyvoluminous writer, but he did not publish his lectures. Our sources of information as to the matter and manner of his lectures are the traditions on which his biographers worked, and a small volume, based on (rather inadequate) notes taken by one of his students, and published with the title *Vorlesungen über die Archäologie der Kunst des Altertums*, Braunschweig, 1822. In his lectures Heyne spoke about the fine arts generally, and treated several ancient works of art in detail. He referred his students to Winckelmann and Lessing. He appears to have spoken rapidly, so that note-taking was no easy matter.

[4] *Lectures*, p. 70. [5] Heyne's *Vorlesungen*, p. 89. [6] *Lectures*, p. 67.

[7] *Vorlesungen*, p. 17.

doctrine: 'The Grecian Mythology was a web of national and local traditions[1]' was taught by Heyne.

We find Coleridge emphasizing in his lectures certain facts that Heyne emphasized. Coleridge says:

> The Greek stage had its origin in the ceremonies of a sacrifice, such as of the goat to Bacchus, whom we most erroneously regard as merely the jolly god of wine,—for among the ancients he was venerable, as the symbol of that power which acts without our consciousness in the vital energies of nature,—the vinum mundi—as Apollo was that of the conscious agency of our intellectual being. The heroes of old under the influence of this Bacchic enthusiasm performed more than human actions;—hence tales of the favourite champions soon passed into dialogue[2].

And Heyne taught:

> Der thebaische Bakchus...ist der Erfinder des Weinbaues, daher auch der Gott der Freude, und zwar sowohl der gesitteten, als auch der ausgelassenen Freude und Fröhlichkeit. Gemeiniglich wurden bei den Bakchusfesten Chortänze gehalten, und des Bakchus Begebenheiten pantomimisch vorgetragen. Hieraus ist die Dramatic, Tragödie und Comödie hervorgegangen[3].

Schlegel puts it in this way:

> For Bacchus, and not Apollo, was the tutelary deity of tragic poets, which, on a first view of the matter, appears somewhat singular, but then we must remember that Bacchus was not merely the god of wine and joy, but also the god of all higher kinds of inspiration[4].

Examples of further parallels between Coleridge and Heyne are the following. Of poetry Coleridge says: 'pleasurable excitement is its origin and object,' it 'produces delight, the parent of so many virtues[5].' Heyne too connects the moral influence of art with the pleasure it affords: 'Die Frage, welches der Zweck des Schönen sey, hat man öfters gehört. Ohnstreitig das Vergnügen, so heisst dieses nicht anders, als, sie streben unsern sittlichen und moralischen Zustand zu veredeln und zu verfeinern. Durch die Sinne wird am kräftigsten zur Seele geredet[6].' Again Coleridge says: 'the condition of the stage, and the character of the times in which our great poet flourished, must first of all be taken into account, in considering the question as to his (Shakespeare's) judgment[7].' This Heyne expresses: 'Wer ein Kunstwerk vollkommen gerecht betrachten will, muss sich zuvor, um es ganz zu verstehen, auf den Standpunkt des Künstlers erheben, und die Zeiten, in welchen der Künstler lebte, beachten[8].' Schlegel says much the same[9].

Coleridge's distinction between poetry and sculpture (or painting) is expressed: 'The term "poetry" is rightly applied by eminence to

[1] *Lectures*, p. 72.
[2] *Notes*, p. 234 (also p. 462).
[3] *Vorlesungen*, p. 115.
[4] *Lectures*, p. 80.
[5] *Notes*, p. 49.
[6] *Vorlesungen*, p. 21.
[7] *Notes*, p. 52.
[8] *Vorlesungen*, p. 5.
[9] *Lectures*, pp. 18 and 47.

measured words, only because the sphere of their action is far wider...[1],' 'the narrow limit of painting, as compared with the boundless power of poetry: painting cannot go beyond a certain point; poetry rejects all control, all confinement[2].' And Heyne says: 'Die Kunst kann immer nur einen Gegenstand...vorführen. Der Dichter hat ein tieferes Feld[3].' Of course Heyne is following Lessing, who speaks of the 'nothwendige Schranken und Bedürfnisse' of sculpture, and says: 'schwerlich dürfte sich also wohl eine derselben auf die Poesie anwenden lassen[4],' and remarks that Spence has not thought of the fact 'dass die Poesie die weitere Kunst ist, dass ihr Schönheiten zu Gebote stehen, welche die Malerei nicht zu erreichen vermag[5].'

Whether Heyne taught Coleridge anything that he did not know before he went to Germany may be considered doubtful. It is, however, possible that Coleridge, when he had to select the material for his lectures and to decide what he should include, may have been influenced to some extent in his decision by the courses given by Heyne. That Coleridge's syllabus was not influenced by Schlegel is clear from the fact that Coleridge was planning such a course of lectures long before Schlegel had delivered his.

Schlegel and Coleridge compare the German and Greek languages in the same way[6]. But their comparison is similar to Lessing's[7]. They also remark on the adverse influence of pageants and gladiators on the development of drama in Rome[8]. Again this is a repetition of what Lessing had already said[9].

Other parallel passages in Coleridge and Schlegel which are strikingly similar will also be found to be based on a common source. Coleridge, discussing the artificial language of French drama, says:

> It is a very inferior kind of poetry, in which, as in the French tragedies, men are made to talk in a style which few indeed even of the wittiest can be supposed to converse in, and which both is, and on a moment's reflection appears to be, the natural produce of the hot-bed of vanity, namely, the closet of an author, who is actuated originally by a desire to excite surprise and wonderment at his own superiority to other men,—instead of having felt so deeply on certain subjects, or in consequence of certain imaginations, as to make it almost a necessity of his nature to seek for sympathy,—no doubt, with that honourable desire of permanent action which distinguishes genius[10].

Schlegel, discussing the same matter, says:

> It has often been remarked, that in French Tragedy the poet is always too easily seen through the discourses of the different personages, that he communicates to them his own presence of mind, his cool reflections on their situation, and his desire

[1] *Notes*, p. 209.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 92.
[3] *Vorlesungen*, p. 8.
[4] *Laokoon*, ch. IV.
[5] *Ib.*, ch. VIII.
[6] *Notes*, p. 70; *Lectures*, p. 47.
[7] *Laokoon*, ch. XVIII.
[8] *Notes*, p. 196; *Lectures*, pp. 209–10.
[9] *Laokoon*, ch. IV.
[10] *Notes*, pp. 212–13.

to shine on all occasions. When most of their tragical speeches are closely examined, they are seldom found to be such as the persons speaking or acting by themselves without restraint would deliver; something or other is generally discovered in them which betrays a reference to the spectator more or less perceptible. Before, however, our compassion can be powerfully excited, we must be familiar with the persons; but how is this possible if we are always to see them under the yoke of their designs and endeavours, or, what is worse, of an unnatural and assumed grandeur of character[1]?

These passages are alike, not because Coleridge borrowed from Schlegel, but because both borrowed from Schiller, who says:

Dies Letztere ist der Fall bei dem Trauerspiel der ehemaligen Franzosen, wo wir höchst selten oder nie die leidende Natur zu Gesicht bekommen, sondern meistens nur den kalten, deklamatorischen Poeten oder auch den auf Stelzen gehenden Komödianten sehen. Der frostige Ton der Deklamation erstickt alle wahre Natur, und den französischen Tragikern macht es ihre angebetete Dezenz vollends ganz unmöglich, die Menschheit in ihrer Wahrheit zu zeichnen. Kaum können wir es einem französischen Trauerspielhelden glauben, dass er leidet, denn er lässt sich über seinen Gemutszustand heraus wie der ruhigste Mensch, und die unaufhörliche Rücksicht auf den Eindruck, den er auf andere macht, erlaubt ihm nie, der Natur in sich ihre Freiheit zu lassen[2].

The passage in Coleridge also contains thoughts found in Herder, who, contrasting Greek and French drama, says:

Die wahre Kunst ist nicht eitel. Nicht der äussern Wirkung wegen stehet sie da, vielweniger zu einer flüchtigen Parasiten-Wirkung[3].

Speaking of 'Ausdruck,' Herder says that in French drama (as contrasted with Greek drama) it 'fast immer zu sehr auf äussere augenblickliche Wirkung gestellt ist, selten also der Eitelkeit ganz entsaget[3].'

Another close parallel is interesting. Coleridge says that stage-illusion may be compared 'to our mental state when dreaming. In both cases we simply do not judge the imagery to be unreal; there is a negative reality, and no more[4].' The production of this effect 'will depend on the degree of excitement in which the mind is supposed to be[5].' Further 'the principal and only genuine excitement ought to come from within,—from the moved and sympathetic imagination[6],' and not to depend on stage scenery. The parallel passage in Schlegel is:

No, the theatrical as well as every other poetical illusion, is a waking dream, to which we voluntarily surrender ourselves. To produce it the poet and actors must powerfully agitate the mind, and the probabilities of calculation do not in the least contribute towards it[7].

Here again we find all this in Herder and Schiller. Further, we find, on examining other remarks of Coleridge on this subject, that Coleridge repeats remarks made by Herder and Schiller which Schlegel does not reproduce. If parallel passages are evidence of borrowing, then

[1] *Lectures*, pp. 266–7.
[2] *Werke*, XI, p. 247.
[3] *Werke*, XXIII, p. 69.
[4] *Notes*, p. 274.
[5] *Ib.*, p. 275.
[6] *Ib.*, p. 276.
[7] *Lectures*, p. 246.

we must conclude that Coleridge borrowed his matter, not from Schlegel, but from Herder and Schiller[1]. This can be made clear by quoting the passages. Coleridge says: 'The true stage-illusion in this and in all other things consists—not in the mind's judging it to be a forest, but in the remission of the judgment that it is not a forest.' He then rejects the theory of 'actual delusion (the strange notion, on which...the French poets justify the construction of their tragedies)' and Dr Johnson's denial of any illusion, and proceeds:

> For not only are we never absolutely deluded—or anything like it, but the attempt to cause the highest delusion possible to beings in their senses sitting in a theatre, is a gross fault, incident only to low minds, which, feeling that they cannot affect the heart or head permanently, endeavour to call forth the momentary affections. There ought never to be more pain than is compatible with co-existing pleasure, and to be amply repaid by thought[2].

Herder's remarks on stage-illusion are as follows:

> Vergessen soll ich mich selbst, vergessen sogar meine Zeit und meinen Raum, auf den Flügeln der Dichtkunst in die dramatische Handlung, in ihre Zeit, ihren Raum getragen. Von Decorationen hängt dieser Tausch nicht ab: denn historisch vergesse ich nicht, dass ich vor einem Brettergerüst stehe, und es wird lächerlich, wenn mich das französische Trauerspiel durch Kunstgriffe und Worte selbst daran erinnert, dass ich *nicht* davor stehe, sondern hie oder dort zu seyn belieben werde. Aus Macht der Handlung, geistig also muss ich daseyn, wo der Dichter mich seyn lässt, meine Einbildungskraft, meine Empfindung, nicht meine Person steht ihm zu Dienst[3].

In his preface to *Die Braut von Messina* Schiller says that the spectator at the theatre knows

> dass er im eigentlichen Sinn nur an Träumen weidet, und wenn er von dem Schauplatz wieder in die wirkliche Welt zurückkehrt, so umgibt ihn diese wieder mit ihrer ganzen drückenden Enge, er ist ihr Raub wie vorher, denn sie selbst ist geblieben, was sie war, und an ihm ist nichts verändert worden. Dadurch ist also nichts gewonnen als ein gefälliger Wahn des Augenblicks, der beim Erwachen verschwindet....
>
> Die wahre Kunst aber hat es nicht bloss auf ein vorübergehendes Spiel abgesehen; es ist ihr ernst damit, den Menschen nicht bloss in einen augenblicklichen Traum von Freiheit zu versetzen, sondern ihn wirklich und in der Tat frei zu *machen*.

People who believe that Coleridge was very materially influenced in his lectures on Shakespeare by Schlegel's lectures must be puzzled to account for the fact that the two critics hold directly opposite views on matters which both regard as of great importance[4]. Illustrations of such

[1] Viz. from *Kalligone* and *Die Braut von Messina* (preface), which, we know, Coleridge had read.

[2] *Notes*, p. 207.

[3] *Werke*, XXII, p. 155. Compare also: 'Shaksperian drama appealed to the imagination rather than to the senses, and to the reason as contemplating our inward nature....The reason is aloof from time and space; the imagination is an arbitrary controller over both; and if only the poet have such power of exciting our internal emotions as to make us present to the scene in imagination chiefly, he acquires the right and privilege of using time and space as they exist in imagination, and obedient only to the laws by which the imagination itself acts' (*Notes*, pp. 204–5). Compare, further, Herder, *Werke*, XXIII, p. 383.

[4] Compare E. Pizzo, *Anglia*, Bd. XXVIII, p. 221.

divergent views are the following. Coleridge denies that Shakespeare intended to represent Othello as a negro and confused 'Moor' and 'Negro.' He quotes the term 'thick-lips,' and speaks of it as 'one if not the only seeming justification' for assuming that Othello is a negro. Schlegel regards it as 'a fortunate mistake' that Shakespeare made Othello 'in every respect a negro.' Coleridge states that Othello kills Desdemona not in jealousy, which term does not describe 'the solemn agony of the noble Moor[1].' Schlegel says Othello's jealousy 'is not the jealousy of the heart,' but it is of a 'sensual kind.' The Moor only seems noble[2]. Both Coleridge and Schlegel allude to Theobald's note on the 'contradiction' in *Hamlet*:

> That undiscover'd country, from whose bourne
> No traveller returns...

but they offer very different explanations of this seeming contradiction[3]. They differ, too, in their remarks on the weird sisters in *Macbeth*[4].

We may sum up the relationship of Coleridge to Schlegel as follows. Where they say much the same about Greek drama, with its unities and chorus, and where they compare poetry with sculpture and painting, they are repeating what had been said by Lessing; where they compare ancient and modern poetry, they follow Herder and Schiller.

We have seen that it can be shown that Coleridge used for his lectures of 1811, 1813 and 1818 material which was collected long before those lectures were given; and, no doubt, much of the essay on poetry he was planning in 1800, and the lectures he was writing out in 1807 supplied material for all his lectures, and contained the matter he was accused of taking from Schlegel. The extent of his 'borrowings' seems to be limited to the possibility that he adopted in some cases a few phrases which expressed what he had to say more happily than he himself had expressed it.

An examination of the parallels shows that Coleridge's express denial of plagiarism can be reconciled with some at least of these many similarities. Whatever Coleridge may owe to his German contemporaries, there is nothing to show that his debt to Schlegel is material.

Schelling.

Coleridge's debt to Schelling, like his debt to Schlegel, has been exaggerated. In the latter half of the nineteenth century this was due mainly to Sara Coleridge's edition of the *Notes and Lectures on Shake-*

[1] *Notes*, pp. 393, 385–6.
[2] *Lectures*, p. 401.
[3] *Notes*, p. 361 and *Lectures*, p. 406.
[4] *Notes*, p. 370 and *Lectures*, p. 407.

speare in 1849. In the preface to his edition of the *Biographia Literaria*, Shawcross has shown that Coleridge's claim to have arrived at his views independently of Schelling, can, to some extent, be substantiated[1]. Shawcross also shows that Coleridge does not, in fact, agree with Schelling so entirely as had been assumed; that there are matters on which they differ fundamentally.

It remains only to make a few observations on the parallel passages from Schelling quoted by Sara Coleridge; the following are examples:

> Has not every theory of later times even set out from the principle, that Art should be the imitatress of Nature? It has so; but what did this broad general principle avail the artist, amid the various significations (Vieldeutigkeit) of the conception of Nature, and when there were almost as many representations of this Nature as different modes of existence?
>
> How comes it that, to every cultivated sense, imitations of the so-named real, carried even to illusion, appear in the highest degree untruthful,—even convey the impression of spectres; whereas a work, in which the idea is dominant, seizes us with the full force of truth,—nay transports us for the first time into the genuine world of reality? Whence does this arise, save from the more or less obscure perception, which proclaims that the idea is that alone which lives (das allein Lebendige) in things:—that all else is beingless and empty shadow[2]?
>
> The science, through which Nature works, is indeed like to no human science, which is united with self-reflection. In it conception is not distinct from Art, nor design separate from execution.
>
> It has long been perceived that, in Art, not every thing is performed with consciousness; that with the conscious activity an unconscious power must be united,.... The attitude of the Artist toward Nature should frequently be explained by the maxim, that Art in order to be such, must, in the first instance, depart from Nature, and only return to her in the last fulfilment...he must remove himself from the product or creature, but only for the sake of raising himself up to the creative power and seizing that intellectually or spiritually. Hereby he rises into the domain of pure ideas; he forsakes the creature in order to win it back again with a thousandfold profit, and in this way he will come back to Nature indeed.

Now the passages in Coleridge with which these passages from Schelling are compared have been quoted, and it has been shown that these thoughts are found in Schiller[3]. The fact is again simply that Schelling was himself deeply indebted to Kant and Schiller. Practically all that Schelling has to say in these particular passages had been said by Kant and Schiller. Coleridge's study of Kant and Schiller preceded his study of Schelling. Much that he found in Schelling he was, therefore, already familiar with.

Thus Coleridge found in Schelling (1) material already familiar to him, because Schelling had been influenced by Kant and Schiller, (2) thoughts at which he had arrived, he tells us, independently, in

[1] With this conclusion Max Deutschbein agrees. See *Das Wesen des Romantischen*, Cöthen, 1921, p. 11.

[2] All this was obviously suggested by the first few pages of Schiller's *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*; see also preface to *Die Braut von Messina* on 'die Kunst des Ideals.'

[3] See the first part of this article, *Modern Language Review*, July, 1922, pp. 276–7.

support of which claim there is some evidence, (3) thoughts with which he immediately, or on further reflection, disagreed[1]. So that in view of Coleridge's repudiation of plagiarism we must put forward the hypothesis that the actual borrowing is limited to the manner of expressing the thought, and that Schelling had far less material influence on Coleridge than was once assumed.

The German influence on Coleridge's literary criticism may be summed up as follows. Lessing attracted Coleridge for a short time on his arrival in Germany. But Coleridge soon found that Lessing had little to teach him, and Lessing's influence is a question of method rather than of matter[2]. Coleridge speaks of Lessing as 'a model of acute, spirited, sometimes stinging, but always argumentative and honourable criticism[3].' Kant influenced Coleridge as far as his formal essays on general principles are concerned, but it is impossible to trace much definite influence of Kant in Coleridge's detailed literary criticism[4]. Herder and Schiller were, like Coleridge, poet-philosophers. All three approached poetry in much the same way. Schiller's essay on 'naive' and 'sentimental' poetry exerted a great influence on Coleridge, but in style Coleridge's lectures on Shakespeare have the rhetorical form of Herder's essays. There are fundamental ideas common to both, which have been pointed out above. These ideas admit of no proof. They are based on faith, on so strong a faith that they have all the validity of established facts for Herder and Coleridge; and the ideas are presented to their audiences with the same kind of passionate rhetoric.

Coleridge began to study Schelling after he had already worked out for himself what Schelling elaborated from the same sources. The verbal similarities between Coleridge and Schelling are due to the fact that Coleridge, in these cases, elected to state his views in the words of Schelling.

From Schlegel Coleridge learnt nothing. Where he agrees with Schlegel, he is stating views he held long before Schlegel's lectures were delivered. His whole debt, if debt it can be called, is found in the adoption of a phrase here and there. Schlegel suggested no fundamental principle, and no application of fundamental principles.

LONDON. A. C. DUNSTAN.

[1] See *Biographia Literaria*, ed. Shawcross (Introduction).

[2] The most striking example of Lessing's teaching is found in the *Essay on Poesy or Art*, 'the subjects chosen for works of art...should be such as really are capable of being expressed and conveyed within the limits of those arts' (*Misc.*, p. 49).

[3] *Biographia Literaria*, ch. XXI.

[4] It has been shown that the application of any such general principles was more probably due to Schiller's influence.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Grendel's Glove and his Immunity from Weapons.

The Glove.

The connexion which has recently been established between the main theme of the Grendel Fight and folk-lore originals explains the significance, not before understood, of Grendel's curious glove described in *Beowulf*, ll. 2085–92. Stopford Brooke says that the glove was probably 'a kind of pouch,' and Chambers, following ten Brink, translates *glōf* as 'pouch, bag.' The glove *may* have been used as a bag—there is no definite evidence of its use as such,—but a large glove was a characteristic property of trolls. The feature was probably inherited from the glove episode of Thor and the giant Skrymir as told by the *Edda*. This glove was so large that Thor and his party lodged in a part of it. Thorpe, in his *Northern Mythology*, II, p. 149, relates the story of a troll whose glove could hold a barrel of rye. In every case where the mention of a glove has been introduced into a troll-story, the reason for its introduction has been to emphasise the gigantic stature and terrible nature of the fiend, and this was also the scop's intention in *Beowulf*. From what is known of trolls and their gloves, it is not impossible that Grendel used his glove as a game-bag. But nevertheless its significance as the special mark of a troll remains.

The Immunity from Weapons.

Grendel's immunity from weapons is another of his characteristics which has not hitherto been sufficiently explained. The facts as given in *Beowulf* are related in an allusive and obscure manner and are widely scattered over several passages. The first mention of this attribute in the monster occurs in ll. 433–40, where Beowulf says he has heard that Grendel cares not for weapons by reason of his rashness. This does not sound like magic. It gives the idea that Grendel in the presence of his foe is seized with a blind fit of courage and rage, like a berserker or a wild beast, and hurls himself fiercely on his adversary without thought of the weapons which that enemy might possess. Beowulf scorns to have the advantage of arms over an enemy ignorant of their very use, so at ll. 671–87 he is found disarming himself in preparation for the struggle. So far the description is consistent.

But at ll. 794–805, where the fight begins, it is said that Beowulf's followers try to assist him by striking at Grendel with their swords, but that no war-bill, not even the best of blades, could touch the accursed foe. Why not? Now, the next sentence has usually been taken as the explanation: 'because he used enchantment against conquering weapons, every sort of blades' (Clark Hall). But there is a possibility that this is a mistranslation. *Hē*, the subject of *forsworen*, could according to the rules of modern English syntax refer only to Grendel, in which case Clark Hall's rendering would be correct. But O.E. syntax allows of such rapid changes of subject that *hē* quite possibly refers to Beowulf, and in that case the passage merely repeats Beowulf's resolve to trust to his hand-grip alone. Such an explanation does not require the invention of a forced meaning for *forsworen*. Nor would the sentence be an irrelevant reminder of Beowulf's resolve, for it would be a hint, in the scop's typical manner, that the hero had been wise in rejecting the use of weapons. Moreover, this explanation fits in with what has been said of the monster's recklessness, whereas, if he had laid a spell on all cutting weapons, his disregard for their blows could hardly have been termed reckless.

What then is the explanation of the monster's immunity from the retainers' swords? This is given at ll. 985–90: 'Everyone said that no excellent blade (even) of the harder sort would touch him or sever the blood-stained battle-hand of that monster.' It was therefore this toughness of skin, in keeping with the steel-like claws, of the monster which protected him against the weapons of the Geats. Such a characteristic would be highly appropriate to a monster, especially to one who seems in early versions of the tale (e.g. Saxo) to have had some connexion with a bear. Nor would mere toughness of skin be incompatible with the recklessness of Grendel, for presumably there was always the possibility of his skin being pierced, just as his mother's was pierced later.

Besides, there is corroboration in ll. 1518–28 and 1557–69. Here it is said that even the well-tried blade of Hunferth failed to penetrate the mere-wife's skin, and in consequence the hero's life was in serious danger. But presently he saw hanging on the wall a mighty sword with which he was able to cut off his adversary's head. If the immunity of Grendel and his dam had been due to magic, this sword must have possessed superior magic power. But the sword is described at length at ll. 1557–62 and again at ll. 1688–98, and in neither passage is there any mention of magic properties. What is emphasised is its great size and its excellence. It was so big that no other man than Beowulf could wield it in battle, and it was said to have been the work of giants, those

legendary smiths to whose skill all excellent swords were attributed. Hence, it would seem that the success of the blade was due to material, and not to magical, properties.

To sum up then, one of the characteristics of Grendel was a toughness of skin which protected him against weapons. Beowulf realised the futility of attacking him with his sword and preferred to trust to his muscular strength. When the monster's arm and shoulder were displayed, the Danes understood why all their efforts to rid themselves of their foe had been in vain. The same protective toughness of skin—though possibly in a less degree—was also an attribute of Grendel's mother, but, by the fortunate acquisition of a sword of special excellence, the hero was able to overcome her.

E. D. Laborde.

London.

Blake's Indebtedness to the 'Eddas.'

In Ellis and Yeats' *The Works of William Blake*, I, p. 336, we read, 'Vala, a Scandinavian prophetess, may have given her name to Albion's wife.' Even in this over-elaborate edition of Blake I find only the above rather tentative statement bearing on Blake's probable indebtedness to the *Eddas*. Other critics have, however, been reminded of Norse mythology in reading the *Prophetic Books*. In Irene Langridge's *William Blake*, p. 129, we find, 'Looking through the pages of "Jerusalem," vague memories of Norse sagas...come to one and cause a delightful and yet fearful shudder.' In P. Berger's *William Blake* (London edition of 1914), p. 157, 'From this first great labour we get the myth of Los the Blacksmith, a sort of Thor, standing hammer in hand...'; and p. 347, 'We must not compare it (*Vala*) with the *Iliad* or the *Divine Comedy*, but rather read it as we should read some northern Saga.... He (the student) must regard Urizen, Los, Enitharmon, Tharmas, and all the rest as demigods, of protean shapes and subject to no logical rules; as gigantic heroes of a prehistoric age; as beings like Odin, Balder or Siegfried.' But all of this is rather vague. Can it be made more definite?

It is of some interest to note that Blake refers to Odin three times, to Frigga four times, and to Thor five times. One of the references to Odin is to *Wodan*; and Frigga's name is spelled *Friga* in all four instances. The contexts in which these three names occur do not, however, make it evident that Blake had more than a very general knowledge of Norse mythology.

Of more importance is the fact that Blake seems to adopt several

names that occur in the *Eddas*, and uses several others that may have been suggested by names, more or less similar, in Eddic material. The names *Vala*, *Har*, and *Hela* are well known to the reader of Blake's *Prophetic Books*; but they are still better known to the reader of the *Eddas*. The name *Mam-Tor* occurs three times in *Jerusalem*; this he may of course have got from the Derbyshire hill of that name, but *Tor* and *Torus* are both found in the part of the Latin version of the *Younger Edda* appended to Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (Bishop Percy's translation, 1770). Since Mallet's two volumes were very well known and were considered the principal source of the matters in question, I shall assume for the moment that Blake was acquainted with them. The two following columns of names will then appear significant.

From Blake:	From Mallet:
Vala.	Vala, Valascialf, Vale, Vali, Vola.
Har.	Har.
Hela.	Hela.
Mam-Tor.	Tor, Torus.
Ona.	Onar.
Belin.	Belen, Belenus, Bel, Bil.
Rintrah.	Rinda.
Estrild.	Estridsen.
Heva.	Havamaal.

I am aware that the last five names in the column from Blake are not necessarily derived from the last five in the column from Mallet (Blake might have found 'Estrild' for example in *Faerie Queene*, Book II); but the evident similarities between the two groups are at least suggestive of a probable influence. Several editors of Blake have called attention to the fact that he seems to have borrowed several names from *Ossian*; but it should be recalled, in this connexion, that not in a single case does Blake use exactly the same spelling as Macpherson. It has already been pointed out above that he chose the form *Friga* in preference to the common and accepted form *Frigga*.

Cottle's *Edda* appeared in 1797, and Blake's three long *Prophetic Books*, in which most of the above names occur, were written after this date. Cottle translated only the *Elder Edda*; but the following names, important for our purpose, appear also in his book: Hela, Harr, Valaskialf, Vali, Belenus, Rinda. The name *Harr*, it will be noted, is not spelled as in Mallet and in Blake.

There were of course many other possible sources of Norse material accessible in the time of Blake, though most of them were of lesser value. Of considerable importance was the publication of the Copenhagen *Edda*, in 1787. This critical edition contained thirteen poems

from the *Elder Edda*, in Norse and in Latin. This book must have created considerable stir in England, since it was reviewed in the *Critical Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Analytical Review* —in the last two at great length. A fairly exhaustive study of Scandinavian sources accessible during this period may be found in F. E. Farley's *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement*, Boston, 1903. Mr Farley does not, however, give us any information as to Eddic influences on Blake.

Blake's perverse and mystical originality in dealing with his material makes it exceedingly difficult to determine whether he borrowed any subject-matter from the *Eddas*. Perhaps it may be worth while to point out that *Vala*, the first of Blake's long *Prophetic Books*, is somewhat analogous to the first and most important poem of the *Elder Edda*, generally called in translations *The Prophecy of Vala*. The very names are significant. Again, both poems are prophecies; and both poems deal, in a general way, with the creation, the development, the degeneration, the destruction, and the regeneration of the world. Both women bearing the name *Vala* are pagan in spirit and rather heartless. Blake's Vala represents (among other things) natural religion; the Norse Vala is the prophetess of a kind of natural religion.

A few other matters may be worthy of mention. Blake's giant *Tree of Mystery* reminds one of the giant ash *Yggdrasil*; and gigantic animals figure largely both in Blake and in the *Eddas*. In *Jerusalem* Los's hammer is referred to as his 'thunderous hammer' three times; this is suggestive, in view of the fact that Thor also thunders with his hammer. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that both Blake's *Prophetic Books* and the *Eddas* are mythical and mystical.

THEODORE T. STENBERG.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, U.S.A.

A NOTE ON FERNÁN PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN, 'MAR DE HISTORIAS,' cap. xcvi ('Del stõ grial').

Del imperio de leon año d'l señor de dccxxx (MS. 'seysçientos treynta') fue en bretaña avn hermitaño fecha vna marauillosa reuelacion segun se dize: la qual diz que le reuelo vn angel d' vn grial o escudilla que tenia josep abarimatia en que ceno nuestro señor jñu xp̃o el jueues dela cena. Dela qual reuelacion el dicho hermitaño escriuio vna estoria q̃ es dicha del sancto grial: esta historia no se halla en latin sino en frances: & dizese que algunos nobles la escriuieron. La qual quanto quier q̃ sea deletable de leer & dulce: enpero por muchas cosas estrañas que enella se cuentã asaz deuele ser dada poca fe.

Madrid, Bibl. Nac. lib. Raros 597 *fol. xliiii; cf. MS.* 9564 *fol.* 134.

Commenting on this passage, Amador de los Ríos remarked (*Hist.*

Crit. de la Lit. Esp., v, p. 76): 'Fernán Pérez de Guzmán daba no obstante a entender en su Mar de Historias citada, que al escribirlo, no se había puesto aun en castellano la Demanda del Santo Grial, por estas palabras: "Esta historia non se falla en latin, sinon en francés, e dízese que algunos nobles la escriuieron".' To this inference O. Klob assents (*Zeitschrift für roman. Phil.*, XXVI, 1902, p. 180), developing it à propos of the Joseph of João Samchez mestre escolla dastorga: 'Die Annahme eines spanischen Originals ist jedoch unmöglich, und zwar aus zweierlei Gründen. Aus der Art und Weise, wie Alvarez in der Einleitung das beim Übertragen eingehaltene Verfahren schildert, geht ohne jeden Zweifel hervor, dass die Vorlage nur altportugiesische abgefasste sein konnte. Dasselbe erhellt aus einer—später noch näher zu erörternden—Bemerkung Perez de Guzmans im Mar de Historias (cap. 96), worin der Verfasser ausdrücklich betont, dass zur Zeit, wo er dieses Werk geschrieben habe (2. Hälfte des XV. Jhdts.) eine kastilianische Übersetzung des Joseph von Arimathia noch nicht bestanden habe' and he holds that 'diese ältere Vorlage direkt auf ein französisches Original zurückgehe' (p. 173).

The whole statement goes back, however, to Helinandus, and its bibliographical value should be restricted to the earlier years of the thirteenth century and the Beauvaisis. This traditional comment on the opening of the Grand St Graal reached Pérez de Guzmán by way of the *Speculum historiale*, probably in an excerpt by Giovanni Colonna, author of the *Mare Historiarum*. As given by P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, I, p. 91, it reads: 'Anno 717. Hoc tempore, cuidam eremitæ monstrata est mirabilis quædam visio per Angelum, de sancto Josepho, decurione nobili, cui corpus Domini deposuit de cruce; et de patino illo vel paropside in quo Dominus cœnavit cum discipulis suis; de qua ab eodem eremita descripta est historia quæ dicitur Gradal. Gradalis autem vel Gradale dicitur gallice scutella lata et aliquantulum profunda in qua pretiosæ dapes, cum suo jure, divitibus solent apponi, et dicitur nomine Graal...*Hanc historiam latine scriptam invenire non potui: sed tantum gallice scripta habetur a quibusdam proceribus*; nec facile, ut aiunt, tota inveniri potest. Hanc autem nondum potui ad legendum sedulo ab aliquo impetrare.' To these remarks, which already formed part of the common stock of Arthurian criticism, Pérez de Guzmán adds no more than his final caustic phrase; but Helinandus implies as much when he proceeds, 'Quod mox ut potuero, *verisimiliora et utiliora* succincte transferam in Latinum[1]': and, so far as it goes, the passage would rather

[1] Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus*, t. 212, p. 815.

prove that he had read the History of the Graal—and why not in Castilian? It may be worth while to mention in this connexion that Nicolás de Valencia (Canc. de Baena No. 485), when compelled to make the distinction that the Blessed Virgin was wed

con santo Joseph non de Abazimatia,

suggests that the Spanish popularity of the first Part of the Cycle was sufficient to challenge the vernacular Gospels! That the second Part enjoyed just such a vogue is a permissible deduction from the Conde de Benavente's *Brivia complida en romance con un poco del libro de Merlín* (circa 1440).

W. J. Entwistle.

Manchester.

REVIEWS.

Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History. By LILIAN WINSTANLEY. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 228 pp. 15*s*.

In this small but compact volume Miss Winstanley attempts to carry further the line of research and speculation exemplified in her *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession* a year or two previously. It is a second application of what she describes as 'the new method,' and we are invited to expect a series of other illustrations of its validity, since few, if any, of Shakespeare's plays appear to be beyond its scope. The preliminary exposition of the new method is somewhat needlessly provocative, and tends to prejudice the reader's reception of what is really fresh and important in the chapters which follow. The belief that Shakespeare, like other great men, was of his age and must be interpreted by its conditions and mentality is in itself a commonplace, accepted by many who have not, like our critic, 'read Bergson,' and are still in the toils of 'the Cartesian idea of time.' And it certainly has not remained a mere pious belief. Even the special notion, which Miss Winstanley champions, that contemporary history and personages are reflected in the plays, has itself a history in the Shakespearean research of the last generation. Hamlet, in the hands of Fleay and others, had been James I, or Essex, or Sidney, or all three, years before she began to write, and when she benignly dismisses Mr Bradley and his school as representatives of a method henceforth obsolete, an unkind critic might suggest that she too, setting out to plough this virgin acre, has harnessed some pretty well-worn horses to her yoke.

This criticism would, however, be incomplete, and so far unfair. Though her method is not strictly 'new,' she has applied the notion that contemporary history and historical interest are reflected in Shakespeare with a thoroughness of research and an acuteness of combination to which no predecessor, so far as we know, could lay claim. Historians had ransacked the state archives and the correspondence of Venetian and Spanish ambassadors for light upon the obscure politics of the early Jacobean time; literary antiquarians had immersed themselves in the records of stage legislation and the vicissitudes of theatrical companies. But Miss Winstanley has reaped the reward of those who explore the unfrequented borderland which lies between the beaten highways. Thanks to her laborious researches in the Record Office and elsewhere, she has been able to paint with extraordinary energy and fulness of detail the 'complexes' of emotions and ideas which gathered about certain storm-centres of criminal event—the murder of Darnley, the massacre on St Bartholomew's Eve—for the contemporary world. The purport of the book, put shortly, is that *Macbeth* and *King Lear* are

figurative transcripts, in varying combinations and proportions, of these two sensational events. And not merely by way of casual or distant allusion. They are the real 'subject' of the plays, for which their apparent subjects serve as 'symbolic' or 'mystic' disguise.

Before discussing this hypothesis itself, a word may be said about the ascription to Shakespeare of the systematic use of hieroglyphics on the stage,—and of hieroglyphics that had to wait three centuries for their decipherer. Shakespeare does, no doubt, occasionally allude to current events, even when the allusions are dramatically irrelevant. But then the allusions are transparent. There has never been any question about those in Macbeth's second interview with the witches, or in *Henry V.* But, Miss Winstanley urges, it was dangerous to present current or recent history, and yet it was just these topics that the audience was burning to hear discussed. How could it be done except by 'symbolic mythology'? I shall say something later of Miss Winstanley's use of this specious phrase. She claims that mystic symbolism of this kind was not merely a means of evading the perils of direct speech, but was peculiarly congenial to the 'mentality' of Elizabethan audiences and playwrights. For this belief, which was evidently vital to her argument, since the 'new method' consisted precisely in taking due account of that mentality, she offers surprisingly little evidence. She points again and again to the *Faerie Queene*, as if that were drama, as if Spenser had not publicly explained his own allegory, and as if he were in all points to be counted a typical Elizabethan. She is very confident that the 'mentality' of the Elizabethans was quite unlike our own. But in one point it cannot have been very different: if they were addressed in symbols they wanted to know what the symbols meant. They did, of course, sometimes write and witness symbolic drama. But Lyly's *Endymion* was assuredly understood by the whole court; and everyone but the government fathomed instantly the pretty transparent symbolism of Middleton's *Game of Chess*. She swells her meagre list of examples, which so far make against her, by adducing *Eastward Ho*; but it is well known that Jonson and Chapman were arrested for disrespectful allusions, a totally different matter. And, on the other hand, we find Chapman in a whole series of plays representing quite without disguise contemporary French history, and Marlowe no less openly dramatizing that very 'Massacre of Paris' which Shakespeare, it seems, a dozen years later, preferred to envelop in the integument (never pierced till now) of the sufferings of Lear or Gloucester. The well-known readiness of the government, under both Elizabeth and James, to resent and punish political allusions on the stage, and the suppression of the deposition scene in *Richard II* where such an allusion was, quite gratuitously, suspected, only tells against her argument, for why did the political 'symbolism' of *Hamlet*, nay of *Lear* and *Macbeth* themselves, escape suspicion? Or if the symbolism was only flattering, why was it so obscure? And as for the audience, did they, after all, come to the theatre thirsting to decipher political allusions, or did they come to see a play?

To all this, so far as *Macbeth* and *King Lear* are concerned, Miss

Winstanley replies with a suggestion of which we quite admit the importance and the force. Both plays were pretty certainly written in the months following the abortive but terrifying plot of Guy Fawkes. The plot is known to have been compared to the successful catholic conspiracy of St Bartholomew, and also to the murder (likewise by gunpowder) of Darnley,—both events being then a full generation old. She thinks that Shakespeare deliberately played upon these parallels. Taking *Macbeth* first, she points to the well-known fact that the drama largely follows the Donwald-Duff instead of the Macbeth-Duncan story, and ingeniously argues that this makes it accord better with the facts of the Darnley murder. And in a number of details, as in the two servants killed in the king's room, the two others lodged apart, and the introduction of Lennox (a namesake of Darnley's father), she points out correspondences between the play and accessible accounts of the murder. So again, the younger Bothwell, a deadly enemy of James, had intimate relations with the witches. Miss Winstanley here makes a real contribution to our data. Shakespeare constructed his colossal tragedy from an imagination charged with remembered experience, and may well have drawn, for a nominally Scottish drama, upon the records of the most sensational royal crime in recent Scottish history. But as to a reflexion of it? There was surely one fatal difficulty: if Darnley was Duncan, and Bothwell Macbeth, then Mary, James's mother, was Lady Macbeth! Was Shakespeare, whatever his turn for 'symbolic mythology,' likely to adopt, for the king's entertainment, symbols which could only mean that his mother had been the chief agent in her husband's murder? It is true that further meanings for these symbols are adduced. Lady Macbeth is also Catherine de Medici urging the reluctant Charles to consent to the Massacre, and this on the ground of a former agreement, like that hinted at in *Macb.* I, 7. And symbols from the Massacre frequently float in among those drawn from the native tragedy. When the bell rings, for instance, which sounds Duncan's knell, it is the chimes of Saint Auxerre, summoning the faithful of Paris to the Massacre. Such a parallel has poetry in it; it might have flashed across the mind of some imaginative old man, who remembered the horror of that August night, as he looked on at the first performance of *Macbeth*; but it does not belong to the scientific interpretation of what Shakespeare meant. And if it be suggested that Shakespeare too had some imagination, and may have been conscious of these analogues in an alien and far off past, what shall be said of the huge mass of thought and passion-fraught poetry, vocal and responsive to the universal experience of men, which the tales of Macbeth and Lear generated in that Shakespearean imagination, and for which Miss Winstanley herself claims no relevance to her supposed historic origins?

It is in *King Lear*, however, that the Massacre comes into the foreground of interest. The comparison is prepared for, as in *Macbeth*, by an acute analysis of the story as Shakespeare found it. It was not a tragedy at all, and the division of the kingdom was a mere 'baby-tale.' Why then should he choose such a subject except to use it as symbolic ex-

pression for momentous real events? There is a strange *ignoratio elenchi* in this question; a teacher of literature so distinguished as Miss Winstanley knows very well that the 'subject' of *King Lear* is not the story that Shakespeare found but the story that he made. But the story that he made must, for her, be 'found' too. So Darnley, outcast and despised by his next of kin, is Lear, without prejudice to his being reflected also (more plausibly) in Albany. So Bothwell is Edmund, Mary is Goneril or Regan as occasion demands. But it is very properly felt that Darnley, though capable of furnishing the 'pathetic and helpless' phase of Lear, will not quite serve for the Titanic Lear of the first two acts. What was Shakespeare to do? Fortunately there was an example to his hand of a grand heroic figure, who had met a yet more tragically horrible doom,—Coligny, the Huguenot chief, 'second king of France,' and chief victim of the Massacre. Of more interest than this guess-work is Miss Winstanley's attempt to interpret the Gloucester-story so daringly yet effectively interwoven with that of Lear. Her discovery—that an allegory of a father with two sons, one of whom betrays and the other saves him, was actually used in Shakespeare's time to describe the relation of Guise (Edmund) and Henry IV (Edgar) to France, their 'father'—is of real importance, whatever we may think of her conclusion that Père Mathieu, the author of the allegory, took it from *King Lear*, or of such comic developments of the theme as the suggestion that Edgar's assumption of rustic dialects alludes to the alleged traces of Béarn dialect in Henry's French.

It will be seen that we recognize solid value in this book, but not precisely of the kind the writer claims. Her attempt to show that *Lear* and *Macbeth* were 'symbolic mythology' in her sense breaks down, in our judgment, altogether. What she has done, and done with a degree of enterprise, originality, industry, and scholarship rarely surpassed in this field, is to throw a vivid light upon some elements of the mass of floating tradition, knowledge and belief, which entered into and coloured all Elizabethan experience, and provided the living tissue of Elizabethan art. Macbeth and King Lear are assuredly, as Miss Winstanley insists Elizabethans in this sense, if they are of any age at all. But not because they are 'symbolic mythology' to which any given Elizabethan event provides the key.

One last word upon this phrase, which is fundamental with her, for she uses it on her title-page to define the aim of her book. It is a complex and ambiguous phrase, and its ambiguity lends a certain plausibility to her contentions. There is a noble and there is a mean symbolism. All great poetry is in some sense symbolic. So is a riddle, or a pun. The *Prometheus Vinctus* and the *Divina Commedia* are, she tells us justly enough, 'pieces of symbolic mythology.' And she imagines that these great examples support the contention that *Macbeth* and *Lear* are 'symbolic mythology' reflecting the murder of Darnley and the Bartholomew massacre! Suppose they are; these great examples are only damaging to her case. To confirm it, Æschylus ought to have been disguising, in Prometheus, the features of some Attic rebel of the pre-

vious generation. But is not Beatrice a 'symbolic myth' in her sense? No, for though the Beatrice of the *Comedy* have her ultimate origin in the real woman Beatrice Portinari, and though she be herself symbolic, no one (certainly not Miss Winstanley) imagines that what she symbolizes—what Dante is actually relating—is the life of the Florentine lady who died in 1290. Perhaps this example may suggest that, in the 'noble' symbolism, the purely personal, local, and temporal matter is the starting point and not the goal, the element by which we step into universal experience, not the 'answer' to a riddle.

MANCHESTER. C. H. HERFORD.

Shakespeare-Wörterbuch. Von LEON KELLNER. (*Englische Bibliothek*, herausgegeben von Max Förster, I.) Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1922. 8°. viii + 358 pp. 576 M.

While the latest Shakespeare glossary is primarily designed for German readers, it will be found of no small interest by students of Shakespeare of whatever nationality, and while it is necessarily in the main a compilation from previous works, from Schmidt to Onions, the material has all passed through a fresh mind and not a little that is original has been added, while the author claims to have provided throughout a more definite and critical analysis of the meanings and uses of words than those hitherto available. In the course of a most interesting preface he remarks, after enumerating the sources he has used: 'Dass trotz dieser vortrefflichen Arbeiten die Worterklärung, die Grundlage aller Interpretation, noch sehr lückenhaft ist, wissen alle ernsten Leser Shakespeares; nur wollen sich's wenige eingestehen, wie vieles noch dunkel geblieben ist.' His view of Shakespeare's vocabulary he sets forth as follows: 'Ich habe dunklen Stellen gegenüber vor allem an der Ansicht festgehalten, dass hinter Shakespeares Wörtern stets eine klare Vorstellung, hinter seinen Sätzen immer ein klarer Gedanke vorhanden ist.' Shakespeare's mintage is always, he holds, clear-cut and sharp. 'Gibt eine Metapher, wenn man die landläufige Worterklärung anwendet, kein scharfes, greifbares Bild, so ist die Erklärung sicher falsch.' These are excellent principles for a lexicographer to hold. Another interesting suggestion is this: 'Könnte man eine Anzahl Anglisten so schulen, dass sie ohne jede Kenntnis des Neuenglischen vom Altenglischen her über Langland, Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate zu Shakespeare gelangten, sie würden sicher Hunderte von Stellen zutreffender erklären, als es bis jetzt geschah.' It is true that on examining the references given to illustrate these principles I by no means always find myself able to agree with the proposed interpretation of particular passages, but this merely bears out what Dr Kellner says about the uncertainty of our knowledge of Shakespearian vocabulary, and though such works as his will undoubtedly tend to lessen that uncertainty, opinions must always to some extent differ as to the interpretation of such a rich language as Shakespeare's and a language moreover that was the instrument of so rapid a mind.

LONDON. W. W. GREG.

Charlemagne (*The Distracted Emperor*). Édition critique avec introduction et notes. Par FRANCK L. SCHOELL. Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1920. Roy. 8vo. 157 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The anonymous Elizabethan drama here called *Charlemagne* remained unpublished till 1884, when it was printed—'assez fautivement,' says Professor Schoell—by the late A. H. Bullen (*A Collection of Old English Plays*, Vol. III) under the title of *The Distracted Emperor*.

Professor Schoell gives us, what Bullen did not profess to give, a text as faithful as possible to the manuscript (British Museum MS. Egerton, 1994), reproducing, not only the orthography, but the errors of the scribe, even to the prefacing of the first act with the words '[Actus] 2. Scena 2.'

The new editor properly takes credit for the superiority of his text, though it is as well to bear in mind that in 1884 accuracy so meticulous in the reproduction of Elizabethan texts was less highly esteemed than nowadays. And to Bullen is due something more than the credit of having introduced *Charlemagne* to students of the drama. It was he who first attributed it to Chapman, noting, as justification for this attribution, its author's 'trick of moralizing at every opportunity,' his 'abundant use of similes more proper to epic than dramatic language,' and 'the absence of all womanly grace in the female characters.'

To produce a text more accurate than Bullen's was not a difficult matter, nor was it the main object Professor Schoell had in view in putting forth a new edition. His chief object was, as he says, to settle the question of authorship—'à prouver, s'il est possible, que *Charlemagne* est l'œuvre de George Chapman; s'il n'est pas possible, à accumuler les présomptions en faveur de notre thèse et favoriser la découverte de la preuve définitive qui rendra rétrospectivement vain tout le laborieux appareil de notre argumentation.' That he has succeeded in proving that Chapman wrote the play we think there can be no question; though the task, as his notes show, was no easy one. So far as phraseology is concerned Chapman shows little tendency to repeat himself, and though he uses certain metaphors with unusual frequency, few of these are of a distinctive kind. At the most but half-a-dozen noteworthy parallels with Chapman's acknowledged works have been detected by Professor Schoell, and, buried as they are in a forest of comment upon small points of resemblance to the dramatist's style and vocabulary, their significance as evidence of Chapman's authorship is rather obscured. But, though few in number, they exhibit the kind of resemblance that one finds between passages in Chapman's acknowledged plays, and when taken in conjunction with the evidence of the vocabulary, the lavish use of simile and metaphor, the constant moralizing, the numerous apophthegms, the occurrence in I, i, and V, iii, of images borrowed from the *Semaines* of Du Bartas (as in *Bussy d'Ambois*, *Chabot* and at least two of Chapman's poems) and such minor points as the occasional mocking repetition of the words of one speaker by another (noted by Professor Parrott as a common feature in Chapman's plays), the proof

may be said to be complete. Professor Schoell seems, by the way, to be ignorant that Professor Parrott, to whom is due the vindication of Chapman's claim to *Sir Giles Goosecap*, also assigns this play to him (see *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, 1915–16), for he makes no mention of this in his introduction. This introduction is a careful piece of work and the notes also are well done, the only adverse criticism of these that suggests itself being that they are too exclusively concerned with the problem of authorship. The play contains many unusual expressions and one or two obscure passages which have been passed over without comment. Apart from this, Professor Schoell has given us as good an edition of *Charlemagne* as could be desired. He favours 1598–9 as the date, agreeing with Bullen in declining to accept the allusion to 'King Charlimayne' in Peele's *Farewell to Norris and Drake* of 1589 (where the name occurs in conjunction with 'Mahomet's Poo and mighty Tamburlaine') as a reference to this play.

ENFIELD. H. DUGDALE SYKES.

A Pepysian Garland. Black-letter Broadside Ballads of...1595–1639, chiefly from the collection of Samuel Pepys. Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 8vo. xxxi + 491 pp. 21*s.*

Having recently returned from a visit to Cambridge and a renewed study of Pepys's collection of broadside ballads, I was very agreeably surprized by the receipt of this volume, which gives to those who are not acquainted with the original ballads a very good impression of what they are like, minus the black-letter, which is retained only in the titles, and reminds those who have pored over the diarist's wonderful collection, of hours pleasantly and instructively spent in the study of this engrossing subject within the hospitable walls of the University Library. Those who have experienced the courtesy of Mr O. F. Morshead, the librarian of Magdalene College, will be gratified to see that the *Garland* is dedicated to him.

The volume marks a rapid progress after Professor Rollins's first publication, especially noticeable in the copious introductory notes. In the preface the author gives a concise history of the ballad, and discusses its merits and demerits. 'To judge the ballads as poetry is altogether unfair.... Ballads were not written for poetry.' This is, of course, a perfectly just and correct statement, but one is pleased to read that 'From the point of view of sheer melody and rhythm, ballads often answer more than fairly to the test,' for it is a very remarkable fact, too often neglected by writers on the subject, that although the balladists are inferior poets, they frequently have a fine ear for rhythm and rime. Take for example the stanza of No. 19, *The pedlar opening his pack*:

> Who is it will repaire,
> or come and see my packet:
> Where there's store of Ware,
> if any of you lacke it,
> view the Fayre.

It is written to the tune of *Last Christmas 'twas my chance*, which Professor Rollins says he has not met with elsewhere, but which he will find in *Pills to purge Melancholy*, vol. v, p. 25. The tune is so named from the first line of *The Dance of the Usurer and the Devil*:

> Last *Christmas* 'twas my chance,
> To be in *Paris* city;
> Where I did see a Dance,
> In my conceit was very pretty—By men of France.

Or, take the four-line stanza, brisk in movement, running on the same rime and crowned by a twice-repeated refrain, of No. 41, *The Wiving Age*:

> The Maidens of *London* are now in despaire,
> How they shall get husbands, it is all their care,
> Though maidens be neuer so vertuous and faire,
> Yet old wealthy widowes, are yong mens chiefe ware.
> *Oh this is a wiuing age.*
> *Oh this is a wiuing age.*

Or, for a last example, the metrically interesting stanza of No. 11, *The history of Jonas*, with its artistic rime-scheme, and its relieving short couplet connecting a long-lined quatrain and tercet:

> Vnto the Prophet *Ionas* I read,
> The word of the Lord secretly came,
> Saying to Niniuy passe thou with speed,
> To that mightie Citie of wondrous fame.
> Against it quoth he
> cry out and be free.
> Their wickednesse great is come vp to me.
> Sinne is the cause of great sorrow and care,
> But God through repentance his vengeance doth spare.

The most important part of the preface is undoubtedly Professor Rollins's disquisition on the jig. I believe he is the first to have thrown clear light upon the real nature of this interesting miniature drama, which 'was sung and danced on the stage to ballad-tunes.' Jigs have suffered from erroneous definition, partly owing to the fact, no doubt, that very few genuine jigs were known when the definition was given. The editor prints a most interesting specimen, which worthily opens the *Garland*. It is entitled 'Frauncis new Jigge, betweene Frauncis a Gentleman, and Richard a Farmer.' The title is not quite correct, for there is a very important third personage, viz. Besse, Richard's wife, while the second part introduces a fourth *dramatis persona*, Master Frauncis' 'owne wife, having a maske before her face, supposing her to be Besse.' It is a dramatic sketch, sung to various tunes. Evidently there was a dance at the end of the first part, for after the last line there is the stage direction: '*Enter Mistris Frauncis with Richard.* To the tune of *Bugle Boe.*' That is to say, they danced upon entering, after which came their dialogue, to the tune of *As I went to Walsingham*, opening the second part. Students of the Shirburn Ballads will remember a somewhat different version of this jig under the title of 'Mr Attowel's Jigge.' It is so called from George Attowell (Atwell), the actor, who, no doubt, danced in this jig and whose name is under the printed copy, which need not imply that

he is the author. Professor Rollins does more than to define the character of the jig; he also gives its history and traces its influence, adding a valuable page to the history of the English drama.

Although the volume is mainly what the title calls it, a Pepysian Garland, yet a small number of ballads is added from other sources, viz. six from the Wood and Rawlinson collections at the Bodleian Library, and one from the Manchester Free Reference Library. Among these is the spirited, musical '*Round boyes indeed. Or The Shoomakers Holy-day.*' It is what it calls itself 'a very pleasant new Ditty... To a pleasant new Tune.'

> Here we are good fellowes all,
> *round Boyes round:*
> Attendance giue when we doe call,
> *round boyes indeed.*
> Since we are here good fellowes all,
> drinke we must and worke we shall.
> And worke we will what ere befall,
> *for money to serue our need.*

Professor Rollins has been particularly happy in the choice of the seventy-three ballads from the first of the five stout volumes of the Pepys collection. Fortunately 'no attempt has been made to smooth away or omit the three or four objectionable words that occur. Bowdlerizing is out of the question in a work of this kind.' Occasionally more is meant than meets the eye, but the specialist does not mind and the general reader will not be harmed. The *Garland* is representative and forms with its instructive preface and notes an excellent introduction to the study of a subject which is gradually being recognized as indispensable to those who wish to understand 'the lives and thoughts, the hopes and fears, the beliefs and amusements, of sixteenth and seventeenth century Englishmen.' Ballads were, 'in the main, the equivalent of modern newspapers, and it cannot well be denied that customarily they performed their function as creditably in verse as the average newspaper does in prose. Journalistic ballads outnumbered all other types. Others were sermons, or romances, or ditties of love and jealousy, of tricks and "jests," comparable to the ragtime, or music hall, songs of the present time.' In this collection a variety of subjects is represented. Local, English and continental history (Nos. 9; 15; 4, 7, 52); customs, social conditions, trades (Nos. 2, 5, 10, 12, 34, 70; 47; 72, 3, 64); marriage (Nos. 41, 58, 62; 40); didactic and moral lessons (Nos. 64, 65; 27, 31, 66); biblical history (Nos. 11, 61); repentant sinners (Nos. 14, 15, 49, 63, 75); murder and cruelty (Nos. 39, 14, 49, 50, 51); events of the day (Nos. 14, 22, 24, 39, 68); prognostications and wonders (Nos. 24, 25, 26, 78, 79); witches (No. 16), and a voracious eater (No. 60), are a few of the multifarious subjects dealt with in this *Garland*.

Ballad-readers were kept well-informed of what happened on the continent. The execution of Johan van Oldenbarneveldt is commemorated in *Murther unmasked, Or Barneviles base Conspiracie against his owne Country, discouered.* The portrait which adorns the broadside is most decidedly not van Oldenbarneveldt's. We do not now speak of his

'base conspiracy,' but such was the view then held in England. The play by Massinger and Fletcher, a new edition of which has lately appeared[1], represents the great patriot in a slightly less unfavourable light. The struggle between Spain and the United Provinces attracted a good deal of attention as is evident from No. 80, *A new Spanish Tragedy*[2]. Many readers will be interested in No. 20, *The Lamenting Lady*, which narrates the famous legend of the Countess Margareta van Henneberg, of Loosduinen near the Hague, who, as the result of a curse, produced 365 boys and girls at one birth. The story is preceded by a detailed note in which the editor adduces a number of interesting facts connected with this legend, which owes its origin to the unfortunate circumstance that the lady, an historical personage, was confined on Good Friday of as many children as the days the year had yet to run, viz. two, the New Year falling on Easterday. There is a slight mistake in the note: the marvel did not happen at Dordrecht or Dort, but at Loosduinen[3].

If one compares Professor Rollins's notes with those of Ebsworth and Chappell in the publications of the Ballad Society the advance is immense. Ebsworth was deeply read in ballads and songs, but his vagaries are apt to irritate the reader. Mr Rollins is very accurate and deals with his subject scientifically. There is one unfortunate printer's error in the note on p. 248, preceding *The life and death of M. Geo: Sands.* The ballad describes how Sandys was hanged for robbery. In the note the editor says that 'Mr George Sandys, his father Sir George, and his mother Lady Susanna were notorious rotters, inveterate criminals.' I suppose we should read 'robbers' for the slangy 'rotters.' Prof. Rollins has paid greater attention to the tunes than in his previous volume. No. 13 offers a very rare instance, as the editor duly notes, of the second part of a ballad being written to a tune different from that of the first part. The first example in the note is only apparent, for *Philliday* (*Phillida flouts me*) is written to the tune of *Dainty come thou to me*, vide *Shirburn Ballads*, No. LXXIII. Another example is the famous ballad of *The Widow of Watling Street and her three daughters*, the first part of which is written to the tune of *Bragandary*, the second to that of *The wanton wife*[4]. 'Bragandary' is also represented in the *Garland*, and it is interesting to find that No. 76, *Murder upon Murder*, is written to the tune of *Bragandary downe, &c.*, which I have not found elsewhere. There is a variant *Braggendarty*, the tune of *A newe songe of the triumphs of the Tilt*, Stationers' Registers, 28 March 1604 (cp. No. 49).

One would be inclined to identify *In Slumbring Sleepe*, the tune of No. 45, with the first line of *Death's uncontrollable Summons* in J. P. Collier's *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads*, p. 328, which runs:

In slumber and sleep my senses fall,

[1] *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt.* Ed. by W. P. Frijlinck, Amsterdam, 1922.

[2] Trump in the introduction to this ballad (p. 455) should be Tromp.

[3] Prof. Rollins has published interesting details in *Notes and Queries* 12th S., XI, p. 351.

[4] *Shirburn Ballads*, No. 1.

but the following

hey ho, hey ho ! then slept I

seems to forbid this.

I think Prof. Rollins has, on the whole, struck *le juste milieu* in the case of the tunes; too little information irritates, too much confuses. There is enough here for the general reader and sufficient indication for those who are interested in the subject to find further information.

Some of the refrains are very interesting. There is, for example, that of No. 28, which we might term incremental, and that of No. 42, which we might call repetitional.

I heare say y'are married since I saw you last ;
O this is a hasty Age,
O this is a hasty Age

must have been very effective if sung with proper emphasis and with the requisite gesture.

The Glossarial Index is very full. On the whole the language of black-letter ballads is not difficult, but naturally here and there a rare or obsolete word will crop up. I do not think there is a single case in which the reader will turn to the glossary in vain. It is curious to find, now and then, a learned word in these popular songs, as when, for instance, one balladist refers to a competitor as

The hetroclite Singer, that goes vpon Crutches.

Prof. Rollins does not tell us if Martin Parker was meant.

The editor has been particularly happy in his choice of woodcuts; the porters on p. 12, the fool shooting his bolt on p. 317, the ratcatcher on p. 61 are fine specimens, and the illustration representing a man in the stocks contentedly playing his fiddle (p. 193) is by no means devoid of humour. A treatise on the woodcuts of these broadside ballads would be interesting and instructive reading.

The book is very carefully printed on good paper. The fine exterior covers an excellent interior, and both publishers and author deserve our full praise. Let us hope that Prof. Rollins will dive into the other volumes of Pepys and confer the boon of a sequel to this *Garland* upon all who have enjoyed the perusal of this volume.

A. E. H. Swaen.

Amsterdam.

The Place-names of Lancashire. By Eilert Ekwall. Manchester: University Press. 8vo. xvi + 280 pp. 25*s*.

There is no field of English linguistic studies in which we are not heavily indebted to Scandinavian scholars, but this is true in a peculiar degree of the study of place and personal names. Our debt to Zachrisson and Björkman has long since been recognized and we have owed much to the work of their pupils, and here it may suffice to mention the names of Lindkvist, Ekblom and Redin. Dr Ekwall has in one book and in many articles, notes and reviews, given us a foretaste of his own excellence as a student of place-names, and now in the volume which

lies before us we have the full measure of his strength. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no book since the days of Dr Skeat's little volume on Cambridgeshire which has marked so great an advance in the methods of place-name study and that there is no book on the place-names of any single English county which approaches it in scholarship, fulness of detail, or breadth of outlook.

It shows an advance in method in many different ways. The material is arranged topographically and not alphabetically or under suffixes, and before each Hundred with its various place-names denoting human habitation we have the names of its natural features. This has the double advantage that it serves readily to bring out any connexion which may exist between the name of a place and its topography and at the same time brings into close relation those places which may owe their names to some common cause, e.g. *Wuerdle* and *Wardle*, where the first seems to be O.E. *weorodhyll* 'troop-hill' and the second *weardhyll* 'look-out hill.' They stand close together, and both alike are seen to be of military significance. With the full treatment of river and hill names Ekwall is led on to a much fuller and more successful attempt to deal with the Celtic element in our place-names than has been hitherto made. Lastly, under the head of method we may note that Ekwall is not content unless his explanation of a place-name satisfies linguistic, historical and topographical conditions alike.

Of Dr Ekwall's scholarship it is superfluous to speak. Of the fulness of his book it suffices to say that he has attempted to deal with all those names found in earlier documents, which can be identified on the modern map. This is what is needed in each county and very few of his predecessors have attempted it. But perhaps the most stimulating feature of the book, for the student as well as for the educated layman, is its breadth of historical outlook. Not only have we the usual distinction of the Celtic, Anglian, and Scandinavian elements in the place-names of the county but also a searching discussion of the vital problems arising out of them, e.g., the survival of a Celtic-speaking population in Lancashire, the respective parts played by Northumbria and Mercia in the settlement of this area, the Norse or Danish provenance of the Scandinavian settlers, the relative age of the various types of place-name which appear on the present-day map. In other words, we have the beginnings of the use of place-names as an effective auxiliary in the cause of historical research.

In a work of such detail and in a subject where the range of comparative material is so vast that each scholar must contribute his own little quota of knowledge there are of course many small points in which one must disagree with Dr Ekwall's interpretation or, as one is often inclined to do, suspend judgment. A few notes upon such points may be given here, not so much by way of criticism as in the hope that they may lead to fresh discussion and inquiry.

p. 27. The change from *lake* (O.E. *lacu*) to *lock* in Medlock would seem to be the normal development. Cf. Matlock. D. B. *Meslach* (*sic*), where we have clear local evidence that there was a *lacu* in earlier times.

p. 42. *Shoresworth*, 'enclosure of the shore,' seems impossible for many reasons. Such genitival compounds are very rare, *worth* is a suffix which early passed out of use, while *shore* is unknown till the fourteenth century, there is a Shoreswood in Norham, earlier *Shoresworth*, which is nowhere near water. Both names alike probably contain the Old English personal name *Scorra*, which may be assumed from *scorranstan* (Birch, no. 574). Dr Ekwall himself postulates this for *Shorrock* (Green).

p. 44. *Wingates*. This is a fairly common place-name and like its etymologically equivalent *Winnats* (for *wind-yats*), the name of the famous gorge near Castleton, is used of a place where the wind sweeps down with great force. It is not to be connected with *wind*, the verb.

p. 45. *Royton*. *ton* here and elsewhere would be more happily rendered 'farm.' Similarly *Moreton* (p. 77) is 'farm by the swamp' rather than 'moor-town.' It is doubtful if *mor* was used in O.E. in the sense 'moor.' *Ashton* (p. 100) is 'ash-farm.'

p. 67. It is suggested here and elsewhere that the Lancashire hill-name *Billinge* is derived from O.E. *bill*, 'sword,' and was so called from its shape. One would like to know how in that case Dr Ekwall explains the suffix.

p. 69. For once Dr Ekwall's knowledge of O.E. charter material has failed him. Semington, Wilts., takes its name from the stream *semnit* mentioned in Birch, no. 1127, while Semley in the same county is so named from the *semene*, a stream mentioned in Kemble, no. 641. Neither name will therefore help us with the Lancashire *Samlesbury*.

p. 70. *Madgell Bank*, earlier *Maggeldes meduclif*, about whose interpretation Dr Ekwall is very doubtful, should probably be considered together with the equally difficult Maggleburn, a stream-name in Northumberland (1261 *Macgild*, 1308 *Maggild*).

p. 83. *Heysandforth*, earlier *Feasandford*, i.e. a pheasant-ford. Change of initial *f* to *h* is not necessarily due to dissimilation. Other examples are given in *Place Names of Northumberland and Durham*, p. 85, and since that was written a fresh example has been noted in Hobb's Well in Charford in Wilts. which probably represents the *fobban wylle* of Birch, no. 27.

p. 84. *Towneley* (*c.* 1200 *Tunleia*) is rendered as 'the lea belonging to the town (of Burnley),' but surely *tun* at that date could not mean anything more than a village at the very utmost.

p. 85. *Rowley*. We must accept Dr Ekwall's second alternative of 'rough lea,' with a modern spelling pronunciation [*roli*]. O.E. *rāw*, 'row' is unknown as the first element in a place-name, and such a compound seems unlikely.

p. 92. *Rawtenstall* is derived by Dr Ekwall from M.E. *routande stall*, 'roaring pool,' but the uniform *routon*, *routun* of the M.E. forms for this place and the similar Yorkshire one of Rawtonstall forbid this. In Rowton Brook, where Dr Ekwall similarly finds M.E. *routande*, the medieval forms uniformly preserve the *and*; 'rough-tun-stall' seems a more probable etymology, *tunstall* being a well recognized place-name element.

p. 104. *Hawkley* with alternative forms in *cliff*, for which further earlier evidence is needed, is probably a case of the comparatively common loss of final *f* in an unstressed syllable; cf. *Harkley* for Horncliffe, Nthb. and Keisley, Wm. (thirteenth century *Kesclif*), though it may be due on the other hand to the development of alternative forms from the nom. *leah*, giving a final *f* and from the oblique form *leage* giving *ley*.

p. 127. *Wymott Brook*. The uniform *o* vowel of the suffix in the M.E. forms suggest O.E. *mōt*, 'meeting, confluence,' rather than O.E. *mūþa*, 'mouth,' as in Dr Ekwall's own Emmott from O.E. *ēa-mōt*.

p. 128. *Worthington*. Derivation from O.E. *worðign-tun*, does not seem very probable from the point of view of meaning ('enclosure-enclosure') or form, for the form *worðing for worðign* is very rare in O.E. There is the further difficulty that there is no evidence for the use of this element, later English *wardine*, either as the first element in a compound or so far north as Lancashire. This last criticism applies to one of the explanations offered for Faldworthings, p. 138.

p. 130. *Hunger Hill* may well mean what it says, but there is an equal possibility that *hunger* here is a well recognized alternative form of *hanger*, 'a wooded slope.'

p. 139. *Loud*. The suggestion is made that this river-name means the 'loud' stream. If so it is a case of irony, for a quieter or more sluggish stream could not be found.

p. 150. *Freckleton*. Dr Ekwall is bothered by spellings with *q*, e.g. *Frequinton, Frequelton*, which suggest the presence of a *w* not found in the eleventh and twelfth century forms. This is probably one of those cases, which are not uncommon, of a Norman-French spelling in *qu* for English *k*; cf. Aquilate, Staffs., with alternative forms *Akilote* etc., Laques in Carmarthenshire, which seems to be a rendering of M.E. *lakes*, 'streams,' and the form *Aquelie* found in the *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* for Oakley, Ess.

p. 154. *Singleton* in Sussex probably gives no help with Singleton, La., with its alternative M.E. forms with initial *s* and *sh*. There is a Sussex charter (Birch, no. 144), unfortunately in damaged condition, from the topography of which it is clear that Singleton must be associated with the *sængelpicos* (*sic*) of the charter, and this agrees with the later phonology of the name, where we have almost uniformly an *e* as the vowel and not an *i* as in the Lancashire name.

p. 158. Dr Ekwall's assumption of an English *trundle*, 'a rounded hill,' is happily borne out by the well-known 'Trundle' at Goodwood.

p. 181. Old Wennington is not necessarily older than Wennington. Old Durham is much younger than Durham.

p. 182. *Stauvin*, earlier *Stouvin, Stowing*, is probably the O.N. *stofn, stufn*, 'stump,' quoted by Ekwall himself later on (p. 207). The alternation between final *in* and *ing* is of course common in colloquial English.

The book is remarkably free from misprints of any kind considering the vast mass of detail involved. Not more than some half dozen have been noted in two or three readings of the book. One can only

hope that it will be read and studied by all who are interested in place-name study and that it will give a real stimulus to work on fresh and fruitful lines.

ALLEN MAWER.

LIVERPOOL.

Sainte-Beuve et le Sillage de Napoléon. Par JULES DECHAMPS. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule XXX.) Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne; Paris: H. Champion. 1922. 8vo. 117 pp. 7 fr. 50.

En une première partie l'auteur donne un tableau des manifestations d'enthousiasme que provoqua le génie de Napoléon dans presque toutes les classes de la société, dans presque tous les partis pendant les années qui suivirent la chute du grand empereur; une étude de l'influence exercée par l'ère napoléonienne sur 'les philosophes, les historiens, les sociologues, les réformateurs et les purs écrivains,' notamment sur ces derniers parmi lesquels Napoléon 'n'a guère eu moins d'élèves que Byron et Chateaubriand,' à tel point que le romantisme de 1830 'apparaît comme le prolongement ou la transcription littéraire de l'époque impériale'; et il s'attache surtout à marquer la part qui revient à Napoléon dans le développement du *hero-worship* ou doctrine du surhomme.

Cela posé, M. Dechamps analyse, dans la seconde partie de son ouvrage, les motifs pour lesquels Sainte-Beuve résista à cette doctrine du surhomme, à laquelle il adhéra d'ailleurs pendant sa phase romantique comme pendant sa phase saint-simonienne; à laquelle il revient plus tard dès 1839—1840, lorsqu'il semble déjà se rallier au césarisme, préparant ainsi sa conversion au régime impérial, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de prétendre, en 1869, alors qu'il se sépare nettement de la politique de Napoléon III, 'avoir en 1836 été si peu chaud pour les souvenirs du premier Empire.' Pourquoi en 1834 et à d'autres moments Sainte-Beuve montre-t-il de la malveillance pour Napoléon? Pourquoi se laisse-t-il aller à l'indignation contre ceux qui célèbrent l'éclat des triomphes militaires du Consulat et de l'Empire? Pourquoi fait-il allusion à 'cette pourpre mensongère qu'on jette à la statue de Napoléon qui va s'élargissant chaque jour et qui couvre déjà pour beaucoup de spectateurs éblouis ces hideux aspects mais ne les dérobe pas entièrement à qui sait regarder et se souvenir?' Les raisons de cette attitude l'auteur les attribue à la nature égoïste, mesquine et ondoyante de Sainte-Beuve, à son inaptitude à l'action, à son insuffisance de tempérament, à son besoin de dénigrer et de rapetisser les grands hommes; à son goût pour les esprits moyens qu'il préférait aux 'génies à pic,' enfin à ses réactions contre Victor Hugo qu'il visa plus d'une fois par rancune et par jalousie sous couleur d'attaquer le géant corse.

Écrite d'un style brillant, pittoresque, plein de mouvement, qui sait de la façon la plus heureuse s'adapter aux nuances les plus variées de la pensée, cette étude est un modèle de composition souple et originale, où l'auteur n'hésite pas à rompre avec les pratiques qui, pour être con-

sacrées et de tradition, ne lui apparaissent pas devoir être forcément admises partout et pour tout. Il faut, entre autres choses, le louer d'avoir renversé l'ordre chronologique adopté en général pour ce genre de travaux: en examinant d'abord Sainte-Beuve à partir de 1834, puis Sainte-Beuve dans sa jeunesse, il a mis en un relief saisissant l'une des idées maîtresses de sa thèse. L'érudition de l'auteur est aussi digne de tous éloges: elle est abondante sans être jamais excessive; elle est souvent aussi d'une concision voulue, soit qu'il examine les sentiments de Sainte-Beuve pour l'Angleterre; soit qu'il mentionne l'influence du *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*; soit qu'il signale le cas spécialement intéressant de Stendhal (à propos duquel il vient de faire paraître un article des plus piquants dans le N° de Novembre—Décembre 1922 de la *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*): tous points sur lesquels l'auteur, on le sent bien, aurait pu se livrer à de copieux développements; elle est humaine et fait fi de ce fameux masque 'd'objectivité' qui ne sert si souvent qu'à dissimuler l'indigence des idées et des sentiments; elle fournit enfin un solide aliment à l'indépendance d'esprit, au sens critique et à la logique de l'auteur qui ne manque jamais de combattre, d'où qu'elles viennent, les opinions hâtives et les interprétations erronées, comme on pourra s'en rendre compte en lisant les discussions qui se trouvent, pp. 62, 74, 82, et 104–108, et qui ajoutent un attrait de plus à cette contribution à la fois si précise, si complexe et si suggestive.

Louis Brandin.

London.

Études sur la Divine Comédie. La composition du poème et son rayonnement. Par Henri Hauvette. Paris: H. Champion. 1922. 8vo. xv + 239 pp. 10 fr.

In this volume, the latest in the *Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance*, M. Hauvette has brought together a series of essays for the most part published between 1899 and 1921, some of them here in great part re-written. The first three chapters deal with the composition of the sacred poem. Then follow *Réalisme et fantasmagorie dans la vision de Dante*; *Dante et la pensée moderne*, an admirable sexcentenary discourse including a critique of the episode of Ulysses regarded as 'le glorificateur de l'énergie virile et de l'esprit de sacrifice, mis au service de la science' (p. 141); *Dante dans la poésie française de la Renaissance*, mainly concerned with the influence of Dante on Marguerite de Navarre; *Dante et la France*. In two appendices, the author controverts the theory of M. Asin Palacios concerning the alleged Mussulman sources of the *Commedia*, and urges the identification of Dante's 'Era' (*Par.* vi, 59) with the Loire rather than with the Saône.

The opening essay is unquestionably the most important. Taking as his text the beginning of *Inf.* viii, 'Io dico seguitando,' M. Hauvette offers a series of *Notes sur la composition des sept premiers chants de l'Enfer*. He accepts the theory of Parodi, which, based mainly upon the political doctrines contained in the three parts and a comparison with

the minor works, maintains that the *Inferno* was finished before 1308, the *Purgatorio* before 1313, while the composition of the *Paradiso* occupied the last seven or eight years of the poet's life. But he would go back further. Regarding Boccaccio's story of the recovery of the first seven cantos as a historical fact (with which, though with considerable reservation, we are prepared to agree), he argues that they represent a primitive plan of the poem on a smaller scale, upon which Dante was working in the years immediately preceding his exile. The theory is by no means new; but M. Hauvette develops it with abundant arguments, based, not merely upon the more obvious aspect of the apparent alteration in the classification of sins, but also upon the difference of proportion, the lack of co-ordination, the comparative vagueness of representation and relative immaturity of these earlier cantos, their occasional inconsistences with what is to follow. For instance, Ciacco in Canto VI is apparently not subject to the law as to vision of the immediate future which Farinata enunciates in Canto X. We may add that Virgil's description of the souls in Purgatory (*Inf.* I, 118–119):

> e vederai color che son contenti
> nel foco,

might seem to anticipate a far simpler, more conventional presentation of the second realm than the *Purgatorio* was ultimately to afford.

While admitting the force of much of what M. Hauvette says, we consider that he presses his argument too far. He even supposes that the prediction uttered by Ciacco (*Inf.* VI, 64–72) may actually have been written before the anticipated victory of the Neri had driven Dante into exile: 'Certes, la prévision pouvait être démentie par les faits; Dante en aurait été quitte pour la supprimer par la suite,—mais elle pouvait aussi se trouver justifiée, et il suffisait peut-être d'un sens politique à peine au-dessus du médiocre pour la risquer' (p. 50). He seems to us sometimes to overstate the artistic inferiority and the inconsistences of these cantos. The view that Dante did not envisage the subsequent developments of the poem is carried to excess in the two following essays, united as *A travers le Purgatoire et le Paradis.* In the first, discussing why the poet destined certain pagan souls to beatitude while excluding Virgil, M. Hauvette passes somewhat lightly over the special reasons (which unquestionably exist and can be clearly shown in each case) for the salvation of Cato, Statius, and Rhipeus, and ventures upon the hypothesis that the initial conception, set forth from the first cantos of the *Inferno,* placed Virgil without hope of salvation in Limbo, and, when the idea of calling certain chosen pagans to eternal bliss came subsequently to Dante, it was too late (p. 73). Certainly, when Dante wrote the *Monarchia* (II, vii), he was not aware of the solution, suggested by Aquinas, of the problem of the salvation of the virtuous man who never heard 'aliquid de Christo,' a solution similar to that afterwards adopted in the *Paradiso* (XIX–XX); but it is difficult to believe that the position of Virgil, as one who saved others but himself could not save, had not been in his mind from the beginning of the poem. Similarly, in the second, dealing with the difficulty—more

apparent than real—of reconciling the references to 'Principi,' 'Troni,' and 'Serafini' in the sphere of Venus (*Par.* VIII, 27, 34; IX, 61, 78) with the arrangement of the angelic orders and their correspondence with the heavens as enunciated afterwards in Canto XXVIII, M. Hauvette maintains that the Dionysian system of the celestial hierarchies only became known to Dante while writing the later cantos of the *Paradiso*: 'La fin du chant XXVIII porte clairement la trace d'une récente lecture sur ce sujet' (p. 82). There are, on the contrary, strong arguments for the view that the Dionysian structure is fundamental throughout the third cantica. But, though disagreeing with the author on this and other points, we welcome his studies as a valuable contribution to one of the more difficult problems which confront the student of the *Divina Commedia.*

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.

La Versificación irregular en la Poesía castellana. Por PEDRO HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA. (Publicaciones de la *Revista de Filología española,* IV.) Madrid: *Rev. de Filología española.* 1920. 8vo. 338 pp. 7 pes.

Like Mr Saintsbury's *English Prosody,* this may be taken as a guide to many delightful regions of poetry, with no disparagement of its scientific value. It is full of quotations, from the poem of the Cid to Ruben Darío; more particularly, it illustrates, in different centuries, the fashions of popular poetry.

What is 'irregular versification' in Spanish poetry? The author marks out as his field all the verse which does not keep to a strict number of syllables: 'las manifestaciones de la poesía castellana fuera de los moldes del isosilabismo.'

But what is 'isosilabismo' in verse? Does not the name concede too much to a doctrine of verse which ignores both rhythm and metre? which makes the French Alexandrine simply a line of twelve syllables, and the favourite Spanish measure of romance and redondilla simply eight? Taking this for an example, and comparing 'Rio verde, rio verde' with 'Mañanas de Abril y Mayo,' we might ask, first, whether 'Rio verde' is not the original type of trochaic metre, and whether the rhythm and metre of the second quotation can be treated justly under any head of 'isosilabismo.' A full treatment of irregular verse requires a study of variations within the regular. Possibly this may be more requisite for students not born to Spanish speech; it may be a want less felt by those who understand through natural instinct that the same rule is kept in the two lines

No consiste en otra cosa
Que haber ó no haber dinero.

But no harm would be done by explaining that both lines are trochaic dimeter: and irregular Spanish verse might be more clearly defined if the enquirer started with the fact that

Si oir lo que quieres no quiero

is regular, octosyllabic, trochaic, equal to 'Rio verde, rio verde' or 'Que tu pundonor padece.'

Sr Henríquez Ureña does not deal closely with the problem of early epic verse in Castilian: that is a question by itself, and it may be passed over without prejudice to the history of lyrical rhythms from the thirteenth century onward. Or perhaps it would be better to say that a full, lively discriminating essay like the present may be used with the greatest advantage in the study of the earlier verse, particularly of the Cid: the earlier verse can wait, shall we say? till the later has been comprehended.

Between regular verse, of equal number of syllables, and irregular, following the rhythm of a dance, freely, there comes the verse of *arte mayor*: 'to the Greeks foolishness,' or, rather, to the patrons of exact syllables a monstrous barbarous device. It is very like English verse, as I showed in a paper for the Philological Society in 1898 (*Analogies of English and Spanish verse: arte mayor*) which appears to have escaped the attention of Spanish scholars. 'Isosyllabism' is what the *arte mayor* refuses absolutely. What is remarkable in this affair is that the old Spanish prosodists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from Juan del Encina (1496) to Salinas (1577) and Rengifo, recognize, understand and explain the freedom: which to English readers is easy enough; dropping a syllable without any risk.

Cordova madre tu hijo perdona

is not worse measure than

Tus casos fallaces Fortuna cantamos.

Equal also are the lines:

Pregunto qué fué d'aquellos que fueron
Sojudgadores del siglo mundano.

Verse of *arte mayor* is familiar in English: it is our old triple cadence, to the tune of *Packington's Pound*. It was never heroic in English as it was in Spain (Lopez Pinciano, witness); as it now after long disqualification is again regarded by some of the best wits of that country. But the English measure, though hardly treated by the Elizabethans, never died out, and many a song, as well as *Lochiel's Warning* and *The Destruction of Sennacherib*, makes it easier for English than for French ears (though they too have the same sort of musical tunes) to understand the Spanish *arte mayor* and its varieties: 'twelve syllables, or their equivalence,' as Juan del Encina puts it. He uses the same formula for *arte real*, 'eight syllables, or their equivalence': and an examination of what is meant by 'equivalencia' in the two cases would be a good introduction to the study of irregular verse. 'Equivalence' in the Spanish octosyllable, as in Italian verse generally, produces the exact number by process of conventional elision. Equivalence in the *arte mayor* allows a blank space to count for a syllable: thus

Cordova madre tu hijo perdona

wants a syllable at the beginning, but the rule makes its eleven equal to twelve syllables. Or to put it otherwise, in the octosyllable there are

often (almost always) more syllables apparently than eight; in the *arte mayor* there are often fewer than twelve. The octosyllable is regular according to Italian and French theories; the *arte mayor* irregular. English theory, like Spanish, ought to be able to endure both, and English metricians will find themselves, not indeed comfortably at home, but not unhappily adventurous, in following the present story of irregular Spanish verse.

Galician, Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan poets from the earliest times have been in favour of popular verse. Kings have been nursing fathers of ballad poetry. What is more curious is that the Spanish writers on prosody, in spite of all temptations to look down on their fellow creatures, show the greatest liking for popular songs and the most extensive knowledge of the same: *Cantilenae vulgares* are repeatedly quoted by Salinas in his great work *De Musicâ*.

Tu la tienes Pedro: Juro a tal no tengo.
Mal aya quien a vos caso La de Pedro borreguero.
Ante me beseys que me destoqueys,
Que me toco mi tia.
Ay amor como soys puntoso (la darga dandeta).

There appears to be room for further study of the tunes given by Salinas; and also of the tunes published in Asenjo Barbieri's often quoted *Cancionero musical*. One general proposition is suggested, though not explicitly stated by our author (pp. 134 ff.), viz. that sometimes the musical tune is followed simply with no straining of stress, 'tampatantam, que las figas son verdas' (Milá y Fontanals, *Romancerillo Catalan*, No. 45): sometimes, on the other hand, the tune warps the natural accent:

El naipe y el dado Es mi galerá.

Whereby it comes about that sometimes the exact rhythm and metre of songs may be misjudged, if the music happen not to be given along with the words. Obviously the line just quoted will not be rightly scanned if 'galera' be taken with its natural paroxytone, and (we may say, in spite of some Spanish philologists) its natural quantity, *galēra*. It is not always easy to distinguish the effect of the tune. The 'triple cadence' in English, Spanish, German, Italian verse is derived, we may venture to say, from dance measures in triple time, originally. The common type of tune, which is international, without words, makes a common type of verse in languages that are little related. No Spanish ancestry is required for Dr Watts: 'But Thomas, and William, and such pretty names': he writes *versos de arte mayor*, in virtue of a wordless ancestor, a dance. But when verse of this sort is established it may be turned to different tunes. E.g. *Cancionero musical*, No. 402, *So ell encina*:

Yo me iba, mi madre,
A la romeria
Por ir mas devota
Fui sin compañia
So ell encina.

The rhythm seems obvious: but the tune makes it otherwise: rōmĕrĭā, māsˇ dĕvŏtā. What is a poor prosodist to do?

Great part of the good cheer in this treatise comes to English readers from the echoes of familiar verse. May we scan 'I enter thy garden of roses' as 'anfibráquico, tres cláusulas trisilábicas con acento en la segunda sílaba'?

Al alba venid, buen amigo...
Est' es el camino del cielo...
Aquella morica garrida....

Autre guitare:

Cuando taño y repico al alba
no repico ni taño al albor
sino taño y repico
a que salga mi lindo amor.

The old Spanish grammarians and the new have no scruples about using the terms dactyl and anapaest. Here are dance tunes:

Valdivielso introduce el curioso metro del *baile de Tárraga* que pertenece a la misma familia, en el auto *El peregrino:*

¡ Tárraga, por aquí van a Málaga !
¡ Tárraga, por aquí van allá !

This might be sung to an Irish melody. The family, *la misma familia*, in the quotation above is the family of the pipes of Galicia, *la gaita gallega*, which is hard to distinguish, in verse, from

Pibroch of Donuil Dhu, pibroch of Donuil,

or

Down by the Tummel and banks of the Garry.

Muinheira is another name for it: the measure is indistinguishable, in print, from that variety of *arte mayor* which drops the first syllable and runs dactylic; thus (p. 50)

Tanto bailéi que me namoricara.

If this Galician pipe tune pleases through its claiming kindred with songs of the North, on the other hand the *seguidilla*, the short lyric of (normally) 7's and 5's, has its own fascination, recalling only in a vague way the tunes of English poetry. It is traced here in the works of famous poets, Lope and Calderón and others, and this is again something gained for the art of poetry. The references here will not be too soon exhausted and done with. The book may be read over and over again: it will be kept at hand by every lover of Spanish verse.

Like so much of Spanish prosody, it comes from America; following Bello and Hanssen the author, a native, as he tells us, of Santo Domingo, and at present, as we learn from other evidence, Professor in Mexico, has shown how much may be gained for the enjoyment of poetry from strict and technical study of syllables.

W. P. Ker.

London.

Antologia Castellana. Bloemlezing, met aanteekeningen, uit hedendaagsche prozaïsten van Spanje en Spaansch-Amerika. Door G. J. Geers. Deel I. Wassenaar: G. Delwel. 1921. 8vo. 255 pp. 4 fl.

Dr Geers' contributions to Hispanic studies in *Neophilologus* have already introduced him to Hispanic scholars; in the present Anthology

he addresses practical teachers. The selections are from living Spanish and Spanish-American prose-writers, together with a few extracts of a general or commercial nature from contemporary journalism, and are intended to illustrate as precisely as possible reputable spoken Spanish; they are of sufficient length to justify the formation of tentative judgments; and the full bibliography attached to the name of each author enables the reader to convert, if he will, his tentative opinions into permanent criticism. A few of the more difficult expressions are translated at the foot of each page into Dutch. The author is to be congratulated on the scrupulous fairness of his collection: which he has achieved, on the one hand, by the objective criterion of including only such authors as are still alive, and on the other, by showing all possible deference to native opinion. Unfortunately, death deprived the anthologist, during the compilation of this volume, of two such eminently 'living' stylists as Galdós and Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán. Included in this selection are 'Azorín,' Baroja, Ibáñez, Camba, José Francés, Ghiraldo, Jiménez, Miró, Ortega Gasset, Palacio Valdés, Pérez de Ayala, Pedro de Répide, Unamuno, Valle Inclán, Vargas Vila. One may express the hope that Dr Geers will be able to include in a Second Part specimens of types of prose omitted here: prose of the Theatre (Benavente, Quinteros, Linares Rivas), of Politics (D. Antonio Maura, Romanones), of Science (Ramón y Cajal), and of Criticism (Menéndez Pidal, Bonilla, Diez Canedo, and others). Of the first name in the last group perhaps a foreigner may be permitted to hazard the opinion that Sr Menéndez Pidal seems to be moulding the Castilian tongue to a precision and subtlety of argument and exposition that are hardly of its tradition hitherto.

Amid the scarcity of reliable textbooks and the difficulty of self-information as to literary tendencies of present-day Spain, the Anthology of Dr Geers is a boon not only to his compatriots, but to teachers of Spanish anywhere. Let us hope that he may achieve and pass his immediate objective, 'dat er meer en beter Spaansch hier te lande gelezen worde, dan dat van den eeuwigen Blasco Ibáñez.'

MANCHESTER. W. J. ENTWISTLE.

Altsächsisches Elementarbuch. Von F. HOLTHAUSEN. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, I, v.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1921. 8vo. 260 pp.

Mittelniederdeutsches Lesebuch. Von WOLFGANG STAMMLER. Hamburg: F. Hartung. 1921. 8vo. 148 pp.

Das Gothaer mittelniederdeutsche Arzneibuch und seine Sippe. Herausgegeben von SVEN NORRBOM. (*Mittelniederdeutsche Arzneibücher*, I.) Hamburg: F. Hartung. 1921. 8vo. 240 pp.

The fact that these three publications have all appeared within the same year may be regarded as proof of intensive and methodical research in the relatively neglected field of Low German language and literature.

It is right and proper that the German Seminar of the young university of Hamburg, under the energetic leadership of Professor C. Borchling, should take a goodly share in this activity.

In Holthausen's *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* we meet with an old friend whose good counsel and help many a student of the *Heliand* has sought since 1899, when the first edition appeared. Externally the new edition bears the imprint of the present hard times; the paper is inferior, the type smaller throughout, so that the former distinction between the paragraphs and the notes has disappeared and the number of pages has fallen from 283 to 260. But the old arrangement has remained, viz. Introduction (Literaturangaben, Stellung und Einteilung des Altsächsischen, Quellen der altsächsischen Schrift), Lautlehre (where the altered notation $\bar{e} < $ P.G. $\hat{e}^2$; $\hat{e} <$ ai; $\bar{o} < \hat{o}$; $\hat{o} <$ au, and $\hat{a} =$ O. Fris. $\bar{a} <$ P.G. au for $\dot{e}$, $\bar{e}$; $\dot{o}$, $\bar{o}$; $\bar{a}$ of the first edition is to be noted), Formenlehre, Syntaktisches, Lesestücke (increased by the *Trierer Segensprüche*, 2, A and B, and the *Bruchstücke eines Glaubensbekenntnisses*, 6). The Old Saxon glossary at the end (pp. 225–60) has been enlarged and, in some respects, rearranged, while the Fremdsprachliche Index has been cut out, presumably to save space. The numerous monographs and articles on Old Saxon since the appearance of the first edition have swelled the Literaturangaben to more than double the original size; their results, criticisms of the first edition (especially that by M. Jellinek in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xxxii, pp. 520 ff.) and Holthausen's own untiring research have occasioned a number of changes, particularly in the chapters on Laut- and Formenlehre. These are fewer in the chapter on Syntax (§§ 480–560), which is based, for the most part, on O. Behaghel's *Die Syntax des Heliand*, Vienna, 1897. This work is by a slip omitted in the Literaturangaben under Syntax.

I append the following remarks. In §§ 8, 10, 28, 29 Holthausen has substituted 'friesische Stämme' for 'ingwäonische Stämme.' Why? § 86, 2: reference might have been made to *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, xv, pp. 304 f. § 106: in the Berichtigungen, p. xiv, the form *sînu* ecce is added to the examples given in this paragraph of the lengthening of short vowels after the disappearance of h; but cp. Gothic *sai* and the note to § 97. The note to § 197 lacks scientific precision; reference should also have been made to § 257, note 2, *Zeit. f. deut. Alt.*, 47, p. 42 and *Paul und Braunes Beitr.*, xxxii, pp. 544 ff. § 291: the form *gibodscip*, acc. (C, l. 8) should be added. § 325, note 5: *middilgardun* I take to be a weak dat. sing. fem. § 364, 2: the forms *mikilo* (M 4354) and *berahto* (*Gen.* 20) should be noted. § 373: V shows once the ending u (1317). § 381, note: add *sehsi* (*Hel.* 2037) before *sesse*. § 438, note: the form *gisprekan* (C 5568) should be added, and to § 450, note, perhaps *biknēgan* (MC 1310): cp. Schlüter in F. Dieter, *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgerm. Dialekte*, ii, § 275, note 1. § 488, note 1: for *widarstandan*, c. acc. there is hardly sufficient evidence; on C 28 cp. the emendation in Piper's edition. § 512: to *undar* 2 (p. 188, l. 4) add: *thesun folcu* (V 1317). § 516, last sentence: this example, where M as well as C shows the verb in the plural, should not have been added, for it is not to

the same point as the others. § 524: it should have been made clear that *that* can also be used with reference to a masc. noun. Cp. *Hel.*, 5685, 5008 and perhaps 26. Some misprints have remained uncorrected. § 14, 4: read *AfdA* for *ZfdA*. § 75a, 3 (first words of p. 30): *als ō*. § 162a, 4 and 5: χ for *x*. § 323, l. 2: D for P. § 355, p. 127, l. 4: *oder*. § 461, note, p. 163, l. 5: *gebildet*.

The Middle Low German period is much richer in literary remains than the Old Saxon, although there is nothing to rival the *Heliand* in beauty. There has been hitherto no Reader to provide students with an easy introduction to Middle Low German literature; thus W. Stammler's book, which fills up the gap, is to be welcomed. Stammler is also the author of a brief but sound history of Low German Literature (*Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, No. 815, Leipzig, 1920), which his Reader now supplements with well-selected specimens down to the seventeenth century. The book, however, is mainly intended for the use of university teachers in their Seminar courses. The texts consequently follow the MSS. closely, only scribal errors being corrected, in which cases the MS. reading is given at the foot of the page; for the same reason explanations of words and *realien* in the notes are sparing (pp. 132–147). While agreeing with this principle, we cannot help thinking that an ample Glossary should have been provided to assist students in their preparation. They can hardly be expected to possess a Middle Low German dictionary, and without such, many of the texts will remain more or less unintelligible to them. The *Lesebuch* comprises 75 pieces of which Nos. 1–44 are in prose. These may be subdivided as follows: Nos. 1–10, law; 11–20, chronicles, travels and memoirs; 21–39, religious prose; 40–41 didactic and commercial writings; 42–43, private letters; 44, medical prescriptions from about 1500. Under the last heading an extract might have been given from one of the large medical treatises; also a few charms in prose and verse, for the folklore element does not seem to be represented at all. Nos. 45–75 are poetry, 45, 46 being historical, 47–51 religious, 52, 53 romantic epic poetry, 54–57 satire, 58–71 religious and secular lyrics and didactic verse. Along with Simon Dach's repeatedly reprinted *Anke von Tharaw*, his dialect *cantilena rustica*, the *Grethken Lied*, might have been given, or perhaps in place of it. The book closes with four specimens of dramatic poetry (72–75).

Sven Norrbom's book is an important contribution to the rich mediaeval medical literature of Low Germany, which, with the exception of the *Utrechter Arzneibuch*, published by J. H. Gallée in 1889, and some occasional extracts, still lies buried in numerous and often rather extensive manuscripts. These treatises are of considerable interest, not only to the student of the history of medicine, but also of language; for he will find here many words and phrases which naturally do not occur in purely literary productions. Norrbom gives us a complete and critical text of two works contained in the so-called *Gothaer Arzneibuch* (Codex Chart. Goth. 980), namely the *Düdesche Arstedie* (DA) and the *Practica Bartholomaei* (B), which latter F. von Oefele had already (1894) reprinted from the same MS., but without using any other; of the

Düdesche Arstedie only some extracts have hitherto been printed. These works are representative of two different kinds of medical treatises, the first popular, that is to say, containing remedies, but few descriptions of the diseases; the other learned, including such descriptions, often introduced by the Latin names of the diseases, as well as remedies. The Low German *Bartholomaeus* is, however, only a free and enlarged adaptation of a widespread Middle German version[1], the exact Latin source of which is still unknown. The *Düdesche Arstedie*, on the other hand, Norrbom characterises as a composite work, a compilation from at least two sources. Chapters 1–181 are a collection of medical prescriptions arranged according to the parts of the body; while chapters 186–198 are principally astrological, dealing with the letter of the pseudo-Aristotle, the seasons, months, days of the month, the signs of the zodiac and their influence on men's characters, blood-letting. Besides the Gotha MS. (G), Norrbom knows three others, two at Copenhagen (Ka, Kt), and one at Rostock (R), and all, except the last, include the *Bartholomaeus* as well. A detailed description of these MSS. is given in chapter I (pp. 3–12) of the Introduction, while chapter II (pp. 12–44) is devoted to an examination of their relations, the original form and scope of the *Arstedie*, and its sources. In chapter III (pp. 44–46) the *Bartholomaeus* is discussed, and in an appendix (pp. 47–57) smaller medical treatises contained in G and Ka. Then follows the text of the two works, rightly based on G (cp. p. 32), though the readings of Ka and R have often to be substituted, where either the 'Vorlage' of G or its scribe is at fault. Finally the editor provides a most serviceable glossary with careful explanations of rare pharmaceutical terms.

To return for a moment to the question of the sources of the *Arstedie* (chapter II, pp. 34–44): after referring to the difficulty of discovering the sources of such medical books, Norrbom points out some correspondences in the purely medical part of the *Arstedie* with the High German *Bartholomaeus* and some more important, although indirect relations to the *Utrechter Arzneibuch*, and to the so-called *Wolfenbüttler Arzneibuch* (cp. K. Regel, *Niederd. Jahrbuch*, v, 1878, pp. 5–26). For the astrological part he draws attention to similar High German treatises, but whether the author of the *Arstedie* used them directly or in a Low German version, remains uncertain. The question of the source of the *Arstedie* may, however, be brought to a more conclusive stage. In chapter 190 (p. 169, l. 18) the compiler introduces a 'mester Albracht' (G; the other MSS. have 'Albrecht') who relates that he himself saw a man die suddenly, without any apparent disease, on the seventh day after having his arm cupped when the moon stood in the sign of the twins. Now MS. Sloane 3002 of the British Museum[2] is a medical-astrological treatise attributed to Meester Albrecht van Bergumen in Flanders and written by a Low German scribe of the fifteenth century. Here we find on fol. 114^{v}–115^{r} in the article *de XII tekene VII ere*

[1] For the oldest fragments of the High German translation, now in the Bodleian, see *Modern Language Review*, XI, pp. 321 ff.

[2] Cp. R. Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, II, Erlangen, 1901, p. 31.

crafften, the very statement referred to above. What is still more interesting is that Albrecht's treatise shows the same arrangement throughout as the *Düdesche Arstedie*—an arrangement regarded by Norrbom (p. 44) as a particular merit of the compiler. I add one or two examples, taken at random, which show the critical importance of Albrecht's work for the text of the *Arstedie*. Chapter 140 (p. 133, l. 16) G reads: 'Wedder de worme nym wintworpe'; but Kt has 'varne' for 'worme,' and Albrecht, fol. 69^{r}: 'wedder den varnen,' which proves the reading of G to be wrong. Norrbom is reasonably astonished (p. 19) that among the prescriptions for the eye there is one which refers to a mole on the eye of an animal (chapter 10, p. 79, l. 32: 'Heft eyn grot deer eyn mael vp den ogen,' etc.); but a glance into Albrecht's treatise puts this right, fol. 34^{v}: 'De en groff mall heft vppe de oghen,' etc. But this is not the place to enter into a detailed examination of the relations between Albrecht's work and the *Düdesche Arstedie*. Suffice it to say that we regard the former as the chief source for the construction of the Low German treatise, although there is rarely verbal agreement, and the *Arstedie* has a number of additions, e.g. chapters 1, 7 (the Latin charm, p. 76, ll. 20 ff.), 8 (again a Latin charm[1]), 9, 36 (letter of the pseudo-Aristotle). These come, no doubt, from secondary sources, probably those adduced by Norrbom), or from the particular copy of Albrecht used by the compiler. Whether he is known to the history of medicine I cannot say; he is not mentioned in A. Hirsch, *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker*, 1884–88. In any case, his work and his influence would provide scope for an interesting study.

In taking leave of these three publications, we would express the hope that more encouragement will be given to the study of Old Saxon and Middle Low German at British universities. The *Heliand* and *Genesis* fragments must impress every serious student with their beauty and their echoes of the old heroic poetry (cp. the fine appreciation in W. P. Ker's *The Dark Ages*, pp. 246 ff., 256 ff.). Without the Anglo-Saxon religious epics and missionary activity these poems might never have come into existence, and when we turn to the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis* B and *Heliand* C (Cotton Caligula A VII of the British Museum), which was certainly written by an Anglo-Saxon scribe, we see how the debt was partly repaid. Considerable interest for Old Saxon poetry must have existed in the south of England (Winchester, Canterbury?); and in Middle Low German poetry, again, one often discerns a note akin to that of Middle English poetry.

R. Priebsch.

London.

Ludwig Tieck und das alte englische Theater. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Romantik. Von H. Lüdeke. (*Deutsche Forschungen*, vi.) Frankfort on Main: M. Diesterweg. 1922. 8vo. viii + 373 pp. 420 M.

It has been difficult to keep pace with the 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Romantik' which have been appearing in Germany in recent years.

[1] On the other hand, there are two charms in Low German verse elsewhere in Albrecht's work, which do not appear in the *Arstedie*.

They fall, generally speaking, into two groups, speculative interpretations of the romantic doctrine, and investigations into the facts of literary history. Amongst the latter Dr Lüdeke's volume takes an important place; he has chosen a field which has hitherto received inadequate treatment, and he comes to his task with a remarkably thorough knowledge of the English drama.

After two introductory chapters on 'Tiecks Vorläufer in Deutschland' —which seems to me to err occasionally in exaggerating the first-hand knowledge of the English drama in German eighteenth-century writers— and on 'Tiecks Studien im Rahmen seines Lebens,' Dr Lüdeke divides Tieck's Shakespeare studies into three periods, 'Die Jugendkritik (1789–95),' 'Die romantische Kritik (1795–1820)' and 'Die spätere Kritik (1820–40).' Further chapters deal with 'Shakespeares Zeitgenossen,' Tieck's translations, and his Shakespeare novel, *Dichterleben*. The general impression which Tieck's studies in the English drama leave upon us is their surprising extent and thoroughness and—their futility. Tieck's *Buch über Shakespeare*, which Dr Lüdeke recently rescued from the oblivion of a manuscript existence (reviewed in these pages, Vol. XVII, p. 103), has not dispelled this impression. That book was, as Dr Lüdeke says, 'der grösste Entwurf, aber auch die kläglichste Enttäuschung seiner schriftstellerischen Laufbahn.' It would be difficult, indeed— even making all allowance for the state of Shakespeare exegesis at the beginning of the nineteenth century—to claim importance for Tieck's intuitive insight or critical acumen. The fascination which Shakespeare's 'doubtful plays' had for his mind is characteristic of his whole attitude to our English poet; his contribution to the understanding in Germany of the Elizabethan drama outside of Shakespeare was his greater merit.

Particularly suggestive are the two chapters in which Dr Lüdeke traces the influence of the English drama on Tieck's own work. This is a very real 'Beitrag zur Geschichte der Romantik.' Occasionally he seems to me to seek suggestions from English plays unnecessarily; but he has shown convincingly how permeated Tieck's imagination was by the older English drama. He reserves his chief consideration for *Dichterleben*, and gives a much more helpful and critical estimate of this novel in its relation to Tieck's English studies than the study by A. Eichler which appeared a few months ago in *Englische Studien* (LVI, pp. 254 ff.). 'Das Dichterleben,' Dr Lüdeke says, 'ist der Grabstein des Shakespeare-Buches'; in a sense we might say it was the Shakespeare-Buch, in so far as it offered Tieck a better opportunity for his romantic interpretation of Shakespeare than the prosaic business of literary criticism. But this is far from saying that *Dichterleben* is a good novel. After reading Dr Lüdeke's careful analysis, I felt that I had possibly underestimated the book. I have re-read it, but still think that there is no more lifeless novel of the German Romantic movement than this. Its fundamental defect is the lack of—or rather its entirely false —atmosphere; Shakespeare lives and moves here in a purely German-conceived milieu, when it is not merely the pasteboard of the Romantic

theatre. All the antiquarian lore in the world cannot efface this flaw. Tieck's only visit to England was one of some four weeks, most of which was passed in the British Museum. Consequently he knew little about England or the English temperament except what he distilled from books; and the atmosphere of *Dichterleben*, written in the twenties, is as impossible as that of *William Lovell*, written more than thirty years earlier.

Of the early German romanticists, Tieck is in these days in the worst case. We have realized that Novalis is a great poet who still can appeal to the twentieth-century mind; we have, in the course of the last twenty years, learned to see in Friedrich Schlegel a master of dialectic and a spiritual pioneer; and I believe the day will come when his brother August Wilhelm will undergo a much needed rehabilitation. But it is difficult to see that Tieck can ever again be accepted other than as a writer and critic of a very secondary order. His real significance for Romanticism lay in the sympathetic friendship and encouragement he extended to the real men of genius of the movement, Wackenroder and Novalis.

LONDON. J. G. ROBERTSON.

MINOR NOTICES.

In a very full and sympathetic review of Professor L. L. Schücking's *Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare* (*Modern Language Review*, Vol. XVI, p. 78), Mr H. V. Routh declared that the work was the first manifesto of a new movement in Shakespearean criticism and was indispensable to any scholar. The book has now appeared in English dress as *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays. A Guide to the better Understanding of the Dramatist* (London: G. G. Harrap, 10*s.* 6*d.*), and Mr Routh's words still hold good. Professor Schücking, like Professor E. E. Stoll, who has done much work on the same lines, which perhaps is here hardly sufficiently acknowledged[1], puts the reader of Shakespeare at a new point of view, sweeps away many cobweb theories of former critics, and, whether or not we entirely accept his own conclusions, at least stimulates discussion and further inquiry. We may ask when the author dismisses the theory of Ophelia's suicide (p. 86), what he makes of the 'marred rites,' and again, in reply to his argument that Shakespeare need not have known Jews in order to draw Shylock, because he had Marlowe's Barabas before him (p. 92), we may ask did Marlowe come across Jews? And if he did, why may not Shakespeare have done the same? We may disagree with the characterization of Mercutio as a 'bully' (p. 99), and the favourable view taken of Laertes, and we may ask Professor Schücking if, when the Queen says that Hamlet 'weeps for what is done,' she is not obeying Hamlet's direction not to let the king know that he is not essentially mad? But the importance of the work is not lessened by such queries. The translation is made with

[1] Mr W. H. Hudson's Introduction to *The Merchant of Venice* (*Elizabethan Shakespeare*) also represents the same attitude.

freedom and vigour and reads as good English. Occasionally the matter of the original is abbreviated; but for this, though we are not informed of it, the translator probably had the author's approval. On p. 159 'with veiled lids' should surely be 'with vailed lids,' and on p 239 'the fabulous happenings' (in the *Sea Venture*) implies rather more than 'die fabelhaften Erlebnisse.' At this point Professor Schücking's presentation has been largely recast.

G. C. M. S.

Dr Walther Fischer's monograph, *Die Briefe Richard Monckton Milnes' an Varnhagen von Ense* (1844–54) (*Anglistische Forschungen*, lvii. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1922) is a valuable contribution to our knowledge both of Lord Houghton and of the relations of England and Prussia in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first part consists of a dissertation on Milnes' life, especially in connexion with his interest in Germans and Germany; in the second the author publishes for the first time twenty-three letters addressed by him to Varnhagen, and appends very illuminating notes on the allusions contained in them. The work is so thorough and so scholarly and so objective that it might be considered an almost perfect piece of editing, were it not for a certain number of little slips natural enough in even a learned foreigner. The name Pontefract appears invariably as 'Pontrefact' (pp. 1, 3, 136, 153), the famous Lord John is often 'Russell,' but perhaps oftener 'Russel.' He appears once prematurely as 'Lord Russell' and his rival as 'Viscount of Palmerston.' The author thinks himself free to insert a Christian name before a title, and gives us 'Lady Sidney Morgan,' 'Lady Harriet Galway,' 'Lord Bulwer-Lytton,' 'Lord Henry Grey.' He speaks of Chief Justice Lord Denman in 1845 as 'Sir Thomas Denman,' but as being at the same time a peer (p. 137). The use of 'M.' for 'Mr' seems to be a peculiarity of Milnes himself. Here and there one has doubts if the sense of the letters has not suffered from misreading. Thus, p. 115: 'Miss Wynn is at Bath, the most desolate of Spas—she has however her mind [? maid] to keep company with'; p. 122: 'I suppose that the Prince of Leiningen, like the monkey who lost his tart [? tail], is anxious that other Princes should be mediatised like himself'; p. 126: 'the governments have taken the heart of [? out of] the German movement.' Occasionally the sense is misunderstood. When Milnes writes (p. 108) that Carlyle's *Cromwell* 'from the excessive severity of its democracy' is 'almost worthy of "the great Incorruptible,"' he clearly means 'of Robespierre,' and he has Carlyle's *French Revolution* in mind. The editor refers one to Tacitus. In a note (p. 171) the editor remarks: 'Bei Emerson, English Traits, Kap. 3, erscheint "shopkeeping nation" bereits als "shop-word."' Emerson's words (on the fortunate geographical situation of London) are: 'The shopkeeping nation, to use a shop word, has a *good stand*.' It is the italicised phrase 'good stand' which is the 'shop word.' Pius IX did not make Cardinal Wiseman Archbishop of Canterbury (p. 167), but Archbishop of Westminster.

G. C. M. S.

Without doubt, *A Dictionary of English Phrases* by A. M. Hyamson (London: G. Routledge, 1922, 12*s.* 6*d.*) will be a useful book of reference. It is easy, of course, to mention phrases which one misses here, e.g., 'conscientious objector'; on the other hand, one finds hundreds that one never heard of, American usage being represented as well as English. An interesting feature of the book is the frequent addition of the date of an early use of the phrase. The explanations leave little to desire. Under 'Pam.' Lord Palmerston's name is misspelt; it is odd to hear that Anacreon wrote in the style of Tom Moore; the date of the vogue of the 'Grecian Bend' should perhaps be put rather 'c. 1869' than 'c. 1875.' But these are trifling flaws in a book of 14,000 entries.

G. C. M. S.

In his little book, *Pickpocket, Turnkey, Wrap-rascal, and similar Formations in English* (Stockholm: M. Bergvall, n.d.), Dr W. Uhrström has grouped these formations under their application to persons, animals, plants, etc. The material has been taken chiefly from the *N.E.D.*, and one wonders if the work was worth the trouble. On p. 19 the name of the mass-priest was presumably not 'John O. Glosseter,' but 'John o'Glosseter.'

G. C. M. S.

We have received from the Clarendon Press two additions to the Oxford series of Italian texts: Renato Serra, *Esame di coscienza di un letterato*, edited by Piero Rébora (2*s.* 6*d.*), and Ardengo Soffici, *Sei saggi di critica d'arte*, edited by E. R. Vincent (3*s.*). Serra ranks in some respects as the Rupert Brooke of Italy, and his brilliant piece of psychological analysis, written in March 1915, is one of the most significant Italian literary products of the war. Soffici, as his editor suggests, invites comparison with Bernard Shaw. His somewhat revolutionary essays in art-criticism belong to that contemporary literary movement among Italians of which Papini is the representative best known to English readers. These two little volumes are very welcome. From the same publishers come two Annual Italian Lectures of the British Academy: *Dante, the Poet*, by Cesare Foligno, and *Some Aspects of the Genius of Giovanni Boccaccio*, by Edward Hutton (1*s.* 6*d.* each). Professor Foligno considers Dante's own attitude towards the art of poetry, elucidating the function assigned by him to poets and poetry in theory and in practice, tracing the development of his artistic creed, showing how far the writer of the *Divina Commedia* transcended both the doctrines of his times and the limits of his own aesthetic theories. He acutely remarks: 'The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* itself is an attempt to bring the classical spirit to bear upon the formalist teaching of the Middle Ages.' The somewhat stiff mediævalism of Canto IV of the *Inferno* is shown to be humanised and completed by the scenes between Virgil and Statius in the *Purgatorio*. The whole discourse is fresh and stimulating. Mr Hutton writes with his wonted enthusiasm upon a theme that he has made his own, skilfully indicating the essential elements in the personality as well as in the work of his hero. Particularly charming are the pages devoted to the latter years of Boccaccio's

life, when, if the creative artist seems to have finished his task, the man himself makes so irresistible and pathetic an appeal to our sympathies. There are points here and there on which we do not agree with Mr Hutton, but the lecture as a whole is an ideal one of its kind.

E. G. G.

Dr Foster Watson has added to his many works on education a monograph in the series of the Hispanic Society of America, on *Luis Vives* (London: H. Milford, 1922, 7*s.* 6*d.*). The plan of the series is by now familiar, in spite of the short time that has elapsed since its inception, and it is needless to say that the biography is a sound and conscientious piece of work, and at the same time an eminently readable one. To the elegant format of the *Notes and Monographs* this volume adds the further attraction of several excellent illustrations. A particularly good one is that of the seats of the Tribunal de Aguas in Valencia, and the suggestive connexion of the tribunal with Vives' ideas is a striking commentary on the usefulness of photographs in such a book. E. A. P.

Professor Albert Köster sets out in *Die Meistersingerbühne des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1921) to prove the instability of Hermann's reconstruction of the Hans Sachs stage: by sifting the available evidence, mainly stage-directions, he succeeds in giving us a most acute, critical analysis which no student of sixteenth-century drama can neglect. He works out the dimensions of the stage, the position of the three doors, the two flights of steps, the curtains and trap-door—there was no gallery or tower—which were necessitated by the longer plays of the Meistersinger in Nuremberg, and which point, on the whole, to a more advanced dramatic technique than is generally recognized. What the guilds lacked, when the city fathers relaxed their antagonism, was dramatic poetry. L. A. T.

The title of Dr J. A. Kelly's book, *England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921, 1 dol. 25), is somewhat misleading. What the author actually offers is a series of excerpts, nearly all taken from German travellers' descriptions of England and from descriptive articles in German periodicals. These are loosely connected by passing comments and grouped in chapters under the headings: Physical Characteristics of England, Politics and Religion, Economic Conditions, English Culture, Customs and Manners, the British Character, Individual British Types. Imaginative literature is represented only by a summary of the influence of English writers on German letters (pp. 39–47), and about a score of quotations illustrating the appearance in imaginative literature of some of the current conceptions noticed. A short Introduction and Conclusion round off the whole, to which is appended a bibliography of fifty of the sources most frequently drawn upon. The material collected is not without general interest and might be of value to the social historian. For the student of German literature its usefulness is limited

to facilitating any investigation into the reasons for the colours in which British life and characters are depicted in German poetry, fiction and drama. F. E. S.

Mr Basil Willey's *Tendencies in Renaissance Literary Theory* (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 2*s.* 6*d.*) is more substantial, if less well written, than the examiners for the Le Bas Prize could have expected. With engaging modesty, Mr Willey realizes how much he is hampered by ignorance of Italian and by dealing largely with secondary sources. He nevertheless shows a sense of the proportion of the various problems involved, which promises well for any deeper study of the subject he may embark on. H. B. C.

The pleasant custom of offering a distinguished scholar a 'Festschrift' consisting of contributions to learning by his disciples and friends, has spread from Germany to France, Italy and America, and is not unknown among ourselves. But it results in the production of volumes which are the despair of bibliographers as well as of reviewers. In the course of the past year we have received several such publications. The University of California Press has issued *The Charles Mills Gayley Anniversary Papers* (*University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, Vol. XI, Berkeley, Cal. 292 pp. $3.00). The eightieth birthday of Hugo Schuchardt has been celebrated by a *Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier: Ein Vademekum der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, edited by Leo Spitzer (Halle: M. Niemeyer. 375 pp.). This volume, which has been published with the help of a number of Swiss philologists, takes the form not of contributions by friends, but of an anthology of Schuchardt's own work in linguistic science. Two 'Festschriften,' one dedicated to Philipp August Becker (*Hauptfragen der Romanistik*, 322 pp., Grundpreis, 11 M.), the other to Karl Vossler (*Idealistische Neuphilologie.* Edited by V. Klemperer and E. Lerch. 288 pp. 10 M.), are published by Carl Winter in Heidelberg in the series *Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher* (V, 4 and 5). Each of the four volumes gives a list of the publications of the scholar to whom it is dedicated.

J. G. R.

Mr Foster E. Guyer writes to us from Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.:

Professor Orr, in reviewing my study, *The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes*, in *Modern Language Review* for October, 1922, states that some of the verbal comparisons are strained or incorrect.

In support of his claim Professor Orr makes three incomplete citations from my work. All three of these citations are unintelligible, as Professor Orr uses them, because they fail to give an accurate impression of the way in which they are used in my study. I shall take up these citations in order. (1) Professor Orr cites Ovid:

> Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos juvat usus aratri,
> Detractant pressi dum juga prima boves;

and *Cligés*, 1032: 'Or an sai plus que bues d'arer.' He states that Ovid uses the figure of the ox as 'an argument for not struggling against love' and that Soredamors who is in love uses the figure of an ox 'in speaking of love.' He implies that such a coincidence is of no importance although my study makes it clear that Crestien used the second elegy of Ovid's *Amores* over and over again as a source of inspiration. I state (*Romanic Review*, XII, p. 222) that Crestien is fond of turning his source about and often has his characters act or speak in a manner exactly contrary to that in the source: Soredamors resisting love instead of yielding, as did Ovid in *Amores* I, 2 and thereby incurring the punishment that Ovid escapes. Now if a reader is to judge these passages as verbal parallels, he should have at least all the lines that I cite. It would be better to have the text of *Cligés* and Ovid's text before him; and the critic should read the whole of Soredamors' two monologues (444–529 and 873–1046) and all of Ovid's elegy. He would then see that Ovid furnishes the plot for these two monologues and also that both Ovid and Crestien use the figure of the ox that is taught to plough with the goad; and both connect this figure with a lover who has been taught or might have been taught to yield to love as the ox is painfully taught to obey his master. Ovid implies that a lover who resists would be thus taught and Soredamors gives us to understand that she has been through the painful training. To be sure, the picture of the suffering of the ox before he has learned to plough is not given by Crestien. This fact is of no consequence. The interesting point is that the figure of the ox has been retained (though the expression is different) along with so many other points of similarity.

(2) Professor Orr cites *Cligés* 488–9:

> Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diaut;
> Se je nel voi, riens m'an iert,

and *Met.* III, 430–1:

> Quid videat, nescit; sed quod videt, uritur illo,
> Atque oculos idem, qui decipit, incitat error.

Soredamors says that her pain comes to her through her eyes and that she has only to turn them away to avoid the pain of love. Ovid says the same of Narcissus who is mentioned in *Cligés* (2767 ff.), where the story of his death is summarized (add to Professor Orr's citation line 433: '...Quod amas, avertere, perdes!'). The lines cited by Professor Orr explain the rest of my quotation, which includes *Met.* III, 440 'Perque oculos perit ipse suos,' in which Ovid says that Narcissus' eyes are the cause of his ruin. I also cite lines 474–5 of *Cligés* along with those cited by Professor Orr:

> Ses iauz de traïson ancuse
> Et dit: 'Oel! vos m'avez traïe!'

which state that Soredamors' eyes have betrayed her. Alixandre takes up the line of thought and says of his eyes, 759: '...de moi sont, et si m'ocïent?' (see *Romanic Review*, XII, pp. 222–3).

The two lines which Professor Orr cites from *Cligés* explain the two

essential lines (omitted by Professor Orr) of my citation just as in the case of the mutilated citation from Ovid.

(3) Professor Orr's third and last citation has to do with one of eleven elements taken from monologues in Ovid, *Met.* VII and *Cligés*. Professor Orr cites a portion of the lines included under the element B. I explain B as including the lines that show that Soredamors (or Medea) refuses to be influenced by the beauty of Alixandre (or Jason). The lines in question are *Cligés* 991:

> Et de sa biauté moi que chaut?
> Sa biautez avuec lui s'an aut! etc.

and *Met.* VII, 23:

> Haec quoque terra potest, quod ames, dare, vivat an ille
> Occidat in dis est, etc.

The lines that follow show that Medea is attracted by the beauty of Jason.

I am trying to show that the monologue in *Cligés* was imitated from Medea's monologue and I include the passages in question under the heading 'Passages that show direct borrowing by similarity of ideas and language.' The lines which Professor Orr has cited do not show similarity of language, but of idea. There are some verbal similarities in the two monologues, however, of which the lines cited by Professor Orr form parts.

[My review of Mr Guyer's dissertation stated that he had made Chrétien's familiarity with Ovid abundantly clear, and urged him to continue his researches. This praise was tempered by a little criticism. But Mr Guyer will have nothing but undiluted praise.

(1) Mr Guyer has misquoted me. I did not 'state that Soredamors, who is in love, uses the figure of an ox in speaking of love.' For my whole point is that when Soredamors says: 'I now know more about love than an ox about ploughing,' it is 'strained' and even 'incorrect' to assert, as Mr Guyer does, that Chrétien has 'taken over' Ovid's elaborate figure of the 'ox compared to a lover who has struggled against the yoke of love at first, but later has learnt to like it.' This is what I called, and still call 'weakening an argument intrinsically unassailable.' To represent the facts accurately, Mr Guyer's last sentence should read: 'The interesting point is that the word "ox" has been retained'!

(2) Mr Guyer misquotes Chrétien. Soredamors does not say, with Ovidian subtlety, that 'her pain comes to her through her eyes.' She says in mediaeval language: 'What the eye does not see, the heart does not yearn for.' Literally, the line means, as the variants (*cui, qui* for *que*) show: 'To whom the eye sees not, the heart aches not.' If Mr Guyer does not appreciate the difference between this proverbial expression and the quite irrelevant subtleties of the distich he places parallel to it, there is no insisting further.

(3) I make bold to think that here also I shall not be alone in failing to appreciate the 'similarity of idea.'

J. ORR.]

MANCHESTER.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1922–February, 1923.

GENERAL.

BIRRELL, A., Collected Essays and Addresses. London, Dent. 3 vols. 31*s.* 6*d.*

HAAS, J., Über sprachwissenschaftliche Erklärung. Ein methodischer Beitrag. Halle, M. Niemeyer.

HIRT, E., Das Formgesetz der epischen, dramatischen und lyrischen Dichtung. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 2 M. 70[1].

KER, W. P., L'idée de la Comédie (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 1, Mar.).

KUEHNE, O. R., A Study of the Thais Legend, with special reference to Hrothsvitha's 'Paphnutius.' Thesis. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

LANE, COOPER, Two Views of Education. With other Papers chiefly on the Study of Literature. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

LEHMANN, P., Die Parodie im Mittelalter. Munich, Drei Masken. 6 M.

SHANKS, E., First Essays in Literature. London, Collins. 12*s.* 6*d.*

VEDEL, V., Renæssancens Frembrud. Et Stykke Aandshistorie. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 10 kr. 50.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

BERTONI, G., Programma di filologia romanza come scienza idealistica. Florence, Olschki. L. 25.

LERCH, E., Das Imperfektum als Ausdruck der lebhaften Vorstellung, ii (*Zeitschr. rom. Phil.*, xlii, 4, Dec.).

MIGNON, M., Les affinités intellectuelles de l'Italie et de la France. Paris, Hachette. 12 fr.

Italian.

Antologia della Lirica italiana. A cura di A. Ottolini. Milan, Caddeo. L. 12.

BIANCHI, A. G., G. Pascoli nei ricordi di un amico. Milan, La Modernissima. L. 7.

BIASINI, V., Un carducciano di Romagna: G. R. Signorini. Bologna, Cappelli. L. 7.

BOTTINI, G., Breve prologo e postille alla Divina Commedia. Florence, Perrella.

CASSUTO, U., Dante e Manoello. Florence, Soc. tip. ed Israel. L. 7.

Cesareo, G. A., Il poeta dell' umana tragedia. Scritti inediti su l' opera di. Rac. de G. A. Peritore. Girgenti, L' Ansia. L. 18.

COSTA, A., Il 'soldo' d' un poeta (P. Metastasio). Genoa, G. Derelitti. L. 7.

DANTE ALIGHIERI, The Divine Comedy. Translated by M. B. Anderson. London, G. G. Harrap. 10*s.* 6*d.*

MARINO, G. B., L' Adone. A cura di G. Balsamo Crivelli. Turin, Paravia. L. 24.

PAGE, T. N., Dante and his Influence. London, Chapman and Hall. 7*s.* 6*d.*

PERA, V., L' anima ne la poesia di G. Pascoli. Potenza, R. Marchesiello. L. 5.

[1] The prices of German books are now mostly stated in gold marks.

Santini, E., Firenze e i suoi 'oratori' nel quattrocento. Palermo, Sandron. L. 12.

Vossler, K., Leopardi. Munich, Musarion Verlag. 6 M. 50.

Weczerzik-Planheim, K., Die Scholastik in Dantes Weltsystem. Vienna, Mayer und Co. 3 M. 50.

White, N. I., An Italian 'imitation' of Shelley's 'The Cenci' (G. B. Niccolini) (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

Whiting, M. B., Dante the Man and the Poet. Cambridge, Heffer. 9*s.*

Spanish and Portuguese.

Bell, A. F. G., Benito Arias Montana. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs.) London, H. Milford. 5*s.*

Bell, A. F. G., Portuguese Bibliography. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs.) London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Crawford, J. P. W., Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega. (Publ. of the University of Pennsylvania. Romanic Languages and Literatures, vii.) Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania. 2 dol.

Libro de Apolonio. An Old Spanish Poem. Ed. by C. Carroll Marden. Part II. Grammar, Notes and Vocabulary. (Elliott Monographs, xi, xii.) 2 dol. 25.

Menéndez Pidal, R., Poesía popular y Poesía tradicional en la Literatura española. Conferencia. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s.*

Morel-Fatio, A., Les allemands en Espagne du 15e au 18e siècle (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 3).

Morley, S. G., El romance del 'Palmero' (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 3).

Morley, S. G., Notes on the Bibliography of Lope de Vega's Comedias (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 2, Nov.).

Wagner, M. L., Los elementos español y catalán en los dialectos sardos (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 3).

French.

(*a*) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

Anglade, J., Pour étudier les patois méridionaux. Notice bibliographique. Paris, Boccard.

Clarke, C. C., Concerning French Verse. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 17*s.* 6*d.*

Flers, R. de, La langue française et la guerre. Paris, Perrin. 2 fr.

Gilliéron, J., Les étymologies des étymologistes et celles du peuple. Paris, H. Champion.

Gilliéron, J., Ménagiana du 20e siècle. Paris, H. Champion.

Legrand, E., Stylistique française. Paris, De Gigord. 8 fr. 75.

Vincent, A., L'Escaut. Étude toponymique. Brussels, Impr. médicale et scientifique.

Zéliqzon, L., Dictionnaire des Patois romans de la Moselle. I. A–E. (Publ. de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, x.) Strasbourg, Libr. Istra; London, H. Milford. 5*s.*

(*b*) *Old French and Anglo-Norman.*

Appel, C., Zur Chançun de Willelme (*Zeitschr. rom. Phil.*, xlii, 4, Dec.).

Armstrong, E. C., The French Metrical Versions of Barlaam and Josaphat, with special reference to the termination in Gui de Cambrai. (Elliott Monographs, x.) Princeton, N. J., Princeton Univ. Press. 2 dol. 25.

Bédier, J., Le roman de Lancelot du Lac (*Rev. de France*, Nov. 1).

Boissonnade, P., Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland. Paris, H. Champion. 25 fr.

Guibert d'Andrenas. Chanson de geste. Publiée par J. Melander. Paris, H. Champion. 15 fr.

Kjellman, H., La deuxième collection anglo-normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin. Paris, H. Champion. 40 fr.

Montreuil, G. de, La continuation de Perceval, éd. par Mary Williams. Tome I. (Classiques franç. in moyen âge, xxviii.) Paris, H. Champion. 8 fr.

Rohan, Cardinal de, Die Liederhandschrift des. Herausg. von M. Löpelmann. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, xliv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 20 M.

Scheludko, D., Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von 'Aucassin et Nicolete' (*Zeitschr. rom. Phil.*, xlii, 4, Dec.).

Tanquerey, F. J., Le Roman des romans et le Sermon en vers. Deux poèmes moraux en anglo-français. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

Vising, J., Anglo-Norman Language and Literature. London, H. Milford. 2*s.* 6*d.*

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Balzac, H. de, La Comédie humaine. xxiii. Paris, Conard. 18 fr.

Balzac, H. de, et Carraud, Correspondance inédite (1830–50) (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Dec. 15).

Barrès, M., Taine et Renan. Paris, Bossard. 5 fr. 40.

Bernard, J. M., Un 'grotesque' oublié par Gautier, Christophle de Gamin (*Merc. de France*, Oct. 15).

Besse, A., Le Pari de Blaise Pascal. Paris, Beauchesne. 2 fr. 50.

Borel, P., Œuvres complètes. Le Lycanthrope, avec préface et notes par A. Marie. 2 vols. Paris, Dumoulin.

Bossuet, Œuvres oratoires, éd. de J. Lebarq, rev. par C. Urbain et E. Levesque. v. Paris, Hachette. 12 fr.

Bouillier, V., La fortune de Chamfort en Allemagne (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 1, Mar.).

Bouillier, V., La fortune de Montaigne en Italie et en Espagne. Paris, H. Champion. 4 fr.

Bouteron, M., Une amitié de Balzac (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Dec. 15).

Bouvier, B., Le Journal d'Amiel (*Rev. de Paris*, Jan. 1).

Bowen, R. P., An Analysis of the Priest genre in the Modern French Novel (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

Brémond, H., Histoire littéraire de sentiment religieux en France. vi. La Conquête mystique. Paris, Bloud. 20 fr.

Brémond, H., La vie mystique de Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin. ii. (*Rev. de France*, Nov. 15.)

Chevalier, J., Les maîtres de la pensée française : Pascal. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 6 fr.

Cordier-Delaporterie, Étude médico-psychologique sur Paul Verlaine. Paris, H. Champion. 15 fr.

Deffand, Mad. du, Lettres à Voltaire. Introduction et Notes de J. Trabucco. Paris, Bossard. 12 fr.

Degoumois, L., L'Algérie d'Alphonse Daudet. Paris, Soc. anon. des Éditions Sonor. 20 fr.

Diderot, D., Paradoxe sur le Comédien. Cambridge, Univ. Press. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) 1*s.* 3*d.*

Dondo, M., Vers libre. A Logical Development of French Verse. Paris, H. Champion. 6 fr.

Draper, F. W. M., The Rise and Fall of the French Romantic Drama. London, Constable. 15*s.*

Dujardin, E., Les premiers poètes du vers libre. Paris, Mercure de France. 2 fr.

Estève, E., Leconte de Lisle : l'homme et l'œuvre. Paris, Boivin. 7 fr.

Fleuret, F., et L. Perceau, Satires françaises du 16e siècle. 2 vols. Paris, Garnier. Each 5 fr.

Flottes, P., Baudelaire : l'homme et le poète. Paris, Perrin. 7 fr.

Gros, J., A. Dumas fils et Marie Duplessis. Paris, Conard. 12 fr.

Heugel, J., Essai sur la philosophie de V. Hugo au point de vue gnostique. Paris, Calmann-Lévy. 3 fr. 50.

Hugo, V., et G. Sand, Correspondance inédite (*Rev. de France*, Dec. 1).

La Boétie, E. de, Discours de la servitude volontaire, suivi du Mémoire touchant l'édit de janvier 1562. Introd. et notes de P. Bonnefon. Paris, Boccard. 12 fr.

Lachèvre, F., Les recueils collectifs de poésies libres et satiriques publiés depuis 1600 jusqu'à la mort de Théophile (1626). Paris, H. Champion. 20 fr.

Lachèvre, F., Les successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac. Paris, H. Champion. 30 fr.

Laforgue, J., Œuvres complètes. Poésies. 2 vols. Paris, Mercure de France. 12 fr.

Lalou, R., Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine (1870 à nos jours). Paris, Crès. 10 fr.

Lebreton, A., Le théâtre romantique. Paris, Boivin. 7 fr.

Lenormant, C., Mad. Recamier et l'Abbaye-au-Bois. Journal. (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Dec. 1.)

Levaillant, M., Splendeurs et misères de M. de Chateaubriand. Paris, Ollendorff. 12 fr.

Lyonnet, H., Les premières de P. Corneille. Paris, Delagrave. 7 fr.

Maynial, É., Flaubert orientaliste et le 'Livre posthume' de M. Du Camp (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 1, Mar.).

Monglond, H., Mad. de Staël et la Suisse (*Rev. bleue*, Dec. 16).

Mongrédien, G., Étude sur la vie et l'œuvre de N. Vauquelin, et ses œuvres complètes publiées et annotées. 2 vols. Paris, Picard. 25 fr.

Musset, A. de, Œuvres complètes. i. Paris, Conard. 15 fr.

Peers, E. A., The Fortunes of Lamartine in Spain (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 8, Dec.).

Poirier, J. E., E. Prévost et la poésie de la tendresse. Paris, Jouve. 2 fr.

Proust, L'Œuvre de M. Souvenirs, Bibliographie générale (*Nouv. Rev. franç.*, Jan. 1).

Rabelais, F., Œuvres. Tomes iii et iv. Pantagruel. Paris, H. Champion. Each 5 fr.

Raynaud, E., La mêlée symboliste. 3e Série. 1900–1910. Paris, Renaissance du livre. 4 fr.

Rébelliau, A., La préhistoire de Bossuet (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Nov. 15).

Renan, E., et Prince Napoléon, Correspondance inédite. Publ. par E. Masson (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, Nov. 1, 15).

Rimbaud, A., Poésies. Paris, Mercure de France. 6 fr. 50.

Saint-Simon, L. de, Mémoires. xxiii. Éd. par Lecestre et de Boislisle. (Coll. des grands écriv. de la France.) Paris, Hachette. 30 fr.

Schinz, A., Le mouvement Rousseauiste du dernier quart de siècle (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 2, Nov.).

Seillière, E., Émile Zola. Paris, Grasset. 7 fr. 50.

Tilley, A., Studies in the French Renaissance. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 21*s.*

Trahard, P., P. Mérimée et l'art de la nouvelle. Paris, Presses universitaires. 3 fr.

Viatte, A., Le catholicisme chez les Romantiques. Paris, Boccard. 6 fr. 75.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Scandinavian.

Aarestrup, E., Samlede Skrifter. Udg. af H. Brix og P. Raunkjær. 2 vols. Copenhagen, Koppel. 40 kr.

Andersson, N., Svenska låtar. Dalarna, I. Stockholm, Norstedt. 20 kr.

Bertelsen, H., Danske Grammatikere fra Midten af den 17. til Midten af den 18. Aarh. V. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 6 kr.

Bjørnson, Bjørn, Mit livs historier. Christiania, H. Aschehoug. 7 kr. 25.

Blanck, A., A. M. Lenngren. Poet och pennskaft. Jämte andra studier. Stockholm, H. Geber. 5 kr. 50.

Ehrensvärd, C. A., Skrifter. Utg. av G. Bergh. I. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 12 kr.

Geijer, E. G., Brev till hans hustru, 1808–46. Stockholm, Norstedt. 10 kr.

Gering, H., Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda. 5. Aufl. Paderborn, F. Schöningh. 7 M.

Guðmundsson, V., Islandsk Grammatik (Nutidssprog). Copenhagen, Hagerup. 7 kr. 50.

Hávamál, The. With Selections from other Poems of the Edda. Edited by D. E. Martin Clarke. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Hellquist, E., Svensk etymologisk ordbok. Hæfte 14. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup. 3 kr. 75.

Herrmann, P., Erläuterungen zu den ersten neun Büchern der dänischen Geschichte des Saxo Grammaticus. II. Kommentar. Leipzig, W. Engelmann. 13 M.

Holberg Aarbog, 1922. Redaktion: F. Bull og C. S. Petersen. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 9 kr.

Islandske Ættesagaer. Utgit efter tiltak av Riksmaalsvernet. Njaals saga. Oversat av F. Paasche. Christiania, H. Aschehoug. 7 kr. 50.

Iversen, R., Nørrøn grammatik. Christiania, H. Aschehoug. 10 kr.

Kellgren, J. H., Samlade skrifter. Utg. av S. Ek och O. Sylwan. VI. Brev. I. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 15 kr.

Kuylenstierna, O., Bellman och hans samtida. Stockholm, L. Hökerberg. 7 kr. 50.

Lenngren, A. M., Samlade skrifter. Utg. af T. Helmqvist och K. Warburg. VII. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 10 kr.

Lewenhaupt, A., C. G. Lewenhaupt, 1663–1703. Biografiska anteckningar. Stockholm, Wahlström och Widstrand. 4 kr. 75.

Lidner, B., Valda skrifter. Utg. av F. Vetterlund. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 7 kr. 50.

Lucidor, Samlade skrifter. Utg. av F. Sandwall. III. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 10 kr.

Neiiendam, R., Det kongelige Teaters Historie. II. 1875–78. Copenhagen, Pio. 10 kr. 50.

Njal, Die Geschichte vom weisen. Übertragen von A. Heusler. Jena, E. Diederichs. 7 M.

Sommerfelt, V., S. Kierkegaard. Utgit efter forfatterens død av noge venner. Christiania, Cammermeyer. 4 kr. 75.

THOMSEN, V., Samlede Afhandlinger. III. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 28 kr.

ULLMAN, G., Valda dikter. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 4 kr. 50.

WALSH, A., Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.*

WERGELAND, H., Samlede Skrifter. II, 6. Utg. av H. Jæger. Christiania, Steen. 45 kr.

Dutch.

BERGER, L., Les femmes poètes de la Hollande. Paris, Perrin. 8 fr.

PRAAG, J. A. VAN, La comédie espagnole aux Pays-Bas au 17e et au 18e siècle. Amsterdam, J. H. de Bussy. 4 fl. 50.

VISSINK, H., Scott and his Influence on Dutch Literature. Zwolle, W. J. Berends.

WINKEL, J. TE, De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde. I. 2 vols. Haarlem, F. Bohn. 20 fl.

English.

(*a*) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. VIII. Collected by G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

LEARNED, H. D., The Accentuation of Old French Loanwords in English (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

Year's Work in English Studies, The. II (1920). Ed. for the English Association by Sir S. Lee and F. S. Boas. London, H. Milford. 7*s.* 6*d.*

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

Arithmetics in English, The Earliest. Ed. by R. Steele. (Early Engl. Text Soc., Extra Series, cxviii.) London, H. Milford. 15*s.*

Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg. Ed. by F. Klaeber. London, D. C. Heath. 15*s.*

Hali Meidenhad. An Alliterative Homily of the 13th Century. Ed. by the late F. J. Furnivall. Revised by O. Cockayne. (Early Engl. Text Soc., Orig. Series, xviii.) London, H. Milford. 12*s.*

KLAEBER, F., Zu König Ælfreds Vorrede zu seiner Übersetzung der Cura Pastoralis (*Anglia*, xlvii, 1, Jan.).

SCHÜCKING, L. L., Die Beowulfdatierung. Eine Replik. (*Beitr. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. u. Lit.*, xlvii, 2, Jan.)

STRAUB, F., Lautlehre der altenglischen Übersetzung des Pseudo-Alkuinschen Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis (*Anglia*, xlvii, 1, Jan.).

VIGLIONE, F., Studio critico-filologico su l' Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Con saggi di traduzioni. Pavia, Fusi. L. 20.

(*c*) *Modern English.*

ACHESON, A., Shakespeare's Sonnet Story, 1592–98. London, B. Quaritch. 30*s.*

ALLEN, B. S., W. Goodwin's Influence upon J. Thelwall (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

BRADLEY, J. F. and J. Q. ADAMS, The Jonson Allusion-Book. A Collection of Allusions to Ben Jonson from 1597 to 1700. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 25*s.*

BROOKE, TUCKER, Marlowe's Versification and Style (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 2).

BROWNE, SIR T., Hydriotaphia. Ed. by W. Murison. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BRUNNER, K., C. Kingsley als christlich-sozialer Dichter (Schluss) (*Anglia*, xlvii, 1, Jan.).

Cawley, R. R., Warner and the Voyagers (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 2, Nov.).

Cerf, B., Wordsworth's Gospel of Nature (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

Chevrillon, A., Three Studies in English Literature: Kipling, Galsworthy, Shakespeare. Transl. by F. Simmonds. London, Heinemann. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cooper, J. Fenimore, Correspondence. Ed. by J. Fenimore Cooper. 2 vols. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 37*s.* 6*d.*

Crane, R. S. and J. H. Warner, Goldsmith and Voltaire's 'Essai sur les Mœurs' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 2, Feb.).

Crawford, A. W., Keats's 'Ode to the Nightingale' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 8, Dec.).

Croce, B., Walter Scott (*Critica*, xxi, 1, Jan.).

English Anthology of Prose and Poetry (14th cent.–19th cent.). Compiled by Sir H. Newbolt. II. Notes and Indices. London, E. Dent. 2*s.*

English Critical Essays (16th–18th cent.). Ed. by E. D. Jones. (World's Classics.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

Enterlude of Welth and Helth, An. Eine englische Moralität des xv. Jahrh. Herausg. von F. Holthausen. 2te Aufl. (Engl. Textbibliothek, xvii.) Heidelberg, C. Winter.

Fausset, H. I'A., Keats: a Study in Development. London, M. Secker. 6*s.*

Franzinetti-Guastalla, A., John Keats. Rome, A. F. Formiggini. L. 2.70.

Furness, H. H., The Letters of. 2 vols. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin; London, Constable. 40*s.*

Georgian Poetry, 1920–22. London, Poetry Bookshop. 6*s.*

Gilbert, A. M., Milton and Galileo (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 2, April).

Glachant, V., Étude sur Rudyard Kipling. Paris, Libr. de France. 4 fr. 50.

Goll, A., Romeo og Julie og andre Shakespearestudier. Copenhagen, Pio. 7 kr. 50.

Green, R., A Notable Discovery of Coosnage, 1591; The Second Part of Conny-Catching, 1592. Ed. by G. B. Harrison. London, J. Lane. 3*s.*

Hall, E. J., The Satirical Element in the American Novel. Thesis. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Harman, E. G., G. Harvey and Thomas Nashe. London, Ouseley. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Harvey, G., Fovre Letters and Certeine Sonnets, especially touching Robert Greene. Ed. by G. B. Harrison. London, J. Lane. 3*s.*

Hood, T. L., Browning's Ancient Classical Sources (*Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, xxxiii).

Hopkins, R. T., George Borrow: Lord of the Open Road. London, Jarrolds. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Hopkins, R. T., H. G. Wells. Personality, Character and Topography. London, Christophers. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Kaufman, P., J. Foster's Pioneer Interpretation of the Romantic (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 1, Jan.).

Lehman, B. H., The Doctrine of Leadership in the greater Romantic Poets (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

McCutcheon, R. P., The Beginnings of Book-Reviewing in English Periodicals (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 4, Dec.).

Maxwell, B., 'Wily Beguiled' (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 2).

Meissner, P., Der Bauer in der englischen Literatur. (Bonner Stud. zur engl. Phil., xv.) Bonn, P. Hanstein. 1 M. 25.

Morsbach, L., Der Weg zu Shakespeare und das Hamlet-Drama. Halle, M. Niemeyer.

Pound, L., American Ballads and Songs. New York, Scribners.

Quiller-Couch, Sir A., Shakespeare's Workmanship. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 18*s.*

Rand, E. K., Milton in Rustication (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 2).

Robinson, H. C., Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb etc., being selections from the Remains of. Ed. by E. J. Morley. Manchester, Univ. Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Saurat, D., Milton and the 'Zohar' (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 2).

Schoell, F. L., Les emprunts de G. Chapman à Marsile Ficin (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 1, Mar.).

Schöffler, H., Protestantismus und Literatur. Neue Wege zur englischen Literatur des 18. Jahrh. Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz. (Englische Bibliothek, ii.) 7 M. 50.

Shelley, Mary, Proserpine and Midas. Two unpublished mythological dramas. Ed. by A. Koszul. London, H. Milford. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Sir John van Olden Barnavelt, The Tragedy of. Ed. from the MS. with Introduction and Notes by W. S. Frijlinck. Amsterdam, H. G. van Dorssen; London, H. Milford. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Snyder, A. D., A Note on Coleridge's Shakespeare Criticism (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 1, Jan.).

Strachan, R. H., The Soul of Modern Poetry. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Symonds, J. A., Letters and Papers of. Collected and ed. by H. F. Brown. London, J. Murray. 12*s.*

Tolman, A. H., The Structure of Shakespeare's Tragedies, with special reference to 'Coriolanus' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxvii, 8, Dec.).

Wright, A. and W. L. Schlater, Sterne's Eliza. Some Account of her Life in India and her Letters written between 1757 and 1774. London, Heinemann. 10*s.* 6*d.*

German.

(*a*) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

Fassbinder, F., A. Kahle, F. Kortz, Die deutsche Dichtung in ihren kulturellen Zusammenhängen. 3 vols. Freiburg, Herder. 17 M. 50.

Fischer, H., Schwäbisches Wörterbuch. 68. Lieferung. Tübingen, H. Laupp. 3 M.

Friedrich, L., Die Geographie der ältesten deutschen Personen-Namen. (Giessener Beitr. zur deut. Phil., vii.) Giessen, Münchow. 675 M.

Grimm, J. und W., Deutsches Wörterbuch. iv, i, 6, 3. Leipzig, S. Hirzel. 1 M. 20.

Khull-Kholwald, F., Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung bis zur Neugründung des deutschen Kaiserreiches. Graz, L. Stocker. 4 M.

Naumann, H., Versuch einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache als Geschichte des deutschen Geistes (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, i, 1).

Weise, O., Blicke in das Leben und das Wesen unserer deutschen Sprache. Jena, Frommann. 3 M. 60.

(*b*) *Old and Middle High German.*

Bürck, E., Sprachgebrauch und Reim in Hartmanns Iwein. (Münchener Texte. Ergänzungsreihe, ii.) Munich, M. G. D. W. Callwey. 1 M. 60.

Heusler, A., Nibelungensage und Nibelungenlied. 2. umgearb. Ausg. Dortmund, F. W. Ruhfus. 4 M.

Kowalski-Fahrun, H., Alkuin und der althochdeutsche Isidor (*Beitr. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. und Lit.*, xlvii, 2, Jan.).

MAURER, F., Beiträge zur Sprache Oswalds von Wolkenstein. (Giessener Beitr. zur deut. Phil., iii.) Giessen, Münchow. 675 M.

MÜLLER, G., Studien zum Formproblem des Minnesangs (*Deut. Vierteljahrsschrift*, i, 1).

SCHIROKAUER, A., Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Reimgrammatik (*Beitr. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. und Lit.*, xlvii, 1).

SCHNEIDER, H., Eine mittelhochdeutsche Liedersammlung als Kunstwerk (*Beitr. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. und Lit.*, xlvii, 2, Jan.).

STAMMLER, W., Die Totentänze des Mittelalters. München, H. Stobbe. 3 M. 50.

STEINMEYER, E. VON und E. SIEVERS, Die althochdeutschen Glossen. v. Berlin, Weidmann. 15 M.

WALLNER, A., Reinhart Fuchs. Lesungen und Deutungen (*Beitr. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. und Lit.*, xlvii, 2, Jan.).

Wessobrunner Gebets, Die Handschrift des. Faks. Ausgabe von A. von Eckardt. Munich, K. Wolff. 120,000 M.

(*c*) *Modern German.*

ANDLER, C., Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée. v. Paris, Bossard. 18 fr.

ANZENGRUBER, L., Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Ausgabe. I, II, XV, 1–3. Vienna, A. Schroll. Each 6 M.

BAB, J., Die Chronik des deutschen Dramas. I–IV. Berlin, Oesterheld. Each 2 M. 50.

BACH, A., Goethes Rheinreise mit Lavater und Basedow im Sommer 1774. Zürich, K. Hönn. 9 M.

BLANKENAGEL, J. C., Evaluations of Life in H. von Kleist's Letters (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 2, Feb.).

BODE, W., Goethes Leben. VI (1786–87). Berlin, E. S. Mittler. 7 M. 20.

BRUN, L., Hebbel mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner Lyrik. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 4000 M.

BURDACH, K., Faust und die Sorge (*Deut. Vierteljahrsschr.*, i, 1).

DILTHEY, W., Leben Schleiermachers. Herausg. von H. Mulert. I. Berlin, Ver. wissenschaftl. Verleger. 17 M.

FEILCHENFELD, W., Der Einfluss J. Böhmes auf Novalis. (German. Stud., xxii.) Berlin, E. Ebering. 300 M.

FLÖRING, K., Die historischen Elemente in A. Stifters 'Witiko.' (Giessener Beitr. zur deut. Phil., v.) Giessen, Münchow. 900 M.

GÖCHHAUSEN, L. VON, Briefe einer Hofdame aus dem klassischen Weimar. Herausg. von W. Deetjen. Berlin, E. S. Mittler. 3 M. 80.

GOETHE, J. W. VON, und CHRISTIANE VON GOETHE, Briefe. Herausg. von H. G. Gräf. Frankfort, Rütten und Loening. 3000 M.

GOTTSCHED, J. C., Briefwechsel mit M. F. Ledermüller. Leipzig, K. Scholtze. 9 M.

GRAF, E., Die Pfarrergestalt in der deutschen Erzählungsliteratur des 19. Jahr. Courtance, Reuss and Itta. 3 M.

GUNDOLF, F., H. von Kleist. Berlin, G. Bondi. 500 M.

HAUFFEN, A., J. Fischart. II. Berlin, Ver. wissenschaftl. Verleger. 11 M.

Hauptmann, Mit. Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse aus seinem Freundeskreise. Herausg. von W. Heynen. Berlin, G. Stilke. 6 M.

Jahrbuch der Kleist-Gesellschaft. I (1921). Berlin, Weidmann. 4 M.

KRAMMER, M., T. Fontane. Berlin, Holten. 3000 M.

LINDEN, W., C. F. Meyer. Entwicklung und Gestalt. Munich, C. H. Beck. 5 M. 50.

Loewenthal, E., Studien zu Heines 'Reisebildern.' (Palaestra, cxxxviii.) Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 2 M. 50.

Morgan, B. Q., A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation. Madison, Wis., Univ. of Wisconsin. 2 dol.

Obenauer, K. J., Der faustische Mensch. Jena, E. Diederichs. 6 M.

Rutz, W., F. Hebbel und Elise Lensing. Munich, C. H. Beck. 9 M.

Schaukal, R. von, E. T. A. Hoffmann. Zürich, Amalthea-Verlag. 40,000 M.

Schiller, F., Die Räuber: ein Trauerspiel. Ed. by L. A. Willoughby. London, H. Milford. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Schlegel, A. W., Briefwechsel mit seinen Heidelberger Verlegern. Herausg. von E. Jenisch. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 8 M.

Schmitt-Soeder, R., Die Anschauungen G. Kellers vom Wesen und der Aufgabe des Künstlers. (Giessener Beitr. zur deut. Phil., viii.) Giessen, Münchow. 675 M.

Stefansky, G., Das Wesen der deutschen Romantik. Stuttgart, J. B. Metzler. 9 M. 50.

Teudeloff, F., Beiträge zur Übersetzungstechnik der ersten deutschen Bibel. (Germ. Stud., xxi.) Berlin, E. Ebering. 1440 M.

Tieck, L., Straussfedern. 2 vols. Herausg. von G. von Maassen. Munich, G. Müller. 5600 M.

Unger, R., Herder, Novalis und Kleist. Studien über die Entwicklung des Todesproblems. (Deutsche Forschungen, ix.) Frankfort, M. Diesterweg. 1600 M.

Vorländer, K., Die Philosophie unserer Klassiker, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe. Berlin, J. H. W. Dietz. 3 M. 50.

Walder, H., Mörikes Weltanschauung. Zürich, Rascher. 3 M.

Wichmann, I., D. von Liliencrons lyrische Anfänge. (German. Stud., xxiii.) Berlin, E. Ebering. 840 M.

Will, H., Die ästhetischen Elemente in der Beschreibung bei Zesen. (Giessener Beitr. zur deut. Phil., vi.) Giessen, Münchow. 900 M.

Wolff, M. J., H. Heine. Munich, C. H. Beck. 12 M. 50.

Zilchert, R., Goethe als Erzieher. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs. 2 M. 20.

SLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

Baranowski, A., Litauische Mundarten. II. Leipzig, K. F. Koehler. 8 M.

Chuzeville, J., Dmitri Mérejkowski. L'âme russe et nous. Paris, Bossard. 3 fr.

Endzelin, I. M., Lettische Grammatik. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, v, i, 1.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 12 M. 50.

Kaus, O., Dostojewski und sein Schicksal. Berlin, E. Laub. 5 M.

Lunacharski, A. V., Vasilisa the Wise. A Dramatic Fairy Tale. Transl. by L. Magnus. London, Kegan Paul. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Meyer, K. H., Historische Grammatik der russischen Sprache. I. Bonn, F. Cohen. 7 M.

Mosvid, M., Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahr 1570. Herausg. von G. Gerullis. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, v, 2.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 10 M.

BULLETIN OF THE
Modern Humanities Research Association

APRIL 1923 NUMBER 18

¶ The annual subscription for 1922–3 (with Modern Language Review, 22*s.* 6*d.*, separately 7*s.* 6*d.*) became due on October 1st, 1922, and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer without delay.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Association will be held at Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A., next June, as one of the meetings in the Conference of British and American Professors of English. The President, Professor John Matthews Manly, will deliver his address at that meeting and it will afterwards be circulated to members. As the Hon. Secretary is unable to be present, Mr A. W. Reed, of King's College, London, W.C., has been nominated as the official representative of the Association at the Conference.

***

The *Modern Language Review* for January appears in a greatly enlarged form, consisting of one hundred and thirty-two pages in addition to its supplement, the *Bulletin*. This is partly due to the assistance of the Tiarks Fund for the publication of research work in German, and partly to the fact that the *Review* is steadily increasing its circulation, and becoming, in fact as well as in name, the journal of the Modern Humanities Research Association. Nor is this surprising, for there are few societies which supply to their members journals of the quality and standing of the *Review* at the rate of fifteen shillings for a volume of some four hundred and fifty to five hundred pages. We urge all members to contribute to the further success of the *Review* by sending in their order at once.

***

Capital Fund. We have to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of the undermentioned contributions to this fund, established to enable us to carry into effect some of our more ambitious schemes:

H. F. Eggeling, Esq., 12*s.* 6*d.*; Miss G. D. Willcock, 12*s.* 6*d.*; A. C. Dunstan, Esq., 7*s.* 6*d.*; Miss H. A. C. Green, 5*s.*; W. S. Vines, Esq., 4*s.* 9*d.* Other small sums amount to £1. 4*s.* 7*d.* Grand total, £3. 6*s.* 10*d.*

***

New members frequently order complete sets of the *Bulletin* from the foundation of the Modern Humanities Research Association in 1918. At present we have very few of these, and are in particular need of copies of

Numbers 2, 7 and 12. May we ask any members who would present or sell their copies of these or other early numbers to the Association to send them to the Hon. Secretary.

***

Professor Allison Peers will be abroad during the month of April, but letters will be dealt with in his absence if they are addressed to 'the Hon. Secretary' and not to him by name. He hopes to meet members in Paris, Madrid and Lisbon, and would be glad to hear from any such as early as possible.

***

We hope shortly to make an interesting announcement regarding the further development of the Association's work in the coming session.

***

Students of Browning will, no doubt, be pleased to learn that the Browning Concordance, to the manuscript of which attention was called some time ago in these columns, and which has been edited and prepared by Professors L. N. Broughton of Cornell University and B. F. Stelter of Occidental College, is now in the process of publication by G. E. Stechert & Co. of New York.

BRANCH COMMUNICATIONS

The French sub-secretary sends the following list of manuscript theses (*Diplômes d'Études Supérieures*) submitted to provincial French Universities in 1922. A large list of such theses submitted to the Sorbonne appeared in our January issue:

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPT THESES (*DIPLÔMES D'ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES*) DEFENDED BEFORE FRENCH PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITIES IN 1922

University of Bordeaux

1. *English Literature*

M. Bardet: Kingsley romancier.
M. Ducéré: La société anglaise d'après les romans de Fielding.
Melle Aumeunier: Platonism in the English Renaissance.
Melle Mieille: George Gissing: a study in temperament.
M. Chamaillard: Quelques Utopies anglaises: More, Morris, Wells.
Melle Joubert: Borrow and the Gipsies.

2. *German Literature*

M. Bonneric: Les relations de H. Heine et de L. Börne.
M. Gaillard: Jean-Jacques Rousseau et le jeune Goethe.
M. Macquaire: L'humour de Heine.

3. *Spanish Literature*

Melle Banizette: Le paysan dans Lope de Vega.
Melle Salembien: Le style de Lope de Vega.

UNIVERSITY OF LILLE

1. *English Literature*

M. BOULAN: Kingsley's religious feeling.
M. POULET: Stevenson as a word artist.

2. *German Literature*

M. MORET: Les idées politiques de Heine.
M. DUPONT: Les femmes dans l'œuvre de Gottfried Keller.
M. LECLERCQ: Les caractères dans la nouvelle *Le Saint* de C. F. Meyer.

UNIVERSITY OF GRENOBLE

1. *English Literature*

M^elle^ FEUTRIER: L'Alaska et les conquistadors de l'Eldorado moderne d'après les romans de Jack London.
M. TOURRET: L'éducation anglaise, ses tendances actuelles d'après le roman et la critique contemporaines.
M^elle^ MARTINET: La morale de Fielding dans Tom Jones.

2. *Italian Literature*

M. CHARRETON: La part de l'influence française dans le théâtre de Paolo Ferrari.

UNIVERSITY OF LYON

1. *English Literature*

Les Chansons de la Princesse et des Idylles du Roi.
A new form of dramatic poetry (Remarks on Browning's *Dramatis Personae*).

2. *German Literature*

Börne et Heine: leur querelle.
Klopstock et l'antiquité germanique.

3. *Russian Literature*

Rousseau et Tolstoï.

UNIVERSITY OF RENNES

English Literature

M^elle^ ROSIER: L'imagination poétique de Coleridge.

UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG

1. *English Literature*

M. BRESCH: L'Inspiration religieuse dans le "Crist" de Cynewulf.

2. *German Literature*

M^elle^ CRUSSAIRE: Le sentiment de la Nature dans les poésies de Heine et de Lenau.
M. MEYER: Les satires de Liscow.
M. MARTZ: Un drame du Sturm und Drang: "Die falschen Spieler" de Klinger.
M. BEAUFILS: Plutarque et son influence sur le Sturm und Drang et le jeune Schiller.
M^elle^ KIFFER: La vie et l'œuvre de Ludwig Pfau.
M. CORNIL: La querelle Börne-Heine.
M. RICCI: Étude du *Vase d'Or* de E. T. A. Hoffmann.
M. DELOBEL: Les aspects du verbe dans le poème moyen haut-allemand de Kudrun.
M. WEISS: La *Thesmophagia* de Sébastien Brant.

CORRESPONDENTS

Correspondents have been appointed at the following centres. Their names and addresses are given below:

Bordeaux: Professor V. Saurat, 56 rue Elisée-Reclus, Talence (Gironde), France.

Lyon: Mˡˡᵉ Villard, Faculté des Lettres, Lyon, France.

Besançon: M. Pierre Legouis, 92 Boulevard de Belges, Lyon, France.

South Africa: Professor H. C. Notcutt, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, S. Africa.

Sweden: F. J. Fielden, Esq., M.A., Bytaregatan 19, Lund, Sweden.

GROUP NOTES

EARLY ENGLISH SUBJECT GROUP

(*Organiser:* Miss A. C. Paues, Ph.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.)

It may interest members to learn that the 1921 *Bibliography of English Language and Literature* has been well noticed in the Press and is getting widely known and used. But unable as we are to advertise, we are still dependent for its sale on the support of individual members and beg them not to relax their efforts in this direction. For libraries as well as for individual researchers it may be looked upon as indispensable as it is the only existing English Bibliography aiming at completeness. We hope to publish the 1922 volume in the spring and if funds permit add an 'Authors' Index' and a 'List of Periodicals Searched.'

It is a pleasure to report that several members of the Early English Group have volunteered their services as record-searchers for the *Survey of English Place-names*. This has especially been the case in Cambridge, and we hope that Oxford will soon follow suit. Workers skilled in the reading of mediaeval records, whether English, Latin or Anglo-French, are particularly wanted, more especially for dealing with the vast material in the Record Office and in the Libraries of the two older Universities. Others may give valuable help by collecting forms from reliable printed editions of early documents. Much can be accomplished in odd half-hours. Anyone willing to help should communicate with the Organiser.

The following information has come to hand about members' work: Professor W. A. Craigie of Oxford has written a paper on "Omissions and Interpolations in Anglo-Saxon Poetical Texts," soon to be published by the Philological Society. He has also nearly finished the first volume of the *Asloan MS.* for the Early Scottish Text Society. Much progress has also been made in collecting material for his projected *Dictionary of Older Scottish.*

Professor O. F. Emerson has published lately several papers on Middle English subjects: "Imperfect Lines in Pearl and the Rimed Parts of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," *Modern Philology*, xix. 131–41, 1921; "Some Notes on the Pearl," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. Am.* xxxvii. 52–93, 1922; "Chaucer and Medieval Hunting," *Romanic Review*, xiii. 115–50, 1922; "Notes on Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," *Journ. E. Germ. Phil.* xxi. 363–410, 1922; further an article on "Beguiling Words," in *Dialect Notes*

(*America*), v. 93–6, and some notes on "Milton's Comus 93–4," in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII. 118–20, 1922.

Mrs Chadwick (Nora Kershaw) has written the second part of the article on "Teutonic Religion," in the volume of Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, published some time last year.

Members are asked to keep the Organiser informed of work in hand, as it frequently prevents overlapping and duplication of effort.

Literary Tendencies in the Later Eighteenth Century. Shortly after our January number went to press we received the second *Bulletin* of this interesting American Group, with details of a meeting to be held in December, 1922, and some notes on work in progress. We learn that Professor Hans Hecht (formerly of Basel, now of Göttingen), whose recent studies of Burns and of Daniel Webb are well known to our members, is preparing a general history of English romanticism; and Professor J. L. Lowes (Harvard) is at work on a volume, now nearing completion, which he describes as "a study, based on a mass of new materials bearing on the genesis of *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan*, of the ways of the creative imagination."

Of studies of a more limited scope, either in preparation or recently completed, the following have come to the notice of the editor since the first *Bulletin* was issued:

L. Cazamian (Sorbonne): *Mrs Radcliffe's influence on the English Romantic poets*. J. Champenois (New York): *Literary criticism in the periodicals of the XVIIIth century*. Willis L. Fisher (Ph.D., Princeton, 1922): *The unfortunate female: a study of the penitent prostitute in English Literature of the third quarter of the XVIIIth century*. Garland Greever (Agricultural College of Utah): *William Lisle Bowles*. R. D. Jameson (Chicago): *English versification*, 1660–1800, with special reference to the morphology of the English stanza, theories of free verse, higher rhythm in the heroic couplet, the "revolt against rhyme" before 1800, and theories of the relations between poetry, music, and painting in the XVIIIth century. Helen M. Scurr (Ph.D., Minnesota, 1922): *Henry Brooke*. A. Lytton Sells (Cambridge, England): *A Bibliography of Goldsmith*. H. O. White (Sheffield, England): *William Collins*. A. S. P. Woodhouse (Harvard): *William Collins*: biography; literary antecedents and relations to contemporaries; reputation and influence; bibliography. Paul Yvon (Rennes, France): *Horace Walpole*.

The Secretary of this Group is Professor J. W. Draper, University of Maine, Orono, U.S.A.

Summer School of Greek. It is believed that many who have not studied classics, some who are Latin scholars but know no Greek, and others who have little opportunity of keeping alive their knowledge of Greek would welcome an opportunity of renewing their acquaintance with Greek Literature and Language and extending their knowledge of Greek thought, or of starting the study of Greek for the first time under expert guidance. To meet these varying needs a Summer School of Greek, open to both men and women, has been arranged by Westfield College in consultation with the Classical Association to be held at Westfield College, London, N.W., from August 1st to 15th. Applications should be sent, as soon as possible, to Miss C. Parker, Westfield College, Kidderpore Avenue, London, N.W. 3, who will also give further information.

CORRESPONDENCE

A LOST DIALECT TREATISE

SIR,

Some little time before the war a young Upsala graduate, Dr Sigurd Ransén, was engaged on an investigation of a certain Norfolk dialect when death interrupted his labours. The treatise was completed by the well-known English scholar, Professor Erik Björkman of Upsala who sent it to England to be printed. In 1919 Professor Björkman also passed away, and his literary executors are now unable to find any information as to the person or place to whom the manuscript was sent. It is known that it must have reached this country some time between 1910 and 1915.

As the treatise is of considerable merit, and its recovery a matter of importance both to English and Swedish scholarship, we appeal to members of the Modern Humanities Research Association for assistance in our search.

Any information will be gratefully received by

A. C. PAUES,

NEWNHAM COLLEGE,

CAMBRIDGE.

26 *Jan.* 1923.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE M.H.R.A.

Bibliography of English Language and Literature. This Bibliography appeared for the first time in 1921. The current issue may be ordered through any bookseller, or from the publishers, Messrs Bowes and Bowes, Trinity Street, Cambridge (4*s*. 6*d*. net). Members, by ordering through the Hon. Treasurer, may obtain copies at 3*s*. The 1921 Bibliography may still be obtained (Members 1*s*. 6*d*., non-members 3*s*.). It contains a select list of over one thousand titles of books and articles published in eighteen different countries during 1920.

Pamphlets. The following pamphlets may be ordered from the publishers, or through any bookseller, at 1*s*. per copy, postage extra:

1. *Inaugural Address*, by Sir Sidney Lee (President, 1918–19).
2. *The Promotion of Modern Language Research among Teachers*, by Professor F. S. Boas.
3. *Un point de vue français sur le but de la M.H.R.A.*, by Professor Gustave Lanson (President, 1919–20).
4. *Our Title and its Import*, by Professor Otto Jespersen (President, 1920–1).
5. *Joseph Ritson*, by Professor W. P. Ker (President, 1921–2).

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY THE SYNDICS OF THE PRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

AN OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM WYNFRITH TO EADBURGA (A.D. 716–7) IN COTTON MS. OTHO C. 1.

IN the April 1922 number of this review, p. 166, Professor Toller quotes three words excerpted by Cockayne from an Old English tract named *Wynfrith*, and refers to Wanley's *Catalogue* (1705) p. 212, where the opening and closing sentences are quoted from the Cotton MS. Otho C. 1.

This MS. suffered in the fire of 1731, especially at the beginning, which was most exposed because the book stood first on its shelf. The bulk of the text is fairly well preserved, although towards the end the leaves are increasingly shrivelled, split, or holed. All that survive are skilfully mounted on card-board frames, and bound up in two volumes.

The first volume of 110 folios contains a copy of the West-Saxon Gospels, written in one bold, rough hand which may be dated about the middle of the eleventh century. At the end of the Gospel of St John the scribe gives his name:—*Wulfwi*[1] *me wrát* (f. 110 a). The folios containing the text up to Matthew xxvii, 6 were lost when Wanley saw the

[1] The identification of this *Wulfwi* with *Wulfwinus*, the scribe of the Paris Psalter (Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 8824), by Bruce (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, IX, pp. 47–50), Plummer (*Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, p. 150), Bright (*Gospel of St John*, Boston 1904, p. xix n.) and, on their authority, by Wildhagen (*Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, Halle 1913, p. 471), shows how the survival of error is favoured by indirect methods. *Wulfwi* can hardly be miswritten for *Wulfwi* = *Wulfwine*, as Wildhagen suggests, because the contraction mark in O.E. represents *-ne* only in words like *þon* = *þonne*: it is not added directly to a vowel. And although the Latinised forms of *Wulfwi(g)* and *Wulfwine* occasionally cross in late texts, the names are usually well distinguished; and both are so common that there is no *prima facie* case for connecting two MSS. because one is signed *Wulfwi* and one *Wulfwinus*. Bright finds corroboration of the identity in the likeness of the scribal errors in both texts, but he quotes no examples, and they are not obvious. The real test, which none of these writers appears to have made, is a comparison of the hands, and it would be hard to find two more unlike in the first half of the eleventh century: that of Wulfwi is large and rough, with the tops of the high letters deeply cloven; that of the Paris Psalter is earlier in style, and is as smooth and regular as can be found in the records of Old English penmanship. The direct test should be decisive; but even against this emergency Plummer (*loc. cit.*) has prepared a life-line for the hypothesis by reviving the suggestion that the colophon of the Paris Psalter may be a copy—that Wulfwinus may be the scribe not of the book itself but of its archetype. This suggestion was advanced by Thorpe (*Libri Psalmorum*, etc., Oxford 1835, p. vi n.) who was misled into thinking that the Paris MS. was a copy made by a French monk; and fortunately it can be disposed of. For, as if anticipating the modern taste for identifications, a contemporary hand has added above *Wulfwinus* in different ink his distinguishing name—*cognomento Cada*. I have little doubt that Wulfwine himself wrote these words,—*cognomento* in his Latin, *Cada* in his English script; but in any event, here is clear evidence that Wulfwine was a known person when the entry was made in the Paris MS.; and the ascription of such a book as the Psalter to a known and obscure copyist who did not actually write it, is a piece of motiveless falsification that should not be assumed. The identification fails, and with it must go any support it affords to the Malmesbury provenance of both books.

book; and since then fire has completely destroyed another 25 leaves, as far as Mark vii, 22, and reduced those that immediately follow to charred fragments[1]. This volume is free from glosses or other extraneous matter, save for an Old English rendering of a letter from Pope Sergius to St Aldhelm, which is added at the end of St Luke's Gospel (ff. 68 a l. 5 to 69 b foot) in a smaller and smoother hand, nearly contemporary with Wulfwi's[2]. As the letter gives privileges to Malmesbury, it has been inferred that this copy of the Gospels belonged to Malmesbury Abbey in the eleventh century.

The second volume appears to be a single manuscript of distinct origin, which was fortuitously bound up with the Gospel MS. in Cotton's time. Scattered through it are many Latin and a few English glosses by hands of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century; and as the method of glossing agrees in some minute points with that found in manuscripts which certainly come from Worcester[3], it may be taken that the whole of our second volume belonged to Worcester about the year 1200. It consists of 155 mounted leaves, containing as principal text (ff. 1–137 a) Wærferð's Old English version of Gregory's *Dialogues*[4], which for some reason was left incomplete.

I. The First and Second Books (ff. 1–61 b) are written in a hand that preserves many features of the old national script, and may be dated—if normal conditions be assumed—in the first quarter of the eleventh century. They are preceded in the same hand by a metrical preface which is preserved only in this MS., and contains the puzzling lines:—

Me awritan het · Wulfstan bisceop,
Þeow ond þearfa · þæs þe alne þrym a<h>of...
Bideþ þe se bisceop, · se þe ðas boc begeat
Þe þu on þinum handum nu · hufast ond sceawast,
Þæt þu him to þeossum halgum · helpe bidde
Þe heorā gemynd her on · gemearcude siendon;
Ond þæt him God ællmihtig · forgyue þa gyltas
Þe he geworhte, · ...
Ond eac resðe mid him · se ðe ah ealles rices geweald;
Ond eac swa his beahgifan, · þe him ðas bysene forgeaf,
Þæt is se selesða · sinces brytta,
Ælfryd mid Englum, · ealra cyninga
Þara þe he sið oððe ær · foresecgan hyrde,
Oððe he hiorðcyninga[5] ær · ænigne gefrugne.

[1] See the description in *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon*, etc. ed. Skeat (Cambridge 1871–87), Preface to *Luke*, pp. viii ff.

[2] Printed by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 106 (vol. I, pp. 154 ff.), and by Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Pontificum* (Rolls Series, 1870), pp. 370 ff. footnote.

[3] I have not relied on identification of the Worcester gloss-hands, because the point deserves a lengthy and difficult palaeographical study.

[4] See Hecht's edition, *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa* vol. v, especially Pt. i (Leipzig 1900), pp. vii f.

[5] =*iorð-, eorð-cyninga.*

Since Krebs[1] first printed the passage in 1880, the association of the names of Bishop Wulfstan and King Alfred has been much debated, with the result that later critics are at one with Keller[2] in the conclusion that the preface is by the translator, Bishop Wærferð; that *bysen* means the King's 'command' or 'commission' to translate the *Dialogues*; and that the copyist of MS. Otho C. 1 has substituted for *Wærferð* of the original preface the name of *Wulfstan*, which was more famous at Worcester in the eleventh century. Yet the manuscript itself discloses a much more interesting scrap of literary history. In *Wulfstan*, the last three letters *-tan* stand on an erasure, and are, I should think, not earlier than the time of the second Wulfstan, who was bishop of Worcester from 1062 till his death in 1095[3]. It is pretty clear that the name *Wulfsig* stood here originally, and any doubt is removed by the trace of the erasing tool below the line, where the tail of ȝ would fall. The preface then is by a Bishop Wulfsig; and who can doubt that this was King Alfred's friend, Wulfsig, bishop of Sherborne[4]? To him Alfred sent a copy of his translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, which was the archetype of two extant MSS. at Cambridge—MS. I i. 11. 4 (1737) in the University Library, MS. R. 5. 22 (717) at Trinity College[5]; and evidently the King distributed copies of Gregory's *Dialogues* among his bishops in the same way. On the model (*bysen*)[6] of this gift-book, Wulfsig ordered another copy to be made, and wrote for the occasion the rhythmical Preface, which is the only surviving piece of his composition. Perhaps because their own good texts had been lost or depraved, the Worcester community subsequently obtained a transcript of the copy that had been made by Wulfsig's instructions, and with it his preface reached Worcester.

[1] *Anglia* III, pp. 70 ff. He used Cockayne's transcript.

[2] *Die literarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in ags. Zeit* (Strassburg 1900), pp. 6 ff.; and also Holthausen, *Archiv* CV (1900), pp. 367 f.; Cook, *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVII (1902), coll. 14 ff.; Hecht in his edition, Pt. ii (1907), p. 36, etc.; Brandl, *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur* (Strassburg 1908), pp. 1063 f.

[3] The substitution was probably made during the bishopric of Wulfstan II, for the prayer would be more appropriate in his lifetime. Keller (p. 66) apparently assumes that the first scribe of MS. Otho C. 1 wrote during his bishopric, which is untenable. Hecht (Pt. ii, p. 27) and Cook accept Keller's view; but it is hard to see how they square it with the date 1025–1050 which they assign to the MS. Cook's further suggestion that the scribe was Wulfgeat (*loc. cit.* col. 18) is far astray.

[4] The dates of his consecration and death are unknown; cp. Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford 1904), p. lxvi. In fact his memory is preserved chiefly by doubtful or spurious charters, and by the inscriptions in books.

[5] See Wanley's *Catalogue*, pp. 153, 169; he concludes that the Trinity MS. was the one sent by Bishop Jewell to Parker from the Salisbury Library, where one would expect to find Sherborne books. The same history is claimed for the University Library copy.

[6] Wülker's objection to this interpretation (*Grundriss zur Geschichte der ags. Litteratur*, p. 439, n. 2) is invalid; cp. Ælfric's preface to the second series of his *Catholic Homilies*: '*Nu bidde ic...gif hwa ðas boc awritan wille, þæt he hi geornlice gerihte be ðære bysne*, etc.' (ed. Thorpe II, p. 2); and particularly the metrical preface to *Pastoral Care*, ll. 11–16.

Later still, some reader to whom the name of Wulfsig was meaningless substituted the great Worcester name of Wulfstan in our MS. To broach all the questions of textual history that arise would lead me too far from my present purpose. But here at least is the reason why the rhythmical preface is absent from MS. C.C.C.C. 322 of the *Dialogues*, which belongs to a tradition independent of Wulfsig's copy. And the Mercian forms of Books I and II of MS. Otho C. 1 may be traced back to Wærferð's original with more certainty now that it is established that this manuscript does not represent the continuous tradition of Worcester or any other Mercian centre.

II. With the Third Book (f. 62 a) begins a hand formed in the tradition of the Carolingian minuscule, and distinctly later in appearance than the first. It is not uncommon to find two hands of the same date differing in the stage of script development attained: but in this instance I am not satisfied that the second hand is strictly contemporary with the first. The ruling is for 30 lines as compared with 27 lines of the first part; the colouring of sentence initials is not carried into Books III and IV; and it may well be that the original MS. was divided for practical use into two halves each containing two books (a division which would be easy because Book II ends with a quire); and that the second scribe was employed a generation or two later than the first to supply Books III and IV, which had become defective, or had gone astray in the meantime[1]. Leaving the *Dialogues* incomplete at the end of l. 10 on f. 137 a, this scribe goes on to fill ff. 137 b to 139 b, l. 4, with two Lives translated from the *Vitae Patrum*[2], Bk. V.

III. On f. 139 b, l. 5, *Malchus*, which has the same source (Bk. I), begins in a new hand, weaker at times, and later in appearance than the preceding, yet perhaps not very much later in fact. This hand runs to f. 148 b and so includes the text called *Wynfrith* (ff. 143 b, l. 7 to 146 a, l. 21). Ff. 146 a, l. 22 to 148 b are very much damaged, and contain a sermon on the text *Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa*[3], which I shall call *Evil Tongues*. It has not been printed, and there seems to be no other copy.

[1] The first scribe clearly did not intend that the copy should end with Book II, for on f. 61 b he writes: *ond æfter þisse ongynneð seo þridde* [sc. *boc*], etc. There is some confirmation for the division into sets of two books in the other Worcester MS. of the *Dialogues*, now Bodleian MS. Hatton 76 (*circa* 1075), which contains only the first two books of the late revision of Wærferð's text.

[2] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 73. The Old English renderings are printed, with *Malchus*, by B. Assmann, *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, vol. III (Kassel 1889), pp. 195 ff. *Malchus* was first edited by Cockayne, *The Shrine* (London 1864–9), pp. 35 ff.; and Cockayne's notes of words from the following tract, which came into Professor Toller's possession, were presumably made when he was preparing his text. He also transcribed the *Dialogues* in 1863.

[3] Ps. cxix, 2.

IV. Then follows a group of seven leaves, before and after which there were lacunae already in Wanley's time. The first page (149 a) is very much blackened, and at a glance appears to contain twelfth century writing; but closer examination shows that many letters had been unskilfully freshened up before the fire of 1731[1], and probably the text was originally in the same clear hand of the second half of the eleventh century that appears on the verso of f. 149 and on the following leaves to the end. It is not probable that these leaves were originally written to form part of the volume. They are ruled for 32 lines as against 30 lines of the two preceding hands; the name of each sermon is entered in capitals as a running title at the head of the pages it occupies—an unusual feature; and though the Worcester style of glossing is continued, a twelfth-century English reader, whose hand appears nowhere else in the volume, has made several corrections in this part. Ff. 153 and 154 have been transposed by the binder, and in detailing the component pieces I shall therefore use f. 153* = the present f. 154 and f. 154* = the present f. 153:—

Ff. 149 a–151 b, l. 27 contain a sermon *De Creatore et Creatura*, imperfect at the beginning. Very little of the first page (149 a) is legible. From the top of f. 149 b the text is made up chiefly of passages from Ælfric's *Hexameron*[2], viz. ll. 73–80 +; 85 b–95 f +; 103–106 +; 306–319 +; 324 a; 325–326 a +; 344–355 +; 360–375 +; 376–404; 413–542 (end). The addition of the sign + indicates that the passage is followed by a few lines of matter not in the *Hexameron*, or by a junction in which matter suggested by the *Hexameron* is differently expressed. If now we turn back to the difficult page 149 a, we shall find no legible word from the *Hexameron*, though the subject is clearly the nature of the Creator. Apparently then, the second part of the sermon (*de Creatura*) was formed by excerpting the framework passages of the *Hexameron*; and the first part (*de Creatore*) was newly composed, or drawn from some other source which I have not identified. The existence of this MS. for nearly half of the text seems to have escaped the notice of editors and critics of the *Hexameron*.

Ff. 151 b, l. 29 to 153* b, l. 14 contain a sermon *De sex etatibus huius seculi*; as far as I know it is the only copy extant, and is unprinted.

[1] The letter ȝ is usually changed to *g*. At the foot of this page a hand of saec. xii–xiii has entered a list of books which is now imperfect owing to crumbling of the burnt margins:—*Liber dialogorum Gre<gori>... Vitas Patrum.* Item *Beda de gestis Anglorum* anglice. Item *Vita*..... Item *Synonima Ysydori.* Item *Beda...De consola<tione>*...(i.e. Boethius).

[2] The line numbers quoted are those in S. J. Crawford's edition: *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, Hamburg 1921.

Ff. 153* b, l. 16 to 155 b contain the sermon *De populo Israhel* (*quando volueris*), wanting the end[1]: but the whole text occurs at ff. 101 b ff. of Bodleian MS. Hatton 115 (*olim* Junius 23), a contemporary Worcester MS. It also appears to be unprinted.

From Wanley's report of the closing words, it is plain that *Wynfrith* is a misnomer for the piece beginning on f. 143 b, which is a version of the extant Latin letter written by Bonifaçe (Wynfrith) to Eadburga about the year 717. For the historian of Old English literature this version has interest as an early vernacular example of a vision of the other world[2]; and it would be more important still if it could be claimed as witness to a late appreciation of the familiar letters of eighth-century Englishmen, or as a tribute to the memory of the greatest of English missionaries. But there is little doubt that the letter was translated and preserved chiefly for the sake of its theme. Perhaps because his great work was done abroad, and no influential religious house at home was interested in the glory of his name by reason of local associations or the possession of relics, Boniface was not ranked among the chief saints of England in the tenth and eleventh centuries: his feast on June 5th is never of the highest grade; he is commemorated neither in the *Old English Martyrology* nor in the poetical *Menology*; no other letter of his circle is extant in an Old English rendering; and little would be known of his Latin correspondence had we to depend on the surviving copies from English scriptoria[3].

So by curtailing the beginning and the end, the translator has removed the personal touches and the exact notes of time and place that are proper to the letter form. He omits even the paragraph on Ceolred

[1] The last words on f. 155 b *and þær æt<eowde>* correspond to f. 105^{b}, l. 18 of MS. Hatton 115. The two texts are closely related, but the Cotton MS. sometimes has the better reading, e.g. *mid anrædum mode*, where the Hatton MS. (f. 102^{a} l. 22) has *mid rædum mode*; and *to his geferum*, where the Hatton MS. (f. 105^{a} l. 12) has *gerefum*.

[2] From the reference to Ceolred in the Latin text (§ 15), the vision itself must be dated just before that king's death in 716. The slightly earlier vision of Drihthelm comes into Old English in the translation of Bede's *History* (Bk. V, c. xii), and in Ælfric's sermon (ed. Thorpe ii, 345). The vision of Fursey is also the subject of a sermon by Ælfric (ed. Thorpe ii, 348).

[3] The translation gives slight indications that the lost MS. from which it was made was independent of the four Continental MSS. used by the *Monumenta* editors to establish the text of this letter. At § 10, l. 7 *usque ad medium* is M. Tangl's emendation for *usque ad genua medium* (*-a*) of the MSS.; and the O.E. *oð ðone middel* reflects an uncorrupted text. At l. 12 only one of the three best Latin MSS. has the accepted reading *castigatione* (variants *correctione*, *cogitatione*), which the O.E. *clænsunge* fortifies. In § 16, l. 7, *Begga* of the Latin MSS. seems to be unexampled among Anglo-Saxon men's names, but the O.E. *Bogia*=*Boia* is well established. From the errors made by the late glossators, e.g. *videndo* for l. 43 *hëapiende* (confused with *hawiende*); *muscas* for l. 92 *fleogan* v.; and *persecutus es* for l. 61 *eahtodest* (confused with *ehtan*), it may be inferred that about the year 1200 these diligent readers did not know where to find a Latin text of Boniface's letter in the rich library of Worcester.

(†716), whether because it had no longer a living interest, or because it was felt that there was some indelicacy in recalling the misdeeds of that scandalous king of the Mercian line[1]. He concentrates attention on the vision, and the name of Wynfrith is hardly more important for his purpose than the name of Bogia, which is also preserved by a casual reference. For the rest the rendering is close:—the omission of the last of the Vices after l. 64 *unnytnys* (itself a strange rendering of *iter otiosum*), and of the first of the Virtues at the middle of l. 80, must be accidental; and the only noteworthy addition—the bracketed words at l. 61—is of the nature of a gloss. Barbarisms are not infrequent, e.g. l. 16 *under ánre gesihðe* = *sub uno aspectu*; constructions of the Latin are often confused, as at ll. 8–13; 46–9; 65–8; 86–7; the words *et diversorum...commorantium* at the beginning of § 13 have been wrongly joined to the end of § 12; and there are several verbal faults:—for instance at l. 15 *lichaman gesihðe* seems to arise from construing *carnis* with *conspectum* instead of *velamine*; l. 33 *þære beorhtan gesihðe an engel* = *splendidae visionis angelus* could hardly have been written if the translator saw that *splendidae visionis* = *splendidus aspectu*; l. 109 *sweg* = *fraglantia* (i.e. *fragrantia*) is due to a rather common confusion with *fragor*; l. 119 *fotes deopnesse* may follow from misreading of *pene* as *pede*; and at l. 120 *helan* translates *ascellas* 'armpits.'

That the extant copy is not the translator's original is clear from the scribal errors mentioned in the footnotes; and consequently the linguistic forms cannot be relied on to prove the place of composition. There are well marked deviations from standard Late West-Saxon:—*tealode* 76, with *u*-umlaut, for normal *talode*, and *nioðeran* 90, 100, 103 are strictly Anglian. So are p. p. *gesegen* 12, 40, 136 and pa. t. subj. 3 sg. *gesege* 125, 173 beside *geseage* 90, 167, though such forms of (*ge*)*sēon* seem to occur in the South in very late Old English. The same remark applies to Anglian (or Kentish) *nedbade* (normal *nȳd-*) 7; *ungehersumnes* 58 beside normal *ungehyrsum* 58; *stemende* (normal *stȳm-*) 74; *lég* (normal *līg*) 25, 30, 35, 92, 105; *cegan* 49, 74, 85; and *awerged* 39, 144 beside normal *awyr*(*i*)*gd-* 41. Next comes a group of forms that are usually associated with South-Eastern dialects:—(*a*) common *io* for *ĕo* as in the pronouns *hiom* 103 etc., *sio* 73 etc.; with *siocum* 83; *friode* 176; *feorþiode* 186; *híofigende* 93, 101; *triowe* 'tree' 118; *ungetriowan* 180; *diofol* 197; and (*be*)*fiollan* 96, 118; *niorxnawang* 111; *biorht-* 121, 126. (*b*) occasional

[1] That such visions could be turned into instruments of scandal is shown by a slightly later English example in *Mon. Germ. Hist.: Epist.* vol. III, pp. 404–5. It seems to have been suggested by Boniface's letter.

ia for *ēa*, *éa* in *hiaf* 148, *hiardran* 196. (*c*) rare *io* for *ĕa* in *gesioh* (pa. t. sg.) 168.

It is often assumed that the provenance of an eleventh century copy can be determined from its linguistic forms; and since in our second volume we have specimens of the work of four scribes, of whom the first three at least were pretty certainly engaged in one place (probably Worcester) and on a single book, it is worth following these abnormalities through the volume:—

Hand I (ff. 1–61 b = *Dialogues*, Bks. I and II) has common *gesēge*, *gesegen*; common *nēd* etc. for normal *nīed*, *nȳd* etc.; frequent *io* for *eo*.

Hand II (ff. 62 a–137 a = *Dialogues* Bk. III–) has common *gesēge* (*-sēage*) etc.; common *nēd* etc.; but not *io* for *eo*. When however the same scribe comes to copy the first two Lives (ff. 137 b–139 b) he writes regularly *gesēge* (*-sēage*); no *nēd* etc.; no *io* for *eo*; and these two Lives have usually *æ* for umlaut *ĕ* before a covered nasal (e.g. *lotwræncas*), though the number of such forms in the *Dialogues* is inconsiderable.

Hand III (ff. 139 b–148 a = *Malchus*, *Wynfriðʼs Letter*, *Evil Tongues*) is in language fairly uniform; for instance *Malchus* has frequent *io* for *eo*; occasional *ia* for *ēa* in *hiafde*[1], and probably once *io* for *ĕa* in *niorwedon*[2]; but no significant use of *æ* for *ĕ* + covered nasal[3].

Hand IV (ff. 149 a–155 b = *Hexameron* etc.) has none of the abnormalities of *Wynfriðʼs Letter*.

It seems that the applied theory of eleventh century English dialects is much simpler than the reality:—there is no necessary uniformity of language in the copies produced by a single scriptorium; and in the MS. before us, the forms *gesēge* (*gesēage*)[4], *gesegen* are the only abnormalities that run through the three hands, and so may fairly be used as evidence for the provenance of the MS. Even here there is a difficulty: for since our volume was at Worcester about the year 1200, and almost certainly at Worcester a century earlier in Bishop Wulfstan's day[5], there is good reason for believing that it was produced at Worcester; and yet its

[1] For *Evil Tongues*, cp. f. 147 b *...gif us abelgaþ ure efenhiafden.*

[2] Presumably for *nearwedon* rather than for early *nierwedon*: cp. *nioroglice* as variant to *nearulice* in *Dialogues* (ed. Hecht), p. 29, l. 21.

[3] *Mænnen*, l. 177, is the only example in *Wynfriðʼs Letter*.

[4] The forms *gesēage*, *-sēagon* are perhaps to be explained as mere spellings for *gesēge*, *-sēgon*, reflecting the reduction of historical *-ēag-* to *-ēg-*. It is true the late glossator by superscription converts *gesege* f. 140 a into *iseȝe*, and *geseage* f. 139 a into *iseawe* = *isawe*; but this is not good evidence that the vowel in *geseage* differed from that in *gesege*.

[5] It is tempting but hardly safe to identify MSS. Otho C. 1 and Hatton 76 with the '*II Englissce Dialogus*' mentioned in the brief catalogue at f. 101[b] of the Worcester book C.C.C.C. MS. 367 (late 11th century): see James, *Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS.* and Hecht's edition, Pt. ii, p. 29.

characteristic forms *gesēge*, *gesegen* are by no means typical of the many Worcester books that have come down from the second half of the eleventh century. I shall not attempt to unravel these perplexities, which might be fewer if we knew more about the literary language of Worcester in the time of Oswald († 992). But it is possible to reach some conclusions on the history of the texts. It may be inferred that forms like *nēd* in the *Dialogues* from Bk. III onward are not due to the latest scribe, since they are absent from the two Lives in his handwriting; that in previous textual history these two Lives are dissociated from the *Dialogues*, and that their characteristic *æ* for *ĕ* + covered nasal is also not due to the latest scribe. Again, while at first sight *Malchus* (*M*) must be associated closely with the two Lives that immediately precede it, because they have the same source, on its linguistic forms it must be grouped with *Wynfriðʼs Letter* (*W*) and *Evil Tongues* (*E. T.*): either then these characteristic forms are due to the latest scribe, or the three pieces have an earlier history in common distinct from that of the other Lives from the *Vitae Patrum*.

The vocabulary supports the second alternative. Jordan[1] has listed a number of words that are rarely found in Late West Saxon texts, and though it would not be safe to rely on any single example, in texts so short the cumulative weight of the following is considerable :—Pure Late West Saxon has *clipian* 'cry out' where early texts, or late texts with an Anglian colouring, have *cēgan* (*cīgan*): the two Lives have only *cleopian*; *M*, *W* have only *cēgan* (*cīgan*), and so has *E. T.*, e.g. f. 146 a *þonne ic cige ane siðe, þonne gehyreð he me æfter þære gecigednesse. Semninga* 'suddenly' in pure Late West Saxon is replaced by *færinga* etc., but it occurs in *W* 8, 10, 165; *M* 218. Of *midnes* = Lat. *medium*, Toller has only four examples, all from *M*; but there are two more in *W* 52, 157. Another word uncommon in pure West Saxon texts is *(ge)fir(e)nian* : there are three examples in *W* 55, 57, 157 and it occurs more than once in *E. T.*, e.g. in a passage on f. 146 b that gives three examples of *yfelsian*, another Anglian symptom :—and *þæt is þonne swiðe micel yfel þæt se man onsace Drihtne hælendum Criste, and hine yfelsige, and his halgum téonan do... Hwæt bið mare synn þonne man yfelsige his Drihten? Forþan sé yfelsað his Drihten se þe his gesceafte tæleð oððe his gesceafte wyrgeð, þeah hine hwa abelige; and þurh þyllicu þing gefirenað seo tunge oft.* The word *godwrecnis* 'crime' pretty certainly lies behind *godwyrcnis* at l. 45; the only other recorded example is from the translation of Bede's *History*, a

[1] *Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes*, Heidelberg 1906. See also Klaeber, *Zur altenglischen Bedaübersetzung*, *Anglia* xxv and xxviii; Hecht, *loc. cit.*, Pt. ii, pp. 134ff.

text with well marked Anglian features, and the substantive *godwreca*, which is also uncommon, occurs in *M* 389 *gangaþ ut, ge godwrecan*. It is a fair inference that the three texts—*Malchus, Wynfriþ's Letter* and *Evil Tongues*—were composed in territory once Mercian; and when the opening words—*M: Sagaþ her on þissum bocum, W: Her sagaþ on þissum bocum*—are added to the list of similarities, it seems likely that the translator of *Malchus* was also the translator of *Wynfriþ's Letter*. The vocabulary does not warrant the conclusion that *Evil Tongues*, which is probably based on Latin materials, is also the work of this translator; but it is possible; and the possibility is strengthened if the exceptional phonological forms that the sermon shares with *M* and *W* go back to the translator's draft. If common authorship could be established, we should have a useful clue to the date of the translations; for the sermon contains many references to the monastic life: e.g. f. 146 b *And forþan ne tælen þa munucas*[1] *æfre, ne ne cweðan 'We wæron nu þráge on mynstre and we on þam fæce micclum ne gefírnodan'; forþan hig liogaþ gif hig tælaþ, forþan hiora tunga gefirenaþ dæghwamlice;* or f. 147 b *...and gif we hit gewrecan ne magon, þ<o>nne biotiaþ we to him: 'Hwæt, we syndon munucas gecweden,' þeh we þone munuchad rihte ne <he>aldon. We us sceolon gebiddan to Drihtne, gif we þone munuchad rihte healden wil-la<ð, on> ǽrne morgen and on underne, and on midne dæg, and on þa nontid, and on æfenne, and æt <n>iht, and æt honan sange*, etc. Such a sermon is not likely to have been composed in English, or translated for English use, before the Benedictine reform in the latter part of the tenth century.

Wynfriþ's Letter contains other matter of lexicographical interest. There are two examples of the unrecorded verb *oðlengan* (*to*) = *pertinere* (*ad*) ll. 49, 68. One clear instance of the simplex *blǣstan* = '*anhelare*,' '*erumpere*' (of fire) occurs at l. 28; another at l. 91, which is better not taken as a compound with *up*; and a third at l. 25 favouring the compound *forþblǣstan*, which is probably to be assumed for Toller's first example of *blǣstan* (*Suppl.* p. 96). *Feorþīod* = '*longinqua regio*,' l. 186, and *sceaððignes* = '*laesio*,' l. 35, are also new. *Lihtian*, l. 44, in the literal sense 'to reduce the weight of' is not elsewhere recorded for Old English; nor does Toller give examples of *ormǣtlic* adj., ll. 148, 170, though the adverb is not uncommon. The sense of *nȳdbād* in *þurh nēdbāde* at l. 7 is not easy to determine; while *pund* = *pondus*, l. 43, and *geswēge* = *con-*

[1] Note *þa munucas* here, and yet the preacher identifies himself with the monks in the next passage. If the original wording has been correctly preserved, it would indicate that the preacher of the English sermon was placed in charge of monks, as bishop or abbot.

sonantes, l. 68 (cp. l. 20), owe their unusual meanings to bad translation. Other words of interest because they are comparatively rare are:—*ārēcelēasian* 66; *domne* 1; *forstynted* 32, 132; *gegītsian* 53; *gemánes* (from *gemāh*) 57; *gylplīce* 54; *héapian* 43, 76; *lorh* 168; *picen* adj. 122; *unārǽfnedlīce* adv. 30; and the contexts are now available for *bewrigennys* 10, 13, *drūpung* 59, *cwealmlic* 149, which Toller has already quoted from Cockayne's notes. Perhaps none of these is so interesting as a sentence from *Evil Tongues* that the fire has spared, f. 147 a:—*Ac he ymbgæð hus and sægð oþrum men oþres synne, and cwið 'Ic eom fyrenfull 7 þés man is fyrenfull.' 'Ac hwæt belangað þæs þonne to eow?' cwæð se Godes lareow.* The verb *belong* is not recorded in the Oxford Dictionary till the fourteenth century, and here it has exactly the sense (*quid interest*) that one would expect in an Old English example.

The print of the Latin original, which I am able to reproduce from the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*[1] by the courtesy of the directing authority, will provide what more is necessary to explain the text. Considerable passages or phrases which are not represented in the translation are italicised. In the Old English, contractions are expanded without notice; and to avoid descriptive footnotes, any letter of which an identifiable trace remains is treated as if it were preserved intact. Letters of which no identifiable traces remain are printed in italics within brackets < >. Where the Latin source, the style or the context give sufficient indications of the reading of the MS. in its perfect state, I have tried to fill gaps due to crumbling. It is not easy; for the vellum is so much distorted in the worst places that the number of missing letters can be determined only by the crude method of averaging several whole lines; but the attempt may serve a useful purpose so long as it is clear that italicised words within brackets have no better authority than mere conjecture.

f. 143 b § 1. Her sagað on þissum bocum þæt domne Wynfrið sende þis gewrit ærost to þissum leodum, bi sumum preoste se wæs þrage forðfered and gehwyrfde þa eft to his lichaman. He sæde þæt he bicome to þisse þeode, and þæt he spæce wiþ ðone preost, 'and he me þa rehte þa

1. *Rogabas me, soror carissima, ut admirandas visiones* de illo redivivo, qui *nuper in monasterio Milburge abbatissae* mortuus est et revixit, *quae ei ostensae sunt*, scribendo intimare et transmittere curarem, *quemadmodum istas veneranda abbatissa Hildelida referenti didici. Modo siquidem gratias omnipotenti Deo refero, quia in hoc*

3 he bicome] *so Wanley: now only the last two strokes of* m *and the final* e *remain.*

[1] *Epistolae*, vol. III, pp. 252 ff.; see also *Epistolae Selectae*, vol. I, ed. M. Tangl, Berlin 1916. There is a modern English rendering in E. Kylie's *English Correspondence of St Boniface* (King's Classics), London 1911, pp. 78 ff.

<wundorlica>n gesihðe þa þe he geseah þa he wæs buton lichaman, and þis he me rehte eall his agene worde.

§ 2. 'He cwæð þæt him geeode þurh nedbade þæt his lichama wære seoc geworden, and he wæs semninga þy gaste benémed. And him þuhte þæt hit wære on þære onlicnysse þe him man þa eagan weccende mid þicce hrægle forbrugde; and þa semninga wæs seo bewrigennys onweg anumen, and þa wæs him ætywed on gesihðe ealle þa þing þe him næfre ær gesegen næron ne onwrigen; and him wæs æghwæt swiðe uncuð þæs þe he geseah. And þa æt nyxtan wæs eall seo swearte bewrigennis aworpen fram his eagum: þa þuhte him þæt eall þes middaneard wære gesamnod biforan his lichaman gesihðe; and he sceawode eall folc, and ealle eorðan dælas and sæstreamas, under ánre gesihðe. And him þuhte þæt þa englas wæron swilce hig byrnende wæron, þa þe hine læddon ut of þam lichaman, and he ne mihte nænig þinga locian on hig for þære micclan beorhtnesse þe hig mid ymbseted wæron; and hig sungon swiðe wynsumum stefnum and swiðe geswégum, and hig cwædon "*Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me*": þæt is: "Drihten, ne þrea þu us in þinum yrre, ne þu us ne steor in þinre hatheortnysse."

§ 3. 'And he sæde þæt hig hine abrudon up in þone lyft; and he þa geseah fyr beornan ymb ealles þyses middaneardes ymbhwyrfte, and se lég wæs forðblæstende mid swiðe únmætre micelnysse, and he wæs swiðe egeslic upastigende; "and næs eall þes middaneard, þa ic hine sceawode, buton swilc he wære on anes †cleowen† onlicnysse, and eall his weorc; and ic geseah þæt þæt fyr wolde blæstan ofer ealne middaneard, gif se engel ne sette Cristes rode tacen ongéan þam fy<*re*: *and*> þonne gestilde hit,

dilectionis tuae voluntatem eo plenius liquidiusque, Deo patrocinium praestante, implere valeo, quia ipse cum supra dicto fratre *redivivo*—dum nuper de transmarinis partibus ad istas pervenit regiones—locutus sum; et ille mihi stupendas visiones, quas extra corpus suum raptus in spiritu vidit, proprio exposuit sermone.

2. Dicebat quippe, se per violentis egritudinis dolorem corporis gravidine subito exutum fuisse. Et simillimum esse collatione, veluti si videntis et vigilantis hominis oculi densissimo tegmine velentur; et subito auferatur velamen, et tunc perspicua sint omnia, quae antea non visa et velata et ignota fuerunt. Sic sibi, abiecto terrenae velamine carnis, ante conspectum universum collectum fuisse mundum, ut cunctas terrarum partes et populos et maria sub uno aspectu contueretur. Et tam magnae claritatis et splendoris angelos eum egressum de corpore suscepisse, ut nullatenus pro nimio splendore in eos aspicere potuisset. Qui iucundis et consonis vocibus canebant: 'Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me.'

3. 'Et sublevabant me—dixit—in aera sursum. Et in circuitu totius mundi ignem ardentem videbam et flammam inmensae magnitudinis anhelantem et terribiliter ad superiora ascendentem, non aliter pene quam ut sub uno globo totius mundi machinam conplectentem, nisi eam sanctus angelus inpresso signo sanctae crucis Christi conpesceret. Quando enim in obviam minacis flammae signum crucis Christi expresserat, tunc flamma magna ex parte decrescens resedit. Et istius

5 wundorlican] *Lat. stupendas; cp.* wundorlicre=*stupendae*, l. 126.
20–1 *Psalm* xxxvii, 2. 27 cleowen] *read* cleowenes.

f. 144a 30 and se lég swiðrode on micclum dæle. And ic wæs swiðe unaræfnedlice geþræsted on minum eagum for þiss<*es*> micclan brynes ege; and me wæs ealra swiðost seo gesihð †forstynded† for þara scinendra gasta beorhtnesse; and þa æthrán þære beorhtan gesihðe an engel minum heafde, and ic wearð þurh þæt gescyld and gesund gehealden fram þara 35 léga sceaððignesse."

§ 4. 'And he sæde, on þære tide þe he wæs of his lich<*a*>man, þæt þyder wære gesamnod of lichamum swa micel menego forðferedra sawla swa he ne wende þæt ealles mennisces cynnes nære swylc unrim menego swilce þæt wæs. And he sæde eac þæt þær wære micel meniu æt awer- 40 gedra gasta, †and eac þam beorhtum englum þe þær gesegene wæron: hig hæfdon micel geflit wið ða awyrigdan gastas bi <*þam soðf*>æstan sawlum þe þær wæron útgongende of lichaman: and þa deoflu wæ<*ron wregende þa s*>awle, and hig wæron héapiende hiora synna pund on hio; þa <*englas wæron*> ládiende and lihtigende hiora synna.

45 § 5. 'And se man sæde þæt he sylf gehyrde ealle his †godwyrcnisse† and his agene synna—þa þe he of his giogoðe gefremede, oððe þæt he on receleaste gefremode, þæt he nolde his synna ándettan, and þæt he on ofergitolness gefremode, oððe þæt he eallunga nyste þæt hit to synna oðlengde: and ælc þara synna cégde his agenre stefne wið hine, 50 and hio hine †hig† ardlice þreadon; and anra gehwilc þara synna þe he

flammae terribili ardore intollerabiliter torquebar, oculis maxime ardentibus et splendore fulgentium spirituum vehementissime reverberatis; donec splendidae visionis angelus manus suae inpositione caput meum quasi protegens tangebat et me a lesione flammarum tutum reddidit.'

4. Praeterea referebat: illo in temporis spatio, quo extra corpus fuit, tam magnam animarum migrantium de corpore multitudinem illuc, ubi ipse fuit, convenisse, quam totius humani generis in terris non fuisse antea existimaret. Innumerabilem quoque malignorum spirituum turbam nec non et clarissimum chorum supernorum angelorum adfuisse narravit. Et maximam inter se miserrimos spiritus et sanctos angelos de animabus egredientibus de corpore disputationem habuisse, daemones accussando et peccatorum pondus gravando, angelos vero relevando et excussando.

5. Et se ipsum audisse, omnia flagitiorum suorum propria peccamina—quae fecit a iuventute sua et ad confitendum aut neglexit aut oblivioni tradidit vel ad peccatum pertinere omnino nesciebat—ipsius propria voce contra illum clamitasse et eum dirissime accussasse et specialiter unumquodque vitium quasi ex sua persona in medium se obtulisse dicendo quoddam: 'Ego sum cupiditas tua, qua inlicita frequentissime et contraria preceptis Dei concupisti'; quoddam vero: 'Ego sum vana

30 unaræfnedlice] second n *added above line.*
32 forstynded] *read* forstynted; *cp.* l. 132.
40 and] *delete* (?).
41 soðfæstan] *only the* e *part of* æ *survives. Nothing equivalent in the Latin.*
43 on hio] o *uncertain: but the letter is not* g; *for* hio *cp. ll. 52, 104.*
45 godwyrcnisse] *conceivable as a barbarous rendering of* '*beneficia*': *but in fact there is nothing in the Latin to suggest it. Read* godwrecnisse, *a word which occurs once in the O. E. Bede=*'*facinus*': *cp.* godwræc *adj.* '*impious.*'
50 hig] *delete* (?).

of his iugoðe gefremede, on † ænigum † hade þær wæs forðgeboren on hiora midnesse; and hio wæron þus sprecende:—Sum cwæð: "Ic eom þin gitsung þe þu unalyfedlice gegitsodest wið Godes bebodu." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom idel gilp þe þu mid mannum gylplice ahofe." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom leasung in þære þu gefírenadest þær þu wære lígende." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom unnyt word þe þu idelice gespræce." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom gesihð þurh þa þu gefirenadest." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom gemánes and ungehersumnes, þær þu ealdum gastlicum mannum ungehyrsum wære." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom drupung and sleacnis þe þu wære receleas in haligra gewrita geornesse." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom swiciende geþoht and unnyt † gamen † (þe þu oðra manna lif eahtodest and þin agen lif forlete), and ic þe ofer gemet on cyrican and buton cirican gebisgode." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom slapolnis mid þam þu wære geþricced, þæt þu late arise Gode to ándettenne." Sum cwæð: "Ic eom unnytnys"—and hig him on sædon manega þing þissum gelic. And ealle þa þe he on his lifes dagum
f. 144 b lifigende gefremod<*e*>, þe he areceleasode to ándettenne, | and manige synna þær cirmdon swiðe egeslice wið hine þa þe he næfre ne wende þæt hio to synnum oðlengdon; and þa awyrigdan gastas wæron geswege eallum þam synnum; and hig wæron hine swiðe heardlice wregende, and hig wæron secgende ealle þa stowe and ealle þa tide þe hig þa mándæde on gedydon. And he þær geseah eac sumne þara manna þe he ær gewund<*od*>e þa hwile þe he lifigende wæs;—and se man lifde þagyt—, and to gewitnesse his yfela he wæs þider geláéded; and sio wund wæs open, and þæt blod wæs stemende, and he wæs cegende his agenre stefne and he<*fi*>estu edwit cweðende, and he s<*tælde*> þæs blodes

gloria, qua te apud homines iactanter exaltasti'; aliud: 'Ego sum mendacium, in quo mentiendo peccasti'; aliud: 'Ego sum otiosum verbum, quod inaniter locutus fuisti'; aliud: 'Ego visus, quo videndo inlicita peccasti'; aliud: 'Ego contumacia et inoboedientia, qua senioribus spiritalibus inoboediens fuisti'; aliud: 'Ego torpor et desidia in sanctorum studiorum neglectu'; aliud: 'Ego vaga cogitatio et inutilis cura, qua te supra modum sive in ecclesia sive extra ecclesiam occupabas'; aliud: 'Ego somnolentia, qua oppressus tarde ad confitendum Deo surrexisti'; aliud: 'Ego iter otiosum'; *aliud: 'Ego sum neglegentia et incuria, qua detentus erga studium divinae lectionis incuriosus fuisti'*; et cetera his similia. Omnia, quae in diebus vitae suae in carne conversatus peregit et confiteri neglexit, multa quoque, quae ad peccatum pertinere omnino ignorabat, contra eum cuncta terribiliter vociferabant.

51 ænigum] *read* æg(e)num: *Latin* '*quasi ex sua persona.*'

61 gamen] *read* gymen *or* gemen: *Latin* '*cura.*'

75 hefiestu] *distorted by burning: a pocket in the vellum now closed by the special mounting of the burnt leaves, covers what I conjecture to be the upper part of* f *and the whole of* i. *Note that the reading assumes the ligature* ft, *which occurs nowhere else in the tract.*

stælde] s *certain from the remains of the top: but unless there is unusual distortion of the burnt edges,* stælde, *which suits the Latin* '*inputabat,*' *and may be construed with the following* (*conjectural*) on hine, *does not fit the remains very well.*

gyte swiðe wælhreowlice, and he tealode and héapode micel m<*eniu synna on hine*>; and þa ealdan feond trymedon and sædon þæt he wære hira gew<*ealdes and hira hlytes*>.

§ 6. '"<*þa*> ladedon me min þæt lyttla mægen þa þe ic earma and unm<*eodumlic*>e ...re gedyde:—Sum cwæð: 'Ic eom fæsten þe he his lichaman on aclænsode wið ðam yfelan geornissum.' Sum cwæð: 'Ic eom hluttor gebéd þæt he geat in Drihtnes gesihðe.' Sum cwæð: 'Ic eom untrumra þegnung, þa he mildelice siocum gedyde.' Sum cwæð: 'Ic eom sealmsang þone he Gode gedyde to bote his unnyttra worda'": and swa him cegde anra gehwilc þæra mægna, and wæs hine beladigende wið his synnum; †and þas þe þe wæron eac miccligende þa engellican gastas, "and me wæron þas mægnu bescyldigende þa þe her trymedon;† and me wæron þa mægnu miccle maran geþuht þonne ic æfre wende þæt ic hig on minum mægne gefremman mihte."

§ 7. 'And he sæde eac þæt he geseage on þissum nioðeran middanearde fyrene seaðas, and þa wæron swiðe egeslice úp blæstende; and he geseah fleogan ingemang þam fyrenan lege þa earman gastas, þa wæron on sweartra fugela ónlicnissum; and hig wæron híofigende and

Similiter et maligni spiritus in omnibus consonantes vitiis accussando et duriter testificando et loca et tempora nefandorum actuum memorantes eadem, quae peccata dixerunt, conclamantes probabant. Vidit quoque ibi hominem quendam, cui iam in seculari habitu degens vulnus inflixit—quem adhuc in hac vita superesse referebat—, ad testimonium malorum suorum adductum; cuius cruentatum et patens vulnus et sanguis ipse propria voce clamans inproperabat et inputabat ei crudele effusi sanguinis crimen. Et sic cumulatis et conputatis sceleribus, antiqui hostes adfirmabant: eum, reum peccatorem, iuris eorum et condicionis indubitanter fuisse.

6. 'E contra autem—dixit—excussantes me, clamitabant parve virtutes animae, quas ego miser indigne et inperfecte peregi. Quaedam dixit: "*Ego sum oboedientia, quam senioribus spiritalibus exhibuit*"; *quaedam:* "Ego sum ieiunium, quo corpus suum contra desiderium carnis pugnans castigavit"; alia: "Ego oratio pura, quam effundebat in conspectu Domini"; alia: "Ego sum obsequium infirmorum, quod clementer egrotantibus exhibuit"; quaedam: "Ego sum psalmus, quem pro otioso sermone satisfaciens Deo cecinit." Et sic unaqueque virtus contra emulum suum peccatum excussando me clamitabat. Et has illi inmensae claritatis angelici spiritus magnificando defendentes me adfirmabant. Et istae virtutes universae valde mactae et multo maiores et excellentiores esse mihi videbantur, quam umquam viribus meis digne perpetrate fuissent.'

7. Inter ea referebat, se quasi in inferioribus, in hoc mundo vidisse igneos puteos horrendam eructantes flammam plurimos; et, erumpente tetra terribilis flamma ignis, volitasse et miserorum hominum spiritus in similitudine nigrarum avium per flammam plorantes et ululantes et verbis et voce humana stridentes et lugentes pro-

76 meniu synna on hine] *for the restoration cp. l. 43 above, and l. 39.*

78 hira gewealdes and hira hlytes] *for the restoration cp. ll. 137 f. below.*

79 and...gedyde] *after* unm *indistinct remains of two letters; then a hole, after which* e *is clear and two more letters unclear; then a further gap, at the end of which stands* re (*possibly* ne), *with traces of an accent above indicating a preceding long vowel. Between* unm *and* gedyde *the space would be enough for 20 to 25 letters in all.*

ll. 86, 87. *The MS. is clear, and the corruption appears to be deep-rooted.*

wépende and gristbitigende mid menniscre stefne hiora agene † fyrhtu †,
95 and þæt andwearde wite; and hig gesæton hwilum lythwon on þæra seaða ofrum, and hig fiollon eft æfre heofigende in þa seaðas. Þa cwæð him án to of þam halgan englum: "Þeos lyttle rést getacnað þæt ælmihtig Drihten syleð þissum sawlum celnisse and reste æfter þam toweardan domes dæge."

100 § 8. 'And se man gehyrde under þam seaðum, in þære nioðeran helle, swiðe egeslic gránung and swiðe micelne wóp þara hiofigendra
.145 a sawla. Þa <*cwæð hi*>m tó an þæra engla: "Þeos granung and þes wop þe þu her gehyrest in þisse nioðeran helle, þæt syndon þa sawla þe hiom næfre to ne cymð Godes seo árfæste miltse; ac hio sceall cwylmian se
105 eca leg."

§ 9. 'And he þær geseah eac on sume stowe swiðe wundorlicre fægernisse, and þær blissode swiðe fægera sawla menigu: þa laðedon hig hine þæt he come to hiora gefean, gif him alyfed wære. Þa com þanon swiðe micel sweg, and se wæs on swiðe micelre swetnysse: þis þonne
110 wæs þæra eadigra gasta oroð. Þeos stow þonne wæs be þan þa englas him sædan þæt hit wæs se mæra niorxnawang.

§ 10. 'And he þær geseah fyren éa, sio wæs gefylled mid weallende †wite†, and hio wæs eall inneweard byrnende, and hio wæs on wunderlicre fyrhtu; and þ<*ær wæ*>s an treow ofer þa éa on brycge onlicnysse.
115 Þonne efstan þa halgan sawla t<*o þære*> bricge fram þam gemote þe hig æt wæron, and hig gyrndon þæt hig oferforen þa éa. Þonne ferdon

pria merita et praesens supplicium: consedisse paululum herentes in marginibus puteorum; et iterum heiulantes cecidisse in puteos. Et unus ex angelis dixit: 'Parvissima haec requies indicat, quia omnipotens Deus in die futuri iudicii his animabus refrigerium supplicii et requiem perpetuam praestiturus est.'

8. Sub illis autem puteis, *adhuc in inferioribus et in imo profundo*, quasi in inferno inferiori, audivit horrendum et tremendum *et dictu difficilem* gemitum et fletum lugentium animarum. Et dixit ei angelus: 'Murmur et fletus, quem in inferioribus audis, illarum est animarum, ad quas numquam pia miseratio Domini perveniet; sed aeterna illas flamma sine fine cruciabit.'

9. Vidit quoque mire amoenitatis locum, in quo pulcherrimorum hominum gloriosa multitudo miro laetabatur gaudio; qui eum invitabant, ut ad eorum gaudia, si ei licitum fuisset, cum eis gavisurus veniret. Et inde mirae dulcedinis fraglantia veniebat; quia beatorum alitus fuit ibi congaudentium spirituum. Quem locum sancti angeli adfirmabant famosum esse Dei paradisum.

10. Nec non et igneum piceumque flumen, bulliens et ardens, mirae formidinis *et teterrimae visionis* cernebat. Super quod lignum pontis vice positum erat. Ad quod sanctae gloriosaeque animae ab illo secedentes conventu properabant, desiderio alterius ripae transire cupientes. Et quaedam non titubantes constanter transiebant. Quaedam vero labefactae de ligno cadebant in Tartareum flumen; et aliae tinguebantur pene, quasi toto corpore mersae; aliae autem ex parte quadam, veluti quedam

94 fyrhtu] *read* wyrhtu.
113 wite] *read* pice.

hig sume swiðe ánrædlice ofer þa bricge. And sume hig wurdon aslidene of þam triowe, þæt hig befeollan in þa tintregan éa: sume hig befiollan in fotes deopnesse; sume mid ealne lichaman; sume oð ða cneowu; sume oð ðone middel; sume oð ða helan: þonne symble wæs þara sawla æghwilc biorhtre þonne hio ær wæs, syððan hio eft coman up of þære picenan éa. Þa cwæð an engel to him bi þam feallendum sawlum: "Þis syndon þa sawla þe æfter hinsiðe sumere arfæstre clænsunge bihofiað, and Godes miltsunge, þæt hig syn him wyrðe to bringenne."

§ 11. 'And he sæde þæt he þær gesege scinende weallas, þa wæron on micelre biorhtnesse and on wundorlicre lengu and on órmættre heannesse. Þa cwædon þa halgan englas: "Þis is sio halige and sio mǽrlice ceaster Hierusalem, in þære gefægniað symble þa eadigan sawla and þa halgan gastas." And þonne þa sawla coman ofer þa éa, þe ic ǽr big sæde, þonne efstan hig eallum mægne wið ðissa wealla. He þonne sæde þæt hig wæron swiðe beorhte scinende, and he sæde þæt him wurde for þisse micclan beorhtnesse his eagena gesihð forstynted, þæt he nænig þinga locian ne mihte on þa beorhnesse.

§ 12. 'Sæde eac þæt þær cumen wære sumes mannes sawul to þam gemote se wearð dead in abboddomes þegnunge, and sio wæs swiðe wlitig gesegen. Þa gegripon þa deoflu þa sawle, and hig sædon þæt hio wære hiora hlytes and hiora anwealdes. Þa andswarode him án of þam halgan englum and cwæð: "Ic eow nu gecyðe hraðe, ge earman gastas, f. 145 b þæt þios sawul <*ne bið eow*>res gewealdes." Þa mid þy þe þis | gecweden wæs, þa com þær færlice micel heap swiðe hwittra sawla, and þus wæron cweðende:—"Þes abbod wæs ure ealdor, and us ealle he gestrynde Gode

usque ad genua, quaedam usque ad medium, quaedam vero usque ad ascellas. Et tamen unaquaeque cadentium multo clarior speciosiorque de flumine in alteram ascendebat ripam, quam prius in piceum bulliens cecidisset flumen. Et unus ex beatis angelis de illis cadentibus animabus dixit: 'Hae sunt animae, quae post exitum mortalis vitae, *quibusdam levibus vitiis non omnino ad purum abolitis*, aliqua pia miserentis Dei castigatione indigebant, ut Deo dignae offerantur.'

11. Et citra illud flumen speculatur muros fulgentes clarissimi splendoris, stupendae longitudinis et altitudinis inmensae. Et sanctos angelos dixisse: 'Haec est enim illa sancta et inclita civitas, caelestis Hierusalem, in qua istae perpetualiter sanctae gaudebunt animae.' Illas itaque animas et istius gloriosae civitatis muros, ad quam post transitum fluminis festinabant, tam magna inmensi luminis claritate et fulgore splendentes esse dixit, ut, reverberatis oculorum pupillis, pro nimio splendore in eos nullatenus aspicere potuisset.

12. Narravit quoque, ad illum conventum inter alias venisse cuiusdam hominis animam, qui in abbatis officio defunctus est; quae speciosa nimis et formosa esse visa est. Quam maligni spiritus rapientes contendebant sortis eorum et condicionis fuisse. Respondit ergo unus ex choro angelorum dicens: 'Ostendam vobis cito, miserrimi spiritus, quia vestrae potestatis anima illa probatur non esse.' Et his dictis, repente intervenit magna choors candidarum animarum, quae dicebant: 'Senior et doctor noster fuit iste, et nos omnes suo magisterio lucratus est Deo; et hoc pretio redemptus est, et vestri iuris non esse dinoscitur,' et quasi cum angelis

mid his lare, and he bið alysed for þissum weorðe, and he ne bið eowres anwealdes." Þa gefuhton þa englas wið ðam deoflum, and þa englas þa geeoden on þa deoflu þæt hig generedon þa sawle of þara <a>werigdra gasta anwealde. Þa þreade se halga engel þa deoflu, and cwæð: "Wite ge nu þæt ge genamon þas sawle buton rihte: gewitað ge nu, earman gastas, † nu † in þæt ece fyr." And þa se engel þis gecweden hæfde, þa ahofan þa awyrigdan deoflu swiðe ormætlicne hiaf, and hig wurpon hig sylfe mid cwealmlicre flihte on þa byrne<*nde*> s<*ea*>ðas, and hig coman eft æfter lyttlum fæce in þæt gemot, and hig flito<*n bi*> manna sawla gewyrhtum.

§ 13. 'And hig fliton éac bi þara manna gewyrhtum þe in þissum life mislice lifiað. And he sæde eac, on þa tid þe he wæs buton lichaman, þæt he mihte sceawian þa men þa þe wæron mid synnum besmitene, and eac þá þe wæron mid halgum mægnum Gode þeowigende and mid árfæstnyssum hæfdon ælmihtigne God †. And he geseah þæt þa Godes men wæron symble † biscyldende † fram þam englum, and þa englas wæron to him geþeodde mid sibbe and mid lufu. And he sæde bi þam mannum þe wæron gefylde mid manfullum synnum, þæt þær wæron symble deoflu to þam geþeodde; and he sægde þonne se man syngode, oððe on worde oððe on dæde, þæt þa deoflu þæt singallice sædon þam wyrrestan deoflum, and þæt hig hit brohtan mid hleahtre in hira midnesse. And he sæde þonne se man fírnode þæt þa deoflu brohtan ælce synne onsundran þam oðrum deoflum to gewitnesse; and he sæde þæt se diofol

contra daemones pugnam inirent. Et adminiculo angelorum eripientes illam animam de potestate malignorum spirituum liberaverunt. Et tum increpans angelus daemones dixit: 'Scitote modo et intellegite, quod animam istam sine iure rapuistis: et discedite, miserrimi spiritus, in ignem aeternum'—cum vero hoc dixisset angelus, ilico maligni spiritus levaverunt fletum et ululatum magnum; *in momento et quasi in ictu oculi* pernici volatu iactabant se in supra dictos puteos ignis ardentis: et post modicum intervallum emersi certantes in illo conventu iterum de animarum meritis disputabant.

13. Et diversorum merita hominum in hac vita commorantium dicebat se illo in tempore speculari potuisse. Et illos, *qui sceleribus obnoxii non fuerunt et* qui sanctis virtutibus freti propitium omnipotentem Deum habuisse noscebantur, ab angelis semper tutos ac defensos et eis caritate et propinquitate coniunctos fuisse. Illis vero, qui nefandis criminibus *et maculate vitae sordibus* polluti fuerunt, adversarium spiritum adsidue sociatum *et semper ad scelera suadentem* fuisse; et, quandocumque verbo vel facto peccaverint, hoc iugiter quasi ad laetitiam et gaudium aliis nequissimis spiritibus in medium proferens manifestavit. Et quando homo peccavit, *nequaquam* malignus spiritus *sustinuit moram faciens expectando, donec iterum peccaret*;

144 awerigdra] *initial* a *added much later above the line.*
147 nu] *delete, unless it is an error for* inn *adv.*
156 God] *a following word='propitium' omitted in MS.:* (?) gemiltsod(ne).
157 biscyldende] *read* biscyldede.

semninga þa synne gelærde þone man, and þæt he hig eft semninga gecydde þam deoflum.

§ 14. 'And he sæde þæt he geseage grindan her on worulde án mægden on ánre cweorne. Þa gesioh hio licgan oþres mægdnes lorh wið híg, swiðe fægre awrittenne, mid fagum flese. Þa forstæl hio hine. Þa wæron þa deoflu sona gefylled mid swiðe ormætlice gefean, and þær urnon sona fif þa wyrrestan deofla and sædon þa stalu to scylde in þara oðra deofla gemote, and hig wregdon þa stale to scylde, and sædon þæt þæt mæden wære fyrenfull. And sæde eac þæt he þær gesege sumes ealdes preostes sawle on micelre unrotnesse sé wæs lyttle ær dead, and
f. 146 a þam he þegnade <*þonne he*> læg on his feorhadle, "and he me | þa bæd þa he wæs sweltende þæt ic bæde his <*broðor þæt he*> fríode <*sum*> mænnen for hine þæt wæs hiom bæm g<*emæne.*" *Þa abead*> he hit him; ac his lices broðor for his gitsunge agæ<*lde þa be*>ne and nolde hig gefyllen. Þa wæs his sawul on þære hextan sworetunge, <*and wæ*>s wregende hire þone ungetriowan broðer, and hio hefiglice hine <*þrea*>de.

§ 15 (= 16). 'And þa þis wæs eall þuss gespecen and gesceawod, þa bibudon þa eadigan englas þæt his sawul ahwyrfde eft buton yldinge to his lichaman; and he þa gecydde eall þæt him þær ætéawed wæs gelyfedum mannum; and þam þe hit bismorodan, þonne forwyrnde he þám þære segene. And sumum wife he gerehte hire synne, sio wæs eardigende in feorþiode; and he hire gecydde þæt hio mihte geearnian, gif hio sylf wolde, þæt hire wære ælmihtig God miltsiend. And sumum mæssepreoste he gerehte ealle þas gastlican gesihðe. Þæs mæssepreostes

sed singillatim unumquodque vitium ad notitiam aliorum spirituum offerebat. Et subito apud hominem peccata suasit et ilico apud daemones perpetrata demonstravit.

14. Inter ea narravit, se vidisse puellam quandam in hac terrena vita molantem in mola. Quae vidit iuxta se iacentem alterius novam colum sculptura variatam; et pulchra ei visa fuit, et furata est illam. Tunc, quasi ingenti gaudio repleti, quinque teterrimi spiritus hoc furtum aliis in illo referebant conventu testificantes, illam furti ream et peccatricem fuisse. Intulit quoque: 'Fratris cuiusdam, qui paulo ante defunctus est, animam tristem ibi videbam. Cui antea ipse in infirmitate exitus sui ministravi *et exsequia prebui*; qui mihi moriens precepit, ut fratri illius germano verbis illius testificans demandarem, ut ancillam quandam, quam in potestate communiter possederunt, pro anima eius manu mitteret. Sed germanus eius, avaritia impediente, petitionem eius non implevit. Et de hoc supra dicta anima per alta suspiria accussans fratrem infidelem et increpans graviter querebatur.'

15. *Et similiter testatus est de Ceolredo rege Mercionum, quem illo tamen tempore, quo haec visa sunt, in corpore fuisse non dubium est. Quem, ut dixit, videbat angelico quodam umbraculo contra impetum daemoniorum, quasi libri alicuius magni extensione et superpositione, defensum. Ipsi autem daemones anhelando rogabant angelos, ut, ablata defensione illa, ipsi permitterentur crudelitatis eorum voluntatem in eo exercere. Et inputabant ei horribilem ac nefandam multitudinem flagitiorum; et minantes dicebant, illum sub durissimis inferorum claustris claudendum et ibi, peccatis*

177 abead] *remains of last letter favour* d.

nama wæs Bogia, and se hine gelærde þæt he þa gesihðe mannum cydde.
190 And he gecydde þam preoste þæt he wæs iú for manegum wintrum bigyrded for Godes lufan mid iserne gyrdelse, and næs him þæs nænig man gewita.

§ 16 (= 17). 'And he sæde þa he eft sceolde to his lichaman, þæt he þa nænigre oðru wiht swa swiðe onscunode on ealre þære gesihðe þe he
195 geseah swa his agenne lichaman, ne him nán þing swa ladlic þuhte ne swa forsewenlic: and he næfre gestanc hiardran fúlnes þonne him þuhte þæt se lichama stunce, buton þam deoflum and þam byrnendum fyre þe he þær geseah. And him þa wæs biboden þæt he hwyrfde to his lichaman in dægred, and ær he eode of his lichaman æt þam forman háncrede.'

promerentibus, aeternis tormentis cruciandum esse. Tunc angeli solito tristiores facti dicebant: 'Pro dolor, quod homo peccator iste semet ipsum plus defendere non permittit; et ob ipsius propria merita nullum ei adiutorium possumus prebere.' Et auferebant superpositi tutaminis defensionem. Tunc daemones gaudentes et exultantes, de universis mundi partibus congregati maiori multitudine, quam omnium animantium in saeculo fieri aestimaret, diversis eum tormentis inaestimabiliter fatigantes lacerabant.

16. Tum demum beati angeli praecipiebant ei, qui haec omnia extra corpus suum raptus spiritali contemplatione vidit et audivit, ut sine mora ad proprium rediret corpus et universa, quae illi ostensa fuerunt, credentibus *et intentione divina interrogantibus* manifestare non dubitaret, insultantibus autem narrare denegaret; et ut cuidam mulieri, quae inde in longinqua regione habitabat, eius perpetrata peccata per ordinem exponeret et ei intimaret, quod omnipotentem Deum potuisset per satisfactionem repropitiari sibi, si voluisset; et ut cuidam presbitero nomine Beggan istas spiritales visiones cunctas exponeret, et postea, quemadmodum ab illo instructus fieret, hominibus pronuntiaret: *propria quippe peccata, quae illi ab spiritibus inmundis inputata fuerunt, confessa supra dicti presbiteri iudicio emendaret; et ad indicium angelici praecepti* presbitero testificari, quia iam per plurimos annos zonam ferream circa lumbos, nullo hominum conscio, amore Domini cogente, habuerat.

17. Proprium corpus dicebat se, dum extra fuerat, tam valde perhorruisse, ut in omnibus illis visionibus nihil tam odibile, nihil tam despectum, nihil tam durum foetorem evaporans, exceptis daemonibus et igne flagrante, videret, quam proprium corpus. *Et fratres eius conservos, quos intuitus est exsequias corporis sui clementer exhibere, ideo perhorruit, quia invisi corporis curam egerunt.* Iussus tamen ab angelis primo diluculo redit ad corpus, qui primo gallicinio exiebat de corpore. *Redivivo autem in corpore plena septimana nihil omnino corporalibus oculis videre potuit, sed oculi fisicis pleni, frequenter sanguine stillaverunt.*

18. *Et postea de presbitero relegioso et peccatrice muliere, sicut ei ab angelis manifestatum est, ita illis profitentibus, verum esse probavit. Subsequens autem et citus scelerati regis exitus, quae de illo visa fuerunt vera esse, procul dubio probavit.*

19. *Multa alia et his similia referebat sibi ostensa fuisse, quae de memoria labefacta per ordinem recordari nullatenus potuisset. Et dicebat se post istas mirabiles visiones tam tenacem memoriae non fuisse, ut ante fuerat.*

20. *Haec autem te diligenter flagitante scripsi, quae tribus mecum relegiosis et valde venerabilibus fratribus in commune audientibus exposuit; qui mihi in hoc scripto adstipulatores fideles testes esse dinoscuntur.*

Vale; verae virgo vitae ut et vivas angelicae,
Recto rite et rumore regnes semper in aethere
Christum.

K. Sisam.

Oxford.

A NEW COLLATION OF THE GLOSS OF THE DURHAM RITUAL.

My dissertation on the language of the Old Northumbrian Gloss of the *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, published more than thirty years ago (*Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham*, Helsingfors, 1890), and my Glossary to the same text (*Wörterbuch zur Interlinearglosse des Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Bonn, 1901), were both founded on Stevenson's edition of the *Ritual* (*Publications of the Surtees Society*, 1840), corrected in accordance with the collation published by the late Professor Skeat in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London, 1879). Some years ago I came across Professor Skeat's popular sketch of the *English Dialects, from the Eighth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1911), and found there, on page 21, the following statement as to the text of the *Ritual*: 'Mr Stevenson's edition exhibits a rather large number of misreadings, most of which (I fear not quite all) are noted in my "Collation of the Durham *Ritual*." When in the summer of 1922 circumstances made it possible for me to spend a few days at Durham, I took the opportunity of collating the Gloss in the MS. of the *Ritual* with Stevenson's text, and am able to add a considerable number of corrections to those printed in Skeat's collation. The following is a list of my new readings, with the exception of a few cases where the printed text differs from the MS. only in the use of the letter *u* or *v* for *u* or *w*[1]. In order to facilitate the comparison with my previous works on the *Ritual*, I refer to the number of the pages and the lines of the Gloss in Stevenson's edition. The Latin word of the text and Stevenson's reading are given within marks of parenthesis.

1, 2 (*electus*, Stevenson gecoren') *read* gicoren'. 1, 9 (*solitudines*, vnbyergo) *should perhaps be read* vnbyengo, r *and* n *being sometimes very similar to each other*[2].

2, 1 (*epiphania*, bæd dæg) *looks rather like* bæð dæg[3].

[1] And perhaps in a few cases referring to the use of æ or *ae*.

[2] Cf. byencgv̄ (*habitaculis*) 123, 4; and see Bosworth-Toller and Hall.

[3] The meaning of this gloss is quite clear; 'bæð dæg' (bath day) is 'baptism day'; on the connexion of Epiphany with celebrations of the baptism of Christ cf. the article 'Epiphany' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

3, 1 (*salvatoris*, second gloss: hielendes) *read* hælendes, æ *in the Gloss being often very similar to* ie. 3, 5 (*manifestata*, giyredo) *probably* giypedo; *the fourth letter is certainly not an* r[1].

4, 6 (*nea*, min) *the gloss* min *occurs twice* (min min).

5, 5 (*misericordiæ*, miltheart) miltheart'. 5, 9 (*etenim*, f'ðon) 7 f'ðon. 5, 12 (*afflictam*, first gloss: awoerðedo) awoerdedo. 5, 17 (*quidem*, wuted) wuted'.

6, 8 (*loquebar*, ic spræco) ic spræc. 6, 13 (*quicquam*, ænigv̄) ængv̄. 6, 19 (*exaudi*, geher) giher.

7, 9 (*ineffabilem*, vnasacegendlic') vnasæcgendlic'. 7, 14 (*reparationis*, eftnivuwn'ges Stev., eftnivuwunges Skeat) *Stevenson's reading appears to be the correct one, yet the curl is rather above the* w.

8, 1 (*infirmitatem*, vntrȳmnise Stev., vntrūmnise Skeat) *Stevenson gives the correct reading.* 8, 14 (*adversitas*, viðerworðnise) viðervordnise.

10, 5 (*ambulaverit*, gigieð) gigæð. 10, 6 (*vivet*, gilefeð) gilifeð. 10, 8 (*patris*, faðores) fadores.

11, 1 (*furor*, wælm Stev., walm' Skeat) wælm'.

12, 4 (*gratias*, ðancvnco) ðoncvnco. 12, 17 (*die*, dæg) dægi.

13, 16 (*et*, ꝺ) 7. 13, 18 (*vobismetipsis*, ivh soelfv̄) ivh seolfv̄.

14, 4 (*quadragesimali*, fæstn'lic' Stev., fæsternlic Skeat) fæst'nlic'. 14, 12 (*jejunium*, fæstn' Stev., fæstern Skeat) fæst'n. 14, 19 (*adversaria*, wiðerwordnis') wiðirwordnis'.

15, 2 (*macerantur*, awonað biðon) awonad biðon. 15, 4 (*claritatis*, brihtnises) brehtnises.

17, 20 (*jejunemus*, ve gefæstæ) ve gifæstæ.

18, 2 (*nobis*, vs) v́s. 18, 9 (*mitigatis*, gimengadv̄) gimetgadv̄[2].

19, 1 (*deleo*, gidilga) ic gidilga. 19, 3 (*recordabor*, eft gimyndga) eft ic gimyndga.

20, 5 (*expectabo*, ic bid'o) ic bído.

21, 4 (*tabernaculum*, hvs) hv́s. 21, 11 (*similitudinem*, anlicnisse) onlicnisse. 21, 20 (*desiit*, first gloss: f'læten) f'leten.

22, 2 (*æternam*, eco...) ecnisse *altered to* eco. 22, 4 (*secula*, worulda Stev., worulde *alt. to* -a Skeat) worlde *alt. to* worlda.

23, 16 (*affligimur*, we biðon awoendedo) we biðon awoerdedo.

24, 8 (*fideliter*, gitrowalice) gitriwalice[3]. 24, 16 (*incontaminatam*, vnawidlad Stev., vnwidlad Skeat) *Stevenson gives the correct reading.*

25, 6 (*ipso*, ðem) ðæm. 25, 9 (*epulemur*, girordiga ve Stev., gihror-

[1] giyppa (*manifestare*) is found four times in the *Ritual*; cf. my Glossary.
[2] gimetgia (*temperare, mitigare*) four times in *Rit.*, cf. Glossary.
[3] A form 'gitrowalice,' mentioned in BT (*s.v.* getreowlice, in the *Suppl.*) and in Bülbring, *Elementarb.* § 329, does not exist in *Rit.*

diga ve Skeat) giriordiga ve. 25, 12 (*malitiam*, yfelgiorn'is) *the curl is here, as is usually the case, placed above the word, and certainly stands for an omitted ending.* 25, 22 (*mortificatos*, gideðod) gideðed[1].

26, 10 (*vetus*, se aldra) se alda.

27, 9 (*secundum*, eft') æft'. 27, 15 (*certamen*, gifeht') gifeht.

28, 5 (*patre*, fæder) *seems corrected to* feder. 28, 6 (*nec vicissitudinis*, ne æthvoerflvnges Stev.; '*looks like* echvoerflvnges' Skeat) *the gloss is unmistakably* ne æc hvoerflvnges (nec *being glossed* 'ne æc')[2]. 28, 13 (*sumus*, sindon) sindon ve. 28, 14 (*ceteri*, oðro) oðoro.

29, 4 (*obliviosus*, of'geatvl) of'geotvl.

30, 5 (*gratiam*, gife) *second letter illegible.* 30, 10 (*perceperunt*, onfængon) onfengon. 30, 11 (*haec*, ðæs) ðas.

31, 19 (*tribue*, giraéc Stev., raéc Skeat) giræc.

32, 2 (*adunasti*, gigei....adest Stev., gige...r..dest Skeat) *legible is only* gige.....adest.

34, 2 (*cælesti*, heafne) heofne. 34, 9 (*dignanter*, ginieodvmlice) gimeodvmlice. 34, 10 (*terrena*, eardlico) earðlico. 34, 14 (*facias*, ðv doast Stev., ðv dost Skeat) ðv doe.

36, 1 (*sinas*, f'læt ðv) f'let ðv. 36, 15 (*vivamus*, ve lifa) ve lifia. 36, 18 (*dignatus*, gimoedvmad) gimeodvmad.

37, 5 (*clarificare*, gigibrehtan) gi- (*new line*) gibrehta'. 37, 13 (*omnipotens*, ællm') allm'.

38, 14 (*digneris*, gimetdomia ðv) gimeodomia ðv. 38, 15 (*luminis*, lihtes) *gloss faded, but probably* lehtes. 38, 18 (*se*, ina? Skeat) hia.

40, 14 (*miserorum*, ...mra) *gloss faded, probably* earmra. 40, 15 (*verberum*, 1st gloss: ðerlincgra Stev., ðersincgra Skeat) ðerscincgra; (*remediorum*, lecedome) lecedoma. 40, 17 (*irasceris*, giiorses) giiorsas; (*afflicti*) *gloss indistinct, probably* gisvoenctes.

42, 2 (*percepta*, ðer ondfoendv̄) ðerhonfoendv̄. 42, 3 (*serviamus*, giheræ ve) gihere ve. 42, 18 (*consolatione*, frofra) frofre.

43, 1 (*moveat*, ...oen)...oer. 43, 2 (*affectus*, to...gvng), *indistinct, looks like* tohigvng.

44, 2 (*loquebatur*, wæs sprycend') *gloss indistinct, yet probably* wæs spreccende.

45, 2 (*capere*, ginoma) ginioma.

47, 3 (*venerandam*, arwyrðre) arwyrðne.

[1] Cf. correction to 48, 7 (gideada). The Old Northumbrian texts seem generally (though with a couple of exceptions, perhaps caused by confusion) to distinguish between the verbs *deadia*, to die (weak class II), and *gideða*, to kill (weak class I).

[2] hvoerflvng correctly given in Bosworth-Toller, *Suppl.*, *s.v.* hwirflung; see also Napier, *Old English Glosses* 1992.

48, 7 (*mortifica*, gideaða ðv) gideada ðv[1].

50, 2 (*passione*, ðrovenge) *corrected to* ðrovnge. 50, 14 (*iniquitate*, vnrehtvisse') *curl above the word, evidently to be read* vnrehtvisnisse. 50, 16 (*qui*, ðv ðe) ða ðe (!).

51, 3 (*sexu*, giscæf) *more like* giscæp. 51, 4 (*ejus*, ðæs) ðær.

52, 5 (*donatione*, gefe giselenise) gefe *seems erased.*

55, 6 (*mandavero*, bibeade) ic bibeade; (*facie*, onsiene) onsione. 55, 16 (*formans*, 1st gloss: bisnide) *gloss indistinct, looks rather like* bisinde. 55, 20 (*tuum*, ðinre) ðinne.

56, 17 (*preconis*, merseris) merseres.

58, 3 (*angelus*, angel) engel. 58, 4 (*dicens*, cvoedende) cvoeðende. 58, 11 (*manu*, honde Stev., hondte Skeat) hondv̄ *altered to* honde.

59, 14 (*gubernetur*, sie gisteored) sie gistiored.

60, 3 (*minimus*, læsest Stev., lasest Skeat) *Stevenson gives the correct reading.* 60, 4 (*apostolus*, erendwraca) erendwracca.

61, 5 (*quanto*, svæ fealo) svæ feolo. 61, 6 (*validioribus*, strongrvm Stev., stronglrvm (!) Skeat) stronglicvm. 61, 12 (*narrabunt*, 2nd gloss: secgað) sæcgað.

62, 13 (*cognovimus*, ve ongetton) ve ongeton.

65, 16 (2nd *quasi*, svælce) svoelce.

66, 13 (*tamen*, sva ðeah) svæ ðeah. 66, 15 (*delictis*, gvltingv̄) gyltingv̄; (*ignosce*, f'egifi Stev., f'gif Skeat) f'gef.

68, 18 (2nd *una*, min) an.

69, 3 (*servorum*, ðegna) ðeana.

70, 5 (*experiatur*, sie ar..... Stev., sie aynsped (?) Skeat) *gloss difficult to read, perhaps* sie aypped. 70, 7 (*patrociniis*, faðorlicv̄ ðingv̄) fadorlicv̄ ðingv̄. 70, 10 (*dracone*, ðæm dræcce) ðæm dræcca.

74, 6 (*largiente*, gifende) gefende. 74, 9 (*offendimus*, ve ondspyrnað) ve ondspvrnað.

75, 4 (*cotidie*, dæghvemlice) dæghvæmlice.

77, 13 (*tribue*, gife) gise, *perhaps for* gisel. 77, 19 (*micantium*, lexendra) *probably* lixendra.

79, 7 (*credit*, gilefeð) gelefeð. 79, 11 (*reatibus*, gescyldv̄) giscyldv̄.

81, 12 (*abyssi*, niolnisso) niolniso.

82, 3 (*supplicatione*, boed') boen'. 82, 7 (*possibilitas*, 1st gloss: ve mæg) ve mægi.

83, 1 (*ascendens*, astigend) astigende. 83, 2 (*altum*, heahnisse) heanisse.

84, 18 (*hereditabit*, gierfevarðeð) gierfevardeð.

[1] Cf. note to 25, 22.

85, 4 (*voluerit*, ville Stev., v.lle (?) Skeat) *probably* vælle. 85, 8 (*recedet*, eft fareð) *gloss faded, more like* eft færeð. 85, 21 (*qui*, ða ðe) ðv ðe.

86, 5 (*conciliet*, gifoege) *more like* gifoega. 86, 9 (*exterminii*, woestes Stev., woesternes Skeat) woest'es. 86, 18 (*cito*, hreð') *probably* hrędе; (*discurrent*, giiorniað) giiornað.

87, 6 (*preimus*, 1st gloss: ....icge ve Stev., ...ycge ve Skeat) *gloss difficult to read, looks like* gibrycge ve[1].

88, 8 (*cognovit*, onget') ongæt.

89, 3 (*adjuvemur*, ve sie aholpen) ve sie holpen. 89, 17 (*indulgentiam*, f'egefnise) f'gefnise.

90, 14 (*eo quod*, f'e ðon) f'ðon.

92, 9 (*inexpugnabile*, vnafæhtendlic) vnafehtendlic (?). 92, 12 (*reddidit*, gigelde) *probably* agelde.

93, 9 (*fiducia*, hældo) bældo. 93, 12 (*frequentibus*, eftgimose... Stev., oft giriosede (?) Skeat) *gloss faded, looks like* oft giniosende[2].

94, 18 (*societatis*, gifoenscipes) gifoerscipes.

95, 11 (*presta*, gion) gionn.

97, 12 (*fabricata*, gihrinado) h *expunged.*

104, 5 (*famulam*, ðioenne Skeat) ðioen'. 104, 12 (*respice*, eft bisih) eft besih.

107, 7 (*regi*, cȳnig) cynig'. 107, 10 (*tauri*, farra) farras; (*omnia*, alla) allo.

108, 7 (*connubii*, gesinig') gisinig'. 108, 13 (*generatio*, cnevreso Stev., cneoreso Skeat) *Stevenson gives the correct reading.*

109, 8 (*institui*, p̃ we vere asended (?) Stev.; Skeat: *read* asetted) *gloss indistinct, probably* asetted. 109, 9 (*conligaveris*, gis... scipla Stev., gis.....scipli (?) Skeat) *gloss faded, looks like* gis....gscipa, *probably to be read* gisinigscipa; (*copulam*, geaðrvng) geadrvng. 109, 13 (*diluvii*, floedes) flodes.

110, 1 (*permaneat*, ðerhwvnie) ðerhwvnia; (*thoro*, bryd scean' ?) brydsceam'[3]. 110, 6 (*tertiam*, ðriða Stev., ðirdan Skeat) ðirðan (!). 110, 15 (*celo*, heafone) heofne.

111, 6 (*digneris*, gimoedvma ðv) gimeodvma ðv. 111, 9 (*creator*, sceppend) scęppend.

113, 1 (*assidue*, giwvnlice) givvnvlice. 113, 2 (CXL, hvnd feortig Stev., hvnd feor... Skeat) hvnd feort'.

[1] Cf. gibrycgende (*utenda*) 97, 15. The obscure Latin text has evidently caused the Glossator great difficulties. Cf. also lifbrycgvng 7, 15.

[2] Cf. oftginiosað (*frequentant*) 15, 9.

[3] Probably brydsceamol, see BT, *Suppl.*, and cf. Schlutter, *Anglia* 45, p. 187 f.

114, 1 (*creaturi*, giscefte) giscęfte (?). 114, 4 (*patiaris*, giðolaðes) giðola ðv. 114, 9 (*Jordanis*, jord' Stev.; *gloss illegible* Skeat) iorda'.

115, 13 (*sanasti*, ðv gihæledest) ðv gihældest.

116, 8 (*sanctificate*, gihalgado) gihælgado. 116, 19 (*hydrias*, fato Stev., fæto Skeat) fato *is the correct reading.*

117, 4 (*mereamur*, ve giearniað) ve giearnia. 117, 7 (*aptas*, giscroepo Stev., giscroero (?) Skeat) *gloss partly faded, yet Stevenson's reading probably correct.*

118, 2 (*omnes*, alc) ælc. 118, 4 (*remissionem*, eftf'gifnis) eftf'gefnis.

119, 5 (*digneris*, gimoedv') gimeodv'. 119, 11 (*ac*, &) 7.

120, 11 (*exorcizo*, ic gihælsiga) ic gihalsiga.

123, 3 (*benignitas*, boedsvng) bloedsvng.

124, 21 (*remissionem*, f'egefnise) f'gefnise.

125, 3 (*respice*, bisih) besih. 125, 14 (*vipera*, sio hatt'ne) sio hætt'ne. 125, 19 (*vires*, att'no) ætt'no[1]; (*evacua*, gild...ðia) *gloss illegible.*

126, 9 (*dignetur*, gimvod' Stev., gimeood' Skeat) gimeod'. 126, 14 (*natus*, acenn') accenn' (!).

145, 2 (*omnipotentem*, allmæhtigne) allmaehtigne. 145, 4 (*adjuro*, ic halsigo) ic gehalsigo. 145, 10 (*creator*, scieppend) scæppend, *cf.* 3, 1. 145, 11 (*æternæ*, æces) *above the word is written an* r, *probably indicating a correction to* æcre.

146, 1 (*sancte*, hælge Stev., halga Skeat) hælge *corr. to* -a. 146, 7 (*pater*, feder) fæder.

162, 2 (*supplices*, boensendo) boensando. 162, 7 (gisihde) gisihðe.

163, 15 (*patris*, fæder' Stev., fædor' Skeat) fador. 163, 21 (*accendat*, giled... Stev., gilehto Skeat) gilehta (?).

164, 2 (*unice*, an...) ancend (*indistinct*). 164, 7 (*instruis*, ðv gibæres) ðv gilæres. 164, 8 (*ignibus* ....., fyr .....licv̄) *ignibus m*.....[2], fyr.. midd..licv̄ (*evidently* fyrum middæglicum).

165, 18 (*principalis*, aldorlic) aldorlic'.

168, 11 (*mundum*, clene) clæne.

169, 1 (*viris*, vervm) værvm. 169, 14 (*r'* i.e. *retributiones*, eftselnisses Stev., eftselenises Skeat) eftselenise (?). 169, 19 (*te*, ðec) *no gloss.*

170, 9 (1st *te*) *glossed* ðec. 170, 19 (*respice*, eftbisih) eftbesih.

171, 9 (*quia*, f'eðon) f'ðon; (*peccavi*, ic synde Stev., ic synde' Skeat) ic syn'de. 171, 17 (*semper*, symble) symle; (*justitiam*, soðfæstnis') soðfaestnis'.

175, 7 (*fecit*, ðyde) dyde. 175, 21 (*qua*, ðæm) ðaem.

[1] The Glossator has mistaken *vires* for a plural of *virus*.
[2] The illegible word in this Ambrosian hymn is *meridiem*.

176, 4 (*benedic*, gibloedsa) gebloedsa. 176, 7 (*habundantia*, gihyhtsvmnisse Stev., ginyhtsvmnise Skeat) ginyhtsvmnisse.

177, 13 (*multæ*, mænigo) menigo.

178, 16 (*inmittit*, onsende Stev., onsette ? Skeat) onseade (! *prob. miswritten for* onsende).

179, 17 (*incongruum*, vngebyredlic) vngibyredlic.

180, 2 (*sæcula*, vorvldo) vorvlda.

181, 1 (*noctem*, neht) næht. 181, 13 (*benedictus*, gibloedsad) gebloedsad. 181, 18 (*sanctum*, halga) hælga.

182, 6 (*possimus*, ve mægo) ve mægi. 182, 17 (*caliginem*, ...strvng) *gloss hardly legible, looks like* heolstrvng[1].

183, 2 (*remisæ*, f'egefeno) f'gefeno.

187, 18 (*bellum*, gefeht) gifeht.

189, 16 (*kaduca*, ða geheno) *gloss almost illegible.*

190, 7 (*potest*, mæhge) *corrected to* mæge. 190, 11 (*pater*, fader) fæder.

191, 10 (*ruit*, gefælea Stev., gefæl Skeat) gefæl, *above the line corrected to* gefeal. 191, 20 (*sors*, geslytte) gehlytte.

192, 14 (1st *alia*, oðer) oðor. 192, 16 (*spiritus*, gastes) *prob.* gastas.

193, 4 (*licet*, ðeh sie) ðæh sie. 193, 8 (*tribunus*, landhæbbende) londhæbbende. 193, 14 (*Mei*....., æghvoelcvm) eghvoelc cyn'. 193, 16 (*Exodo*, exodos boc) exodes boc.

194, 2 (*ne*, ðv læs) ðy læs. 194, 3 (*exorcista*, halsere) hælsere.

195, 3 (*nominantur*, genomað bið) genomad bið. 195, 16 (*requiescit*, geresteð) girę̄ste'.

197, 8 (*IIII*, fover) *gloss faded*: f..ver; *the distance between* f *and* v *makes it almost certain that the gloss was* feover. 197, 8 (*litteris*, stæfnv̄) stafv̄; *the gloss to 'litera' in the same line* (Stev. stæfne) *is absolutely illegible.* 197, 11 (*suis*) *gloss prob.* sinvm.

198, 7 (*opifex*, doere creftig) doere cræftig. 198, 9 (2nd *sunt*, woere) woero. 198, 14 (*tenuit*, geheald) giheald. 198, 16 (*divina*, godecvn....) godcvn.... 198, 17 (*expulsi*, f'edrifeno) f'drifeno.

199, 3 (*III*, ðreo) ðrio (?).

I add some short remarks on the new readings. They do not of course materially alter our general conception of the language of the *Ritual* Gloss. Some corrections are no doubt of small importance, but many of them possess a certain interest from the point of view of the phonology and morphology of our text. A few impossible

[1] Cf. heolstor, subst. and adj., and the adj. heolstrig.

or evidently erroneous words or forms in the printed text have no foundation in the manuscript, and a considerable number of irregularities and deviations from the general linguistic and dialectal type of the Gloss, some of which are even mentioned in standard works on Old English Grammar, have proved to be simply misreadings or misprints.

Correct MS. readings instead of evidently erroneous forms of the printed text are e.g. found in the following places: 2, 1; 3, 5; 7, 9; 23, 16; 34, 9; 38, 14; 38, 18; 42, 2; 51, 3; 61, 6; 70, 5; 82, 3; 93, 9; 94, 18; 114, 4; 118, 2; 123, 3; 164, 7; 175, 7; 191, 20; 197, 8 (stafv). Add to this the deciphering of some glosses, faded and hard to read, which appear incomplete in the printed text: 40, 14; 40, 17; 85, 4; 164, 2; 164, 8; 182, 17; 197, 11.

Readings which are of interest from the point of view of the phonology of the Gloss are e.g. (phonology of the vowels): 3, 1; 10, 5; 10, 6; 11, 1; 12, 4; 13, 18; 15, 4; 21, 11; 21, 20; 25, 9; 27, 9; 28, 5; 29, 4 (cf. Bülbring, *Elementarb.* § 236); 30, 10; 30, 11; 34, 2 (cf. Bülbring, *loc. cit.*); 36, 1; 36, 18; 37, 13; 38, 15; 44, 2; 45, 2; 55, 6; 59, 14; 60, 3 (læsest for lasest, cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gramm.* § 312, Anm. 1); 61, 5; 61, 12; 66, 15; 74, 6 (there are no forms with *i* in the verb 'to give' in *Rit.*; cf. Bülbring, § 155, Anm. 2; Luick, *Hist. Gramm.* § 173, Anm. 3); 75, 4; 77, 19; 85, 8; 86, 18; 88, 8; 110, 15 (cf. Bülbring, *loc. cit.*); 111, 6; 111, 9; 114, 1; 116, 19; 118, 4; 119, 5; 125, 14; 126, 9; 145, 10; 146, 7; 163, 15; 168, 11 (clæne for clene; cf. Bülbring, § 167, Anm.); 177, 13; 181, 1; 190, 11; 191, 10; 193, 8; 193, 14; 197, 8 (feover for fover; cf. Sievers, § 325; Bülbring, § 331); 198, 7; 199, 3; (phonology of the consonants) 5, 12; 8, 14; 10, 8; 34, 10; 40, 15; 58, 4; 58, 11; 62, 13; 70, 7; 83, 2; 84, 18; 109, 9; 162, 7; 171, 17; 190, 7.

Not a few of the readings enumerated have at the same time a morphological interest. Other corrections relating to the morphology of the Gloss are to be found e.g. 6, 8; 15, 2; 26, 10; 34, 14; 36, 15; 37, 5; 40, 15; 40, 17; 42, 18; 56, 17; 82, 7; 83, 1; 107, 10; 115, 13; 117, 4; 182, 6; 192, 16; 195, 3.

U. Lindelöf.

Helsingfors.

ON EDITING EARLY ENGLISH TEXTS.

SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND PALÆOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

THE object of the following notes is to plead for stricter attention to certain bibliographical and palæographical details on the part of editors of early English texts. The occasion is a perusal of Professor J. W. H. Atkins' elaborate edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale* recently published by the Cambridge University Press. On the merits of the work as a whole I am in no way competent to pronounce: I can only say that the full commentary seems to me of the greatest value and that the ninety pages of introduction are unquestionably of first-rate interest. Indeed it is just because, so far as I can judge, the edition has been so admirably prepared that I venture to make use of a few minor defects as pegs on which to hang certain criticisms that seem to me to apply very generally to current editorial methods in that part of English literature for which we depend on manuscript originals.

In the first place I suggest the desirability of greater precision and care in the use of bibliographical terms, in which I include what would more generally be called the terms of textual criticism. Words are always slippery things, and in a field where precise thought is above all necessary (and rare), a critic cannot give too great attention to determining the exact bearing of the evidence and presenting it to his readers in unequivocal language.

Discussing 'the two texts' in which the poem he edits is preserved (Cotton, Calig. A IX, and Jesus Coll. Oxford, 29) Mr Atkins propounds four propositions, the essence of which he indicates by italics as follows:

(i) 'J. represents a later version than C.,'

(ii) 'the texts are independent copies,'

(iii) 'both texts were copied from a common original,'

(iv) 'this common original was not the author's text but an intermediate copy.'

The context, of course, to some extent amplifies these propositions, but they are apparently intended to stand by themselves as precise and accurate statements of fact. Now, as regards (i) the evidence adduced seems to show that all the writer means is 'J. is later than C.' As the

term 'version' is often used, and as Mr Atkins elsewhere uses it, the later of two manuscripts may, of course, preserve the earlier version. In (ii) 'independent' is a very ambiguous term. The further statement that 'J. is not based on C.' makes it at once clear that Mr Atkins would define two manuscripts as 'independent' when neither is a copy (mediate or immediate) of the other. This is quite legitimate, but various other uses are possible and indeed current. It is, however, with respect to (iii) that the chief difficulty arises, and I must confess that I am not at all certain that I know what Mr Atkins means by the statement. It will, I think, be found that among critics such a phrase is used in one of three senses. (*a*) By 'copied' may be meant 'ultimately copied.' In that case (if we exclude the possibility of oral transmission, which does not here arise) the statement is a truism, since it follows from the fact that the texts are texts of the same work. (*b*) By 'common original' is sometimes meant an archetype short of the author's manuscript. This cannot be Mr Atkins' sense, since it would render proposition (iv) superfluous. (*c*) The strictest meaning can be given to the phrase by taking 'copied' in the sense of 'immediately copied.' And this, I think, is what Mr Atkins must mean, since he adds that certain evidence 'seems to suggest that the scribes had before them one and the same MS.' But if this is so, I can only say, with all due respect, that the evidence on which he relies seems to me not only inconclusive but hardly even relevant. The proposition is not in itself unreasonable, for the evidence does make it unlikely that the extant texts are many steps removed from their latest common ancestor, but it is difficult even to imagine the evidence that would warrant the assertion that 'it is clear that' they are immediate copies of it.

Reconsideration might likewise suggest some change in the following statement: 'J. supplies a few lines that are missing from C....and the fact that these lines formed part of the original poem and are no mere scribal insertions, is proved by the rhymes.' There may be—there probably are—excellent reasons for regarding the lines in question as original, but how is their nature 'proved by the rhymes'? Is Mr Atkins prepared to argue that the linguistic forms required were obsolete by the time J. was written? I imagine not; at least he makes no such assertion in the course of his commentary. What is in fact 'proved by the rhymes' is merely the presence of lacunae in C., not the originality of the lines preserved in J.

One last instance of bibliographical inexactitude may be quoted. We read: 'The Jesus MS. consists of two quarto MSS. partly paper,

partly parchment, bound together.' I need not here raise the perhaps controversial question whether the term 'quarto' has any significance as applied to manuscripts: what I wish to point out is that Mr Atkins does not mean what he says. It is not true (according to his subsequent description) that the two manuscripts are 'partly paper, partly parchment'; one is paper and the other is parchment.

Secondly, as regards palæography, I submit that in what aims at being, if not a 'definitive,' at least a standard edition, it is the business of an editor to present to his readers the full textual evidence that it is possible to extract from the originals. Mr Atkins seems inclined to claim credit for having examined the manuscripts at all; at least that is the impression left on my mind when he writes: 'the accurate work of Wells has been of considerable assistance, though, it must also be added, both MSS. have been carefully and independently examined.' It is possible that in some departments of literature such an attitude on an editor's part may be excusable; I am quite certain it is not so in Middle-English. However, perhaps Mr Atkins has again not said exactly what he meant; anyhow the main thing is that he has examined the originals for himself, and claims that 'the texts are represented substantially as they stand.' But why, then, has he followed Wells in capitalizing J. while beginning most of the lines of C. with a small letter? The capitalization of C. seems if anything more consistent than that of J., and in both is clearly the intention of the scribe.

Certain statements respecting the graphic peculiarities of C. challenge remark. Thus we are told that there are 'two symbols for *s* (long and short).' That might be said of most manuscripts and printed books between 1100 and 1700: what is to some extent peculiar is that in C. and J. the long *s* sometimes occurs finally and (in J. at least) the short *s* initially. The distinction is not retained in the printed texts. Again we are told that '*u* and *v* occur indiscriminately': this is true, but it happens that in the examples cited in support they are distinguished according to the old convention. As a rule *w* is represented by the Old-English letter *p*, but 'Occasionally the French *w* is employed: and while this *w* might also stand for *vu* sometimes a single *v* (*u*) is used to denote O.E. *w*.' Since, then, *w* may have a meaning that *p* cannot have, I think it would have been well to distinguish the two in the text. As a matter of fact *w* for *vu* seems to be treated as an error; thus in l. 657 'i[vu]rne' is printed where C. has 'iwrne.' In J. *w* very frequently stands for *vu* = *wu*, and it seems rather uncritical to treat it as a scribal error every time it occurs. Moreover C. occasionally uses *p* in the same

manner in a parallel passage, a fact that seems to point to the spelling being derived from the archetype, if not from the author's manuscript. Once at least (C. 534) we find $v = w = wu$. The statement that 'the only distinction between' þ and p in C. 'was the dot placed above the' latter, is quite incorrect. The two letters tend to approximate in shape when at all carelessly formed, but as a rule the scribal intention is perfectly clear apart from the dot.

Turning to the text of C. by far the most important criticism I have to make concerns certain corrections or alterations that were introduced into the manuscript as the scribe originally wrote it. These corrections were sometimes accepted by Wells, with some hesitation, as 'original,' but were mostly discarded as 'later.' Mr Atkins accepts the former into his text without comment; of the latter he records only a few, apparently at random. Now, of course, 'later' these corrections necessarily are in the sense that they were written *après coup*, but there does not appear any sufficient reason for regarding them as 'later' in any other sense, or for dividing them into two classes. The ink seems to be in every case the same as that used by the original scribe, and although there are certain obvious differences it by no means follows that the hand is not also the same. After a fairly careful examination I am myself inclined to think that, while sometimes an alteration was perhaps made immediately after the original reading was inscribed, the bulk are probably due to revision after the whole poem had been completed, but that this revision was executed by the original scribe. This is, of course, no more than a private opinion, but although it may be possible to take different views as to the authority of the corrections, there can surely be no question that they deserve careful record. And I feel bound to point out that Wells' notes are by no means always to be trusted. For instance, on l. 555 he remarks, 'þu *on erasure*; ansuare, *second* a *deleted*, e *above in different ink*.' There is here no erasure, only a flaw in the vellum, and the ink of the 'e' is identical. Again his note on l. 680, 'her *very like* het', can only be due to some strange confusion, for the 'r' has not the remotest resemblance to a 't.'

I will give the result of a comparison of a hundred lines of Mr Atkins' text of C. with the manuscript.

l. 619. 'an', C. 'an^{d}'. The 'd' is clearly visible even in Mr Atkins' facsimile, but he makes no mention of it. Wells has the note 'an, *later* d'. (See above.)

l. 637. 'uorbisne'. The 'r' is interlined in the same way as the 'd' in 619. Wells notes '*?orig.* r *inserted*'. (See above.)

l. 660. 'neȝ ut'. There is an erasure of one letter in the space between the words (noted by Wells). J. has 'neyh' and the erasure *may* point to this having been the spelling of the archetype.

l. 667. 'oþer' (and so Wells), read 'oþer'.
l. 679. 'noþeles ȝut'. Wells notes 'þ, ȝ, *smudged*'. This is not correct. The scribe originally wrote 'noȝeles' and then altered the 'ȝ', possibly to 'þ' (it is by no means clear). The second word was perhaps originally written 'ſut'; the first letter has been altered to 'ȝ'.
l. 697. 'Alur[e]d' ('Alurd'), Wells 'Alrud'. In C. there are three minims merely between 'l' and 'd', and no 'r' at all. Perhaps we should read 'alu[r]id' (there is no capital).
l. 707. '[H]ule', noting 'Nule, *rubric* N' (and so Wells). It should have been remarked that the guide-letter is 'H' correctly, but that not being very clearly formed it was misread by the rubricator.

I have not seen J. but add one or two notes from an inspection of Mr Atkins' facsimile.

l. 1440. 'misfonge'. The last two or three letters are not in the original, which is cropped (according to Wells).
l. 1450. 'lo*n*ge' (and so Wells), read 'lo*n*ge'.
l. 1454. 'breþ', J. 'bred. þ' (a correction, duly noted by Wells).

It seems evident from this that Mr Atkins, relying on the generally very accurate work of his predecessor, thought himself justified in passing over the minor palæographical evidence which had been already recorded. In this, I think, he did less than justice to the position which his work is likely to occupy for many years to come. The few notes collected above suggest that what Professor Wells' apparatus needed was not pruning but correction and expansion.

I see that yet another parallel-text edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, by the late G. F. H. Sykes and Mr J. H. G. Grattan, is at press for the Early English Text Society. It will be interesting to observe how it compares with its rival.

W. W. Greg.

London.

CHAUCER'S KNOWLEDGE OF HORACE.

In 1892, Professor Lounsbury, in his *Studies in Chaucer* (vol. II, pp. 261–4), argued at some length the question of Chaucer's alleged knowledge of Horace. He there very definitely rejected any hypothesis of even the merest acquaintance of Chaucer with the writings of Horace. Since then, the question has received comparatively slight attention from scholars. It seems worth while, therefore, to review once more Professor Lounsbury's arguments, in the light of some fresh evidence that has since come to hand.

Professor Lounsbury's arguments may be summarized as follows:

(*a*) The evidence of allusion or reminiscence from Horace that is generally brought forward is too slight to warrant serious consideration, since the alleged imitations are utterly indefinite, and can be explained away without the hypothesis of any acquaintance with Horace. Moreover, even if imitation is admitted, all the passages can prove only acquaintance with Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones de Arte Poetica*. No evidence has been adduced for Chaucer's acquaintance with any other writing of Horace.

(*b*) If Chaucer had known the work of Horace, he would certainly have mentioned the Roman poet by name at least once. But he nowhere does anything of the kind; and therefore could not have had any knowledge of him.

(*c*) Chaucer and Horace had much intellectually in common, and resembled one another in genius and character and in their attitude towards life and the world. Chaucer would have found a congenial spirit in Horace, would have taken pains to become intimately familiar with his works, and would have taken him as one of his favourite authors. But, had this been so, he would have quoted or echoed Horace and his ideas with the greatest frequency—as was his practice, for instance, with *Le Roman de la Rose* or Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Chaucer does not do anything like this. Therefore he did not know Horace at all.

I shall now attempt to answer the above objections in order. Though I must admit that these answers are not all equally complete, and are sometimes of a merely negative character, I hope to be able to show

that they do amount in their cumulative effect to a proof that (*a*) Chaucer did know Horace's *De Arte Poetica* at first hand: and that (*b*) there is strong probability that he had some first-hand acquaintance with parts of Horace's other writings also.

(*a*) Let us examine again, one by one, all those passages in Chaucer which have at various times been regarded as indicating a knowledge (direct or indirect) of Horace.

At the beginning of the Tale of the Manciple (*Cant. Tales*, H. 116–7), Chaucer mentions as a type of supreme excellence in singing:

> the kyng of Thebes, Amphioun,
> That with his syngyng walled that citee.

This has been thought to be reminiscent of Horace's description of Amphion (*Ars Poet.* 394–6):

> Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis,
> Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda
> Ducere quo vellet.

Professor Lounsbury thinks that Chaucer may well have read of Amphion in Ovid or elsewhere, and that—as the two passages do not resemble one another very closely—there is no need to drag in the name of Horace. Now while it is quite possible that the story of Amphion was the common property of 14th century writers who did not get it from any particular Latin original, it must be pointed out that Gower—who is a fair specimen of the non-ecclesiastical scholarship of the period—was by no means so accurate in his knowledge of the classical myth of Amphion. For, in his *Confessio Amantis* (Book VI, 2160)—his only allusion—he speaks of Amphion as 'a clerc,' notable for his skill in the interpretation of dreams. Furthermore, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (cf. Book VI, 270 sqq.), the emphasis is laid rather on the relations of Amphion with his wife Niobe than on his skill as a musician: and it is just with this very point of musical pre-eminence, that the references in both Chaucer and Horace are concerned. In the Merchant's Tale (*Cant. Tales*, E. 1716), Chaucer—in his only other reference to Amphion—again quotes him as the type of a great musician; and Horace (*Odes*, Book III, 11, ll. 1–2), again refers to him in the same connexion:

> Docilis.....
> Movit Amphion lapides canendo.

Lastly, it is significant that Chaucer, like Horace in the two passages quoted above, refers definitely to Amphion's feat of causing the stones to form themselves into city walls by singing—a point less emphasized in Ovid. We are, therefore, perhaps justified in concluding

that this reference to Amphion in the Manciple's Tale, does, in fact, owe its existence directly to Horace.

At the beginning of the second book of *Troilus and Criseyde* (ll. 22–5), we read:

> Ye knowe eek that in forme of speche is chaunge
> With-inne a thousand yeer, and wordes tho
> That hadden prys, now wonder nyce and straunge
> Us thinketh hem.

It has often been pointed out—though Lounsbury does not discuss this passage—that here is an echo in idea of the famous words of Horace (*Ars Poet.* 70–2):

> Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
> Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
> Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi.

Now however vague or indefinite this resemblance may be, it has, as a matter of fact, been my own experience (and I believe it must also have been the experience of everyone acquainted with Latin literature), that the above lines of Horace jump, as it were, spontaneously into the mind the moment the passage in Chaucer is read. Here, however, I do not wish to press a claim that Chaucer is directly and consciously echoing Horace—though this seems by no means improbable.

But perhaps the best known apparent borrowing of Chaucer from Horace is the 149th stanza of the second book of *Troilus and Criseyde* (ll. 1037–43):

> Ne Iompre eek no discordaunt thing y-fere,
> As thus, to usen termes of phisyk;
> In loves termes, hold of thy matere
> The forme alwey, and do that it be lyk;
> For if a peyntour wolde peynte a pyk
> With asses feet, and hede it as an ape,
> It cordeth nought; so nere it but a Iape.

Everyone is agreed, I believe, that the advice here given manifestly resembles the opening lines of Horace's *Ars Poet.* (ll. 1–5):

> Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
> Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
> Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
> Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
> Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis, amici?

Professor Lounsbury holds that this idea of Horace, and his manner of expressing it, had become practically proverbial in the Middle Ages; so that Chaucer's use of it implies absolutely nothing—not even any indirect acquaintance with Horace.

Quite apart from the fact that the evidence for the extreme familiarity of the Middle Ages with this idea of Horace is not available—

the theory is indeed far more of a mere conjecture than is Chaucer's knowledge of Horace—there are very striking verbal resemblances between these two passages, which seem to me to make it hard to avoid a conclusion of Horace's direct influence here. Looking at the English and Latin passages side by side, one is impressed with their general similarity, both in thought *and expression*. But further, two of the leading words here used by Chaucer point to two corresponding words in Horace with such a close equivalence, that direct echoing is the only fully satisfying explanation. For Horace's 'pictor' is Chaucer's 'peyntour,' and (far more significantly) Chaucer's 'pyk' must have been the direct result of a half-conscious memory of Horace's 'piscem.' I therefore am inclined to the view that this too is evidence of the acquaintance of Chaucer with Horace.

I shall not here discuss the possible and plausible connexion of Chaucer's mysterious 'Lollius' with the recipient of the second epistle of Horace's first book, as the question is too complex and conjectural to be used as evidence here. If 'Lollius' could be proved to have originated from the line (Horace's *Epistles*, I, 2, l. 1)

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,

it would merely show that Chaucer had seen that one line only: for such a theory would be absurd if he were supposed to have read further into the epistle.

I come now to a piece of evidence for Chaucer's direct acquaintance with Horace, which, I believe, has not hitherto been pointed out by anyone. In the second book of *Troilus and Criseyde* are these lines (484–89):

and here I make a protestacioun,
That in this process if ye depper go,
That certaynly, for no savacioun
Of yow, though that ye sterve bothe two,
Though al the world on o day be my fo,
Ne shal I never on him han other routhe.

Whenever I read this passage, the following lines of Horace always come spontaneously into my mind (*Odes*, Book III, 3, 1–8):

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.

There is, of course, a general resemblance between these two passages in so far as Criseyde—in face of the danger to her virtue and honour from Pandarus and Troilus—wishes us to regard her as the 'Justum et tenacem propositi virum' of Horace's Ode. But the real direct resemblance, as it appears to me, lies in the italicized words. To me, Criseyde's line 'Though al the world on o day be my fo' infallibly suggests—and must as infallibly have been suggested by—the last two lines from Horace quoted above, and especially by the words 'Si fractus illabatur orbis.'

To return to Professor Lounsbury's first contention, we are now in a position to reply that the evidence for Chaucer's direct acquaintance with Horace as shown in apparent borrowings or reminiscences, is indeed worth serious consideration, and amounts in its cumulative effect to decided probability. Secondly, it is clear that these alleged echoes of Horace are *not* strictly confined to the *Epistola ad Pisones de Arte Poetica.*

(*b*) The argument against Chaucer's direct acquaintance with Horace based on the circumstance of the entire absence of the Roman poet's name from Chaucer's extant writings, is in the nature of a *non sequitur.* For the proposition that Chaucer always mentioned the authors with whose work he was familiar by name, is simply not proven. It is enough to demonstrate its fallibility to point out that Boccaccio—with whose chief poetical works, at any rate, Chaucer was palpably exceedingly intimate—is nowhere even once named by him. As to the theory that in Chaucer's writings 'Lollius' stands for Boccaccio (in *Troil.* I, 394 it seems clearly to denote Petrarch), it has at present little substance and no evidence; and it should therefore not be treated seriously. It would be almost as reasonable to take some other unexplained proper name in Chaucer, and argue that it probably represented Horace.

I am not, of course, suggesting for a moment that Chaucer was demonstrably intimate with the works of Horace—the comparative fewness of the apparent references preclude the proving of that—but negatively, I do contend that this argument from the absence of Horace's name from Chaucer's writings, cannot in itself disprove such an acquaintance.

(*c*) It is beyond doubt that Chaucer and Horace had much in common in their mentality, and that, had the whole of Horace's work been accessible to him, Chaucer would have taken Horace as a favourite, and made himself familiar with his writings. But it must be remembered that, from what is known of 14th century classical scholarship in

England, it is not at all likely that Horace could have been read *in extenso* at that time by a person in Chaucer's position. Even in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, copies of Horace appear to have been comparatively rare. In the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge—as we gather from the catalogue compiled in the year 1418—there was then no copy of Horace. And Gower—Chaucer's contemporary, and near his equal in Latin learning—only mentions Horace (as 'Orace') twice (*Confessio*, VII, 3581, and *Mirour*, 23371): and then only to attribute to him a misunderstood passage from Juvenal. It must therefore be admitted at once that Chaucer could scarcely have read anything like the whole of Horace. But we have seen that there is evidence that he had read the *Epistola de Arte Poetica* (perhaps the whole of it), the third ode of Horace's third book, and also, possibly, the eleventh of the third book (dealing with Amphion): and there is the possibility, too, that he had seen the beginning of the second epistle (addressed to Lollius) of Horace's first book. How is this curiously fragmentary knowledge to be accounted for?

I would suggest that Chaucer had seen the *Ars Poetica* entire, either as a separate MS., (it was more likely to be popular than Horace's other works, because rhetoric was one of the courses in the *Trivium* of the medieval universities and included poetry,) or bound up with other similar works. I would derive the rest of Chaucer's knowledge of Horace from one of those MS. collections of classical quotations and favourite pieces, which were certainly current in his time.

Before quitting this part of the argument, it may be well to point out that Horace was not the only Latin author whom Chaucer knew, but scarcely quoted at all. Chaucer's Franklin (*Cant. Tales*, F. 721), excuses his ignorance of rhetoric, etc., in a line which everyone has recognized as having been directly taken from Persius. Chaucer here makes his Franklin say:

> I sleep never on the mount of Pernaso;

thus almost literally reproducing the second line of the prologue to Persius' *Satires*:

> Neque *in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso*
> Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.

Now it is clear from this that Chaucer knew something of Persius, and it is almost equally certain that he would have appreciated the work of the Latin satirist: yet he never once names him, nor does he ever again refer to him or his writings outside this one particular passage. Surely

this circumstance goes some way to weaken the argument against Chaucer's direct acquaintance with the work of Horace.

From all the evidence and argument adduced above, I would conclude that Chaucer—though he cannot be said to have been familiar with Horace, or to have known him at all completely—was directly acquainted with his *Epistola ad Pisones de Arte Poetica*, and with at least one (perhaps two) of his Odes.

C. L. Wrenn.

Dacca, Bengal.

VOULTÉ'S RUPTURE WITH RABELAIS.

In the few facts that research has hitherto established it is impossible to trace adequately what happened to Rabelais during a long period of eleven years (1535–46). Yet uncertainty upon this point renders the student's enquiries vain at the outset, for, to make mention of what may prove to be an important consideration, Rabelais, whom Dolet hailed as 'the glory of the healing art' in 1537, became later famous above all as the philosophical author of *Pantagruel*[1]. The significance of this change may, it is true, be over-stressed, but when we compare the work done before and after this lapse in time, and when we note that in the interval the author's style had been transformed: that a definite purpose had been adopted, and that discussion rather than narration came to demand his closest attention; we are driven to the conclusion that some enquiry into those obscure years is necessary to our comprehension of the mature worker, and therefore of the early work itself. In the absence of other sources of certain knowledge, what was in fact a mere episode, Jean Voulté's brief and intimate friendship and his violent quarrel with Rabelais, may throw a very valuable light upon this question.

What is ascertainable of Rabelais' life, as far as directly concerns us, can be briefly summarized here. He passed his early years in the monastery of Fontenay-le-Comte[2] busy with Pierre Amy in the study of Greek. Forced to quit this seclusion in 1524 by his fellows' persecutions, he may well have carried with him feelings of resentment against those who had thwarted his congenial pursuits, and ten years later he appears still to have had aspirations to a monastic life of cultured indolence without the irksome duties imposed by monastery rules[3]. In consequence of this hatred of monks he would naturally fall into line with reformers, but, though much must be inferred from his writings, evidence of his life from 1524 to 1530 is lacking. Then, however, he matriculated at Montpellier and thenceforward for five years the traces discovered[4] show him busy in the study of medicine, in hospital practice, and in preparing

[1] Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la litt. française.* Vol. IV.

[2] In 1522 and 1524 he was described as a young man, in 1519 as 'frère mineur' of this monastery. See A. Tilley, *François Rabelais.*

[3] See the Abbey of Thelema in *Gargantua.*

[4] In the University records, Lyons printing records, his publications etc.

medical publications at Lyons. His enthusiasm and skill were building up a splendid reputation. Notwithstanding this, in 1535, for the second time, he suddenly abandoned his post without leave of absence and after a short delay, he having accompanied Jean du Bellay to Rome[1], the hospital authorities appointed a successor. That he sought at Rome the Pope's letter of absolution for irregularities, that he returned successful and entered the Abbey of Saint Maur-les-Fossés and so could be present at the dinner in honour of Dolet's pardon (1537), and that he was present at Court in 1538, all this we know; but, apart from the dates of his Licentiate and Doctorate and his indisputable presence with Guillaume du Bellay in Piedmont, we know practically nothing further of him until, in 1545, he obtained the royal privilege for his Third Book. Nevertheless even this protection seems to have been insufficient, since shortly afterwards he had fled to Metz, whence he appealed for assistance to Jean (Cardinal) du Bellay. For this hurried flight various causes have been advanced. His greatest patron dead and that patron's brother temporarily powerless, it is probable that Rabelais' enemies had seized upon the occasion for persecuting him. Upon what grounds they did so only the inner history of the time could reveal, but judging from one mention of him in Cardinal de Tournon's letters and another in John Sturm's, critics have considered that he was in close touch with exiled reformers and therefore Protestant in sympathy. However the notorious Cardinal failed to convict him, and the traces of such sympathy, which we might expect in his later work, are less numerous than those of *Gargantua* even in his posthumous work. The adoption of such an explanation involves the question of his beliefs in yet deeper difficulties.

Let us then briefly enquire what his contemporaries considered to be Rabelais' religious views. At a much later date (1550) Jean Calvin claimed that both Despériers and Rabelais had belonged to the reforming party until jests which blasphemed 'the sacred pledge of eternal life[2]' had brought down upon them spiritual blindness. There can be no doubt that the *Cymbalum Mundi* abounds in matter that justifies a charge from which Rabelais' work appears almost wholly free[3] and, were not confirmation available that the charge lies equally well with Rabelais, the denunciation might provoke our question. At the same time in

[1] See Letters to the Bishop of Maillezais and his preface to Marliani, *Topographia Romae*.

[2] Cf. *De Scandalis*: 'Alii (ut Rabelaesus, Desperius et Goveanus) gustato Euangelio, eadem caecitate sunt percussi. Cur istud? nisi quia sacrum illud vitae eternae pignus, sacrilega ludendi aut ridendi audacia ante profanarant.'

[3] *Pantagruel*, c. 19, p. 95 (Edition by Babeau, Patry and Boulenger) contains 'Alors fut ouye une voix du ciel.'

forming our judgment we must not forget that Cop's famous speech and the 'Affaire des placards' had early rent the reforming movement in twain, that from 1534 Calvinism had dissociated itself from the more moderate reformers whom Calvin was to denounce, and that a tendency to return to the bosom of Holy Church had appeared in the Third Party[1]. It becomes probable therefore that Rabelais, as a moderate reformer, was rather abandoned by advancing Calvinism than that he was an apostate from that creed. Besides, although up to 1540 he seems to have been a Platonist, after that date he certainly toyed with Platonist beliefs in a contemptuous manner, and therefore he is not to be lightly classed with those reformers who deserted their cause and relapsed into orthodoxy. Indeed, if we may judge by repeated utterances in his later work, he became almost as unreconciled with Church teaching as he was the avowed critic and enemy of Calvinism. We may believe that he remarked the tendency to reaction which culminated in the Truce of Nice, but, if that is true, he did not hesitate to continue on his course with notable tenacity of purpose, and that would sufficiently explain the frequent dangers into which he ran. Whether the views to which he obstinately adhered partook of a religious nature, nothing but close enquiry can reveal, but Voulté's life and the causes of his quarrel with Rabelais do provide a starting point from which we may make the search.

A student and lecturer in the College of Guyenne and, from 1534 to 1536, in the Faculty of Toulouse, Jean Voulté[2] became a close associate of Dolet's friend, the liberal Jean de la Boyssone, and of Gripaldi, the jurist whose championship of free enquiry brought upon him persecution from Calvinist and Catholic. The law school of Toulouse being then a stronghold of reaction, it is significant that under Boyssone's persuasions the young lecturer renounced his legal career in favour of letters, and furthermore that, having visited Lyons in 1536, he formed sincere friendships with Dolet and Rabelais. These facts point to a certain measure of liberalism in the young poet, which, even if it were the enthusiasm of a youth, appears strange when we consider that, within two years and at a time when reaction was in the ascendant, Voulté suddenly quarrelled with his friends, returned to the practice of the law in Paris and was to find favour in reactionary Court circles. His few remaining years—he

[1] Calvin adds an explanation, *Excusatio ad Nicodemitas* (1545): 'Tertius ordo ex iis constat qui religionem quodammodo in philosophiam convertunt...sed quieti ac securi expectant donec Ecclesia in tolerabilem statum reformetur: ut autem in eam rem incumbunt, quia periculosum est, adduci nequeunt; quidam etiam eorum ideas Platonicas concipiunt: de modo colendi Dei. Itaque bonam partem Papisticarum superstitionum excusant .... Hic ordo fere constat ex literatis.'

[2] See R. C. Christie, *Etienne Dolet, a Martyr of the Renaissance*, for further details.

was assassinated by a private enemy in 1542—are obscure, but does not that fact too seem to suggest that he had abjured his former errors?

Inspired with eager admiration, Voulté had hastened to defend the author of *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, whom he had heard stigmatized as a madman. Indignantly he repels the attack,

> Qui rabie asseruit laesum, Rabelaese, tuum cor,
> adjunxit vero cum tua Musa sales:
> hunc puto mentitum, rabiem tua scripta sonare
> qui dixit; rabiem, dic Rabelaese, canis?
> Zoilus ille fuit rabidis armatus iambis;
> non spirant rabiem, sed tua scripta jocos[1].

This view, probably shared by many contemporaries, would confirm our theory of Voulté's liberal tendencies, for there can be no doubt that Rabelais' satire of the representatives of the past and his laughter suggested no deeper meaning than the free jests of Erasmus, Marot and Despériers. It was the author himself who later constantly read profound wisdom into his early merriment, and who therefore has somewhat obscured his readers' vision of him. At that period, contempt for the older age bound together reformers and men of letters, and it drew the young liberal to the side of the founder of Pantagruelism. Very soon, however, when such sympathy and other circumstances had brought them into intimacy, Voulté had detected and denounced what is Rabelais' distinction, differentiating clearly between him and other reformers. In a semi-jocular poem his friend's possession by an insatiate desire for knowledge, and that knowledge of a seriously dangerous kind, was picked out for emphatic disapproval. 'Ad Rabellam[2]' opens thus:

> Scire cupis qui sim, qui vivam, quoque parente
> sim natus, quae sit patria, quique lares,
> scire cupis nomenque meum, nomenque puellae.
> Scire cupis vitae quod genus ipse sequar;

and it ends with:

> Nil non scire cupis; sed dum cupis omnia scire,
> non satis et nimium scire, Rabella, cupis.

We picture Rabelais with an appeal for information ever on his lips, maybe of a nature trivial in the extreme in so far as the poet gives instances, but probably of a much more serious kind according to the hint in the last two verses. 'Thou desirest to know too much and not enough' cannot have implied medical or linguistic learning, for these were still honoured in France. 'Thou desirest to be ignorant of nothing'

[1] 'Ad Rabelaesum,' Joanni Vultei *Epigrammatum lib.* IV, Lyons, 1537.

[2] The change of spelling may be perhaps pregnant with meaning, though the full change to Rabulam (rabula) was made by others. Joannis Vultei *Inscriptionum libri duo*, Paris, 1538.

implies knowledge and the search for certainty in matters in which the poet approved of no enquiry and at which the friend dared only to hint.

His later poems are even more definite, although Rabelais' name is not mentioned. Still, bearing in mind Rabelais' manifest indebtedness to Lucian in *Pantagruel*, his frequent denomination as the 'disciple of Lucian' and the ponderous learned jokes of his early books, we are driven to the conclusion that 'In quendam irreligiosum Luciani sectatorem' may contain carefully veiled references to some episode in their intercourse[1].

> In libris quoteis meis loquor de
> Christo, hoc sit quasi nomen haud receptum.
> Rides, displiceo auribus tuisque
> dicis nec Latio fuisse in ore
> nomen, nomine quo beatius non
> ullum est[2].

We cannot doubt that the earlier Rabelais was capable of such jokes, but an intimate experience of his conversation would be necessary to decide whether they imply positive irreverence. The poet, however, goes on to hint at speculations, which in that age could find utterance only in closest intimacy and which indeed indicate infidelity in the utterer. The poem continues:

> Vah, adhuc dubitas scelus parentum
> tractum mortifero asperoque morsu
> esse victima amabili expiatum?

Relying upon the undoubted sincerity of the poet, we may conclude that the desire for knowledge had led Rabelais into deep speculation, and we must admit that his confidence in the goodness of human nature would early or late drive him to religious scepticism. For a much smaller matter Dolet was to give his life, and, with rumours of these meditations reaching the ears of the authorities, we cannot wonder that Rabelais should take refuge in flight. What is more remarkable is that the gross ribaldry of *Pantagruel* had not revealed to Voulté and his contemporaries a lack of religious conviction, as it does to modern readers. Against the lower moral earnestness of that day such a conclusion had not stood forth prominent, and the author's scepticism was therefore revealed, unlike Dolet's, only in less guarded relationships. Voulté's horror at this discovery impelled him again and again to make fruitless attempts to dissuade the poor 'Lucianique' from a course that brought dangers to body and soul. In

[1] We may add that, applicable to Rabelais, this poem cannot refer to other known friends of the poet.

[2] Joannis Vultei *Hendecasyllaborum libri quattuor*, Paris, 1538. Cf. Calvin's charge against Rabelais in *De Scandalis*.

vain will his friend postpone the evil day when pretence and legality will fail him. That day will arrive and then,

> Belle te simulasse Christianum.
> Rides, has rogo, pone, pone technas
> et subterfugia omnia; invidere
> hanc noli tibi quam impetrare possis
> criminis veniam, fatere mentem
> insani hactenus esse Luciani,
> vitam denique te impie secutum[1].

Only by fully comprehending the peculiar trend of thought belonging to those days could we hope to realize the import of such a passionate plea. When we consider that men held tenaciously to the slightest revealed word and that matters of faith were productive of the most violent disruptions of society, even to massacres of men of different beliefs, we are forced to admit that, in rejecting his friend's pleadings, Rabelais was either harder of heart than his readers will trace in his works, or more boldly resolved on his speculations than many present-day views will easily allow. Still more inexplicable, as Voulté doubtless thought, was his not shrinking from the picture of the Last Day that follows. On that solemn occasion,

> Dices: hei mihi, jam miser miser sum.
> Erravi, fateor, Deum esse nosco.
> Vixi, non homo, sed canis; poeta
> Vulteius mihi providus, poeta
> verax, hanc mihi centies ruinam
> hanc praedixerat.

It will perhaps be apparent that Voulté must not be lightly considered as a moderate reformer, who turned back before threatened persecution and who therefore quarrelled with his friend. His quarrel with Rabelais took place only when his dissuasive powers had failed, and when he feared to be involved in the eternal consequences of daring speculations at which he hinted and to which Rabelais was much inclined. His poems are cries of alarm uttered by a singularly devout man, who recoiled and tried to call back his friend from the abyss of infidelity that lay before him. As for Rabelais, his position may perhaps be best explained with reference to his new philosophy of Pantagruelism, the boldness and courage of which lie hidden within his famous descriptions and definitions[2] of it, and which may have been exerting a powerful influence upon its discoverer even at that time.

From the facts of his career we may see that Rabelais' nature was largely moulded by life in a provincial monastery into which the most

[1] 'In Luciani simium' (*Hendecasyllaborum libri quattuor*, Paris, 1538).

[2] During his saddest years he defined it as 'certaine gayeté d'esprit conficte en mespris de choses fortuites.' Bk IV, Prol. de l'Auteur.

liberal views available to him penetrated necessarily through classical literature. We can therefore in part appreciate his obstinate prosecution of studies which gave him a sense of living, but, this occupation apart, he probably spent his life with no greater purpose than did a number of his fellows[1]. Having entered the world, he had been attached to two of the least prejudiced nobles of his time, he had prosecuted various practical studies, and he had travelled extensively when opinions were in a ferment. We may be sure that, when he had seen the actual state of the Church in Rome at that time, a considered and steadfast judgment took the place of his traditional and fluctuating views[2], and this fact prompts the question, how widely must his opinions on other matters have changed? He had been forced from the cavern, in which he had beheld the mere shadows of the world, to look upon reality in the broad light of day. So far-reaching a change from secluded idleness to personal and public activity cannot but have influenced him. Perhaps, indeed, it transformed him, at first no doubt throwing his thoughts into confusion. The change was certainly painful. And here it must be recalled that the most potent influences were brought to bear upon him after the publication of his first two books. *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* are therefore the utterances of the monk and student, his later works are those of the man of the world.

During the first stage, his thought had of necessity followed the beaten tracks of Renaissance learning, and in consequence of his reverence for Erasmus, for whom he felt as a son for his father—nay for his mother[3], he had dreamed of a new world, reformed by its absorption of that learning. He was of the opinion that students needed but to expound Ancient philosophy, nay merely to amass Ancient knowledge, in order to equip a prince for government. Such influences and such enthusiasm, common to many of his contemporaries[4], are therefore deeply imprinted upon his two early books. In the world, however, nothing but disillusionment fell to his lot: he beheld in Italy a moribund Renaissance movement which was closely fettered to the foolish 'birds' of the *Isle Sonante*; he saw the great and powerful dictating their will to the weak; he must have realized that reform by peaceful means was becoming more and more difficult; and he probably discovered that humanity's strength or weakness lay in an irrational objection to his reasonable reforms. Within a

[1] That he was not always in advance of his age was not therefore surprising. See Millet, *François Rabelais* (*Les Grands Ecrivains*).
[2] *L'Isle Sonante.* The futile lives of the 'birds' seem to have impressed him deeply.
[3] *Epistola ad B. Salignacum.*
[4] Cf. Dolet's Prefaces quoted in R. C. Christie, *Etienne Dolet.*

very few years the author of *Gargantua* saw one ideal after another crushed by triumphant reaction, and it is not surprising that his disconcerted mind should strive to understand the nature of his fellows, and his own. With his dream-world shattered Rabelais was driven to seek a firm footing even in the most dangerous places. With such a man, prone to discouragement as Rabelais certainly was, a life of activity and acquaintance with other men would be of the highest importance in re-establishing calmness of mind, and Voulté knew him just when he probably most needed calm, and before he underwent the powerful influence of Guillaume du Bellay.

Yet he had not merely the example of his great patron as a corrective to his despair. Whenever in his early books he recalls home scenes and homely or personal adventures, his style becomes richly coloured and powerfully effective, while, when he treats of the abstractions of Thelema or of his educational schemes, we feel in his diminished force a lack of conviction and a hesitancy that come of his limited vision. The artificial mode of life, into which he had been forced possibly when very young[1], had not weakened, and had probably reinforced, his longing for fact and experience, and it appears almost self-evident that he must have been endowed with an exuberant interest in all aspects of life. Now realism alone remains constant through the whole romance, and no other quality of mind could have been more valuable to him in this period of upheaval. No other power than that of interesting himself in the physical world could have carried him through to the time when 'he saw life steadily and saw it whole.' He would take his stand on the certainties that remained and thence push his researches into the unknown. Thus the 'Tiers Livre' must be accepted as in part a résumé of Rabelais' own enquiries, and in the same way under cover of the contemporaneous interest in geographical discovery, which suggested Pantagruel's voyage[2], he would seem himself to have anticipated his hero in a quest of truth. Voulté's poems contain obscure references to some of Rabelais' enquiries.

Surely, when the later Pantagruel says:

> Nature me semble, non sans cause, nous avoir formé oreilles ouvertes, n'y apposant porte ne clousture aucune, comme a faict es yeulx, langue et aultres issues du corps. La cause je cuide estre, afin que tousjours toutes nuitz, continuellement puissions ouir, et, par ouye, perpetuellement apprendre (III, 16),

this retort, made to Epistemon's fear of consultation with witches, is no less the response that Rabelais would give to a Voulté. And, the Tourangeau might add,

[1] Cf. *L'Isle Sonante*, p. 11 (Lefranc and Boulenger's edition).
[2] Cf. *Les Navigations de Pantagruel.*

Que nuist sçavoir tousjours et tousjours apprendre, fust ce
D'un sot, d'un pot, d'une guedoufle,
D'une moufle, d'une pantoufle? (*ibid.*)

Calvin preferred that all knowledge should vanish from the earth rather than that it should be a cause of stumbling[1]; Voulté would certainly have established strict limits to enquiry; and Rabelais' great quality, as a result of which consistency was to be given to his mature work, was apparently precisely what horrified his friend and had dissolved their friendship. Rabelais was prepared to thrust aside the most cherished beliefs of his day in the interest of his speculations. Voulté had noted the change that had come over his friend, but naturally he could not decide how fundamental it was. Indeed only a careful comparison of the books produced before and after this period will reveal a most extraordinary interruption of Rabelais' development. His acquaintance with Voulté appears to indicate that a definite breach with the past had been made.

A. F. CHAPPELL.

MANCHESTER.

[1] *De Scandalis*: 'ego enim mallem, et certe praestaret, scientias omnes exterminatas è mundo esse, quam ut studio gloriae Dei Christianos alienent.'

THE EARLY EDITIONS OF GOMBERVILLE'S 'POLEXANDRE.'

'I READ scores of times the *Polexandre*!' exclaimed La Fontaine with joyful remembrance, when he enumerated the fiction which had appealed to him most[1]; and, considering the complicated evolution of this novel, the several editions, the successive modifications in the story and the very length of the book in its final shape, La Fontaine's 'scores of times' would indeed be needed for anyone now to acquire an adequate idea of Gomberville's famous novel. Other seventeenth century authors joined La Fontaine in his praise. Guez de Balzac expressed all his admiration in these few words: 'Le *Polexandre* est à mon avis un ouvrage parfait en son genre[2].' Even Boileau, an enemy of lofty and adventurous fiction, read it with delight in his youth: 'Comme j'étais fort jeune,...je les lus, ainsi que les lisait tout le monde, avec beaucoup d'admiration et je regardais ces romans comme des chefs d'œuvre de notre langue[3].'

Although Browne's translation (1647) seems to have enjoyed some popularity in England, the novel soon fell into oblivion. During the eighteenth century several abridged and revised editions of the novels of D'Urfé, La Calprenède, Mlle de Scudéry and others, were published; but *Polexandre*, more celebrated once than any of them, had to forego this honour. La Harpe[4] treats it with disdain and Sainte-Beuve simply states that 'Gomberville aujourd'hui n'est plus lisible' (*Port-Royal*, II, p. 267).

These opinions contrast with a modern reaction which is far more favourable to *Polexandre*. In his book *Marin Le Roy de Gomberville*, 1876, Kerviler devotes a chapter to it; Körting in his *Geschichte des französischen Romans im 17ten Jahrhundert* acclaimed the work, the earliest example of a new category of 'heroic-gallant' novels, which was imitated for several decades (p. 216); and, lastly, Professor Chinard stresses its significance as the master-piece of the stories of exotic adventure in the early seventeenth century[5]. One would expect a work of

[1] La Fontaine, *Œuvres*, Éd. Grands Écrivains, IX, p. 25.
[2] *Œuvres*, 1665, II, p. 634.
[3] *Discours sur les Héros de Roman*, Œuvres, Éd. Lemerre, 1875, II, p. 24.
[4] *Lycée ou Cours de Littérature*, 1799, VII, p. 225.
[5] *L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Litt. française*, 1913, p. 66.

such importance to have been sufficiently studied, and it is with astonishment that one notices the great number of errors about its earliest appearance, its editions and its text. All bibliographies and studies disagree as to the dates of the first and the following editions, and also in regard to the number of volumes of each edition. The same confusion exists about the text which Gomberville altered profoundly in each successive edition. The historical and contemporary allusions which abound in this 'roman à clef' have not been entirely explained[1]; and its sources in the voyage literature of the times have not been altogether identified.

To elucidate at least one problem to which *Polexandre* gives rise, it will be attempted here to prove that the first edition of this novel dates from 1619 and was published under the pseudonym of 'Orile.' The errors about its earliest appearance are numerous and contradictory. Nicéron (*Mémoires*, XXXVIII, p. 263) gives 1632 and states that it was made up of two volumes; La Vallière[2] and Brunet's *Manuel* indicate the year 1629 and one volume; the *Biographies Universelles* Michaud and Firmin-Didot both contend for the year 1632, but increase the number of volumes to four; Graesse (*Trésor des Livres Rares*) lists only an edition of 1637 in five volumes, which he apparently considers as the first. More recent works dealing especially with Gomberville do not solve the problem. Kerviler (*op. cit.*) maintains that the first edition appeared in 1629 and was composed of two volumes, which places him in contradiction with all preceding bibliographers. Körting (*op. cit.*) overlooks the existence of Kerviler's work and copies Lenglet du Fresnoy's date[3] without specifying the number of volumes.

For all this confusion there was little excuse: already Quérard (*Les Supercheries littéraires dévoilées*, II, p. 1310) had cautiously suggested that the earliest edition probably dated from 1619. His only proof, however, is that a volume of that edition, which he had seen, was attributed to Gomberville by a manuscript note of Lenglet du Fresnoy[4]. Lanson's Manual follows Quérard and states: '*Polexandre* 1619 (incomplet), 1637, 5 vol.' This is quite misleading because it mentions only two of the editions; and the word 'incomplet' implies that the

[1] Drujon, *Les Livres à Clef*, does not mention it. Some interesting material about the allusions can be found in Gustave Charlier's article, *Un Amour de Ronsard* (*Revue du XVI^e siècle*, 1920, VII, p. 123).

[2] *Catalogue de la Bibl. de M. de la Vallière*, III, p. 167.

[3] Lenglet du Fresnoy (Gordon du Percel), *De l'Usage des Romans; avec une Bibliothèque des Romans*, 1734, II, p. 63.

[4] It must be noted that in Lenglet du Fresnoy's *De l'Usage des Romans* (II, p. 63) no mention is made of this 1619 edition.

edition of 1619 was completed in 1637, whereas Gomberville rewrote his book entirely for each issue, transported its hero to another country, changed the names of the secondary personages as well as their station in life.

Several proofs can be grouped to demonstrate that the earliest edition, or rather the earliest form, of *Polexandre* is the volume of 1619, entitled *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée*, Paris. Toussainct du Bray.

(*a*) The *Epître* is signed 'ORILE.' It has not been noticed heretofore that this pseudonym is the anagram of Gomberville's name Le Roi (Le Roy). In 1619 he was still called Marin Le Roy. His father's name was Louis Le Roy, sieur de la Croix le Chapitre: it is only later that his son added 'de Gomberville[1]' and we recall how fond the latter was of substituting for his own name such queer forms as 'Thalassius Basilides a Gombervilla.' In 1614 his *Tableau du bonheur de la Vieillesse* gives his name as Marin Le Roy, without the addition of de Gomberville.

(*b*) The edition of 1619 ends with an *Advertissement au Lecteur* in which Orile complains about the great number of mistakes the printer allowed to slip into his novel, and says: 'Mais quoy qu'il arrive, je te promets que si ces malheureuses reliques ne te sont point désagréables ...j'essayeray de les receuillir un peu mieux qu'elles ne sont, et de te les faire voir pour la seconde fois, avec plus de pureté et de politesse.' A second and modified edition of *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* was thus promised. And, in fact, the edition of 1629 was a rewritten book, as can be seen by the *Privilège* (dated September 28, 1629): 'Il est permis à M. le Roy, Escuyer, sieur de Gomberville, de faire imprimer... un petit essay de son esprit, sous le tiltre de *L'Exil de Polexandre*, qu'il a depuis peu corrigé, changé, finy, et désiré le faire voir tout autre et en meilleur ordre qu'il n'a paru jusqu'à présent.' This very explicit *Privilège* proves that the edition of 1629 cannot be the earliest, and, as will be pointed out further on, the changes and corrections in which it claims to differ from the preceding edition are found to exist between the issues of 1619 and 1629.

(*c*) Moreover, in the Preface of a later work, his *Mémoires du Duc de Nevers* (1665), Gomberville told at length the events of his life a few years before 1630 and marked the influence they had upon his literary career. He states clearly that, before 1630, the Duchess of Lorraine encouraged him to rewrite his 'first Polexandre,' and that to her he dedicated the changed work. He begins with informing us that he had planned to compile a long history of the French religious wars in the

[1] Cf. Jal, *Dict. de Biographie et d'Histoire*, p. 646.

sixteenth century, of which only the Preface and the first book were finished: 'Avant que Davila eust fait imprimer à Venise l'histoire de nos guerres civiles, j'avois formé le dessein d'escrire celle des derniers rois de la Maison des Valois et d'y enfermer tous les évènements extraordinaires...dont la France a esté le théâtre depuis la mort de Louis XII jusqu'à celle de Henri III.' The date of these historical activities can be determined by his statement that they preceded the appearance of Davila's *History of the French Civil Wars*: this was published in 1630[1]. He narrates then how, before this date, he rewrote his *Polexandre* to please a lady of very high rank: 'Il arriva cependant par une advanture que je n'avois pas prévenue, que je retombay dans la maladie des romans, et que je fus engagé par *une dame de première condition* de me souvenir de *mon premier Polexandre*. Je le revys pour luy plaire, et, ne luy trouvant ny la qualité ny le mérite que je luy aurois souhaité, je voulus me rendre le maistre de sa fortune et de sa condition; et, puisque son élévation ne me coustoit que quelques momens de rêveries, le porter aussi haut que mon imagination pouvoit aller. La princesse pour le divertissement de qui j'avois entrepris ce roman l'ayant trouvé très agréable comme il étoit, je le publiay sous son nom et voulus voir si la fable me seroit un peu plus favorable que l'histoire.' There can be no doubt that this transformation of his 'early Polexandre' happened in 1629, for Gomberville relates that his rewritten novel was a great success at the Court and put him in touch with many influential noblemen. Soon after, he says, 'a big storm' burst out at the Court, and destroyed the power of some of his friends; he refers, certainly, to the famous 'Journée des Dupes' of November 11, 1630, for he states that, at that very time, a friend brought him from Italy the *Historia* of Davila 'nouvellement imprimée,' and, as we said above, this volume appeared in 1630. Now, if, in 1629, Gomberville rewrote an earlier *Polexandre*, it can only have been his *Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* of 1619. This is confirmed once more by the fact that Gomberville, in the passage previously quoted, says that in the new edition (1629) he bettered the hero's position in life, since this cost him nothing but 'quelques momens de rêveries': in 1619 Polexandre is an ordinary nobleman, in 1629 a Prince. Besides, the edition of 1629 is dedicated to the Duchesse de Lorraine, and Gomberville declares that it appeared 'under the name' of the lady of high rank who had asked him to write the book over again.

(*d*) Gomberville himself furnishes another argument to establish that *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* of 1619 is the early form of his

[1] Enrico Caterino Davila, *Historia delle Guerre di Francia*, Venice, 1630.

successive Polexandre novels: in the *Avertissement aux Honnestes Gens* at the end of vol. v of the last edition of the novel (pp. 611–18 of the edition of 1641), he explains, in rather cryptic language, the successive changes he introduced in his labyrinth. This passage has been quoted, among others, by Kerviler (*op. cit.* p. 45) and Körting (*op. cit.* p. 219), but it can be correctly interpreted only when the 1619 edition is taken into account: 'La première fois que Polexandre vit le jour, il le vit par la puissance d'Eolinde, et le perdit aussitost qu'elle eut cessé de lui prester sa lumière. Neuf ans après, il sortit des ténèbres et eut l'obligation de ce nouveau jour à Zelmatide et à Yzatide, car il ne fut que le prétexte de mon travail. Les deux autres en furent la cause. Incontinent après, Yzatide estant morte pour Zelmatide et pour elle-mesme, je laissay Polexandre comme mort dans la grande place de Coppenhague. Deux ans après, je luy fis changer de condition par pure maxime d'Estat. Mais cette maxime se trouvant fausse, je le laissay avec toutes ses prétentions ensevely dans les désordres d'Allemagne. Maintenant, si je ne me flatte un peu trop, je vous le donne tel que vous l'avez désiré....' The first part of this explanation, 'La première fois que Polexandre vit le jour, il le vit par la puissance d'Eolinde,' manifestly refers to the *Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* of 1619, for this novel is almost entirely made up of the story of the love-affairs of Aligénor and Eolinde (especially pp. 96 to 325), whereas in the *Exil de Polexandre* of 1629 no mention is made of Eolinde. The next statement, 'Neuf ans après, il sortit des ténèbres,' is again confirmed by fact, for nine years after 1619 take us to 1628, the year Gomberville must have written his transformed *Exil de Polexandre*, which appeared in 1629. Besides, he goes on: '(Le livre) eut l'obligation de ce nouveau jour à Zelmatide et à Yzatide'; and the *Histoire de Zelmatide, Prince du Pérou, et d'Izatide, Princesse de Mexique*, forms the greater part of the edition of 1629. In the last place, the sentence 'Incontinent Yzatide estant morte' refers to the death, in prison, of this Mexican Princess, beloved of Prince Zelmatide (ed. of 1629, p. 454); and 'je laissay Polexandre comme mort dans la grande place de Coppenhague' alludes of course to the duel, in Copenhagen, of Polexandre with his rival Phélismond, at the end of which, in Polexandre's own words: 'La teste me tourna, je perdis la veuë, demeuray sans mémoire, et tombay comme mort à dix pas de Phélismond' (ed. of 1629, p. 881[1]). Körting (*op. cit.* p. 219), who evidently has never seen the

[1] With the later changed editions of *Polexandre* we are not directly concerned here. However, we may point out that Gomberville's explanation makes it clear that he wrote four different versions of the novel: 1619, 1629, 1632, and 1637–41.

several editions, misinterprets strangely the meaning of the French novelist's passage. He gives the date of the first edition as 1632, and believes the action to be centred around Polexandre: 'Hier ist die Handlung noch eine leidlich konzentrierte; der Eine Held, um den sich sämtliche Figuren gruppieren, ist Polexandre.' Just the opposite is true. In both earliest editions the action is concentrated, not around Polexandre, who appears only at the very end of the novels, but around two pairs of lovers: Aligénor and Eolinde in 1619; Yzatide and Zelmatide in 1629. Körting then mentions a 'second' version of the novel—written, he imagines, in 1634—into which Gomberville introduced for the first time a pair of Mexican lovers (Zelmatide and Yzatide), breaking the unity of the earlier form of his work. But, this Mexican story occurs already in the edition of 1629!

(*e*) Another fact which pleads strongly in favour of the authorship of Gomberville for the *Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* of 1619 is that an episode of this work, which he did not use in the edition of 1629, occurs in a later novel: his *Cythérée* of 1640–42. Polexandre meets his mother, who was believed dead. After telling her adventures, she dies in his arms (ed. of 1619, pp. 564–640); in the same way, in the *Cythérée* (Book II), Araxes finds his mother, Ténésis, who expires soon after.

(*f*) Moreover there exist between the editions of 1619 and 1629 certain unmistakable similitudes, which clearly designate them as works of the same hand. Without going into minute detail, the principal incidents which are common to both books may be pointed out. The opening scene is very similar in both volumes: an unknown man jumps into the sea from a high rock. In the 1619 edition he cannot be saved, but in 1629 he is rescued by some sailors. In both a beautiful Turk appears, whom his Christian enemies instinctively feel to be a Frenchman of distinction (1619, p. 37; 1629, p. 25). Another personage, the surgeon Dicée, is found in 1619, 1629 and the following forms of the novel. In both early versions, Polexandre is educated at the Court and becomes a friend of the Dauphin. The period in which his adventures happen is the same: he is a French knight living at the time of Henri II, François II and Charles IX (pp. 200 ff. of 1619; pp. 642–63 of 1629).

(*g*) Finally, a long description of a tournament which is found in the *Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* of 1619 (pp. 530–60) has been transposed into the *Exil de Polexandre* of 1629 (pp. 658–700). Some pages have been entirely copied, others have been altered and paraphrased, although the heroes of the tournament are different in each case.

These transpositions of text and incidents illustrate Gomberville's

literary methods, which are far from being as slipshod and as varied as literary historians have stated. He recasts his text and makes use of former inventions much after the fashion of a good tradesman in literature. Körting indicates that he inserted in his *Cythérée* whole scenes and motives from his *Polexandre* and thus became his own imitator. His boasted abundance appears then as rather sterile, and it would be interesting to study from this point of view the later editions of his principal work, considered as entirely different from one another.

The existence of the 1619 edition of *Polexandre* shows, too, that Gomberville has been occupied with the varied adventures of his hero for eighteen or twenty years, and that his novel was only a kind of flexible framework into which he successively gathered the deeds of several fine-mannered and high-spirited adventurers, who are images both of the traditional Amadis and of the 'honneste homme' of the period.

Antony Constans.
Gust. L. van Roosbroeck.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A.

A FORGOTTEN NOVEL OF MANNERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: 'LA PAYSANNE PARVENUE' BY LE CHEVALIER DE MOUHY.

DESPITE the researches of MM. Texte and Le Breton and Mr Saintsbury, the novel in French literature remains one of the few genres to which La Bruyère's famous 'Tout est dit' cannot be applied. This rich lode is far from exhausted, and occasionally even the most dilettante of 'fureteurs' unearths a forgotten work which amply recompenses him for his labours. *La Paysanne parvenue, ou les Mémoires de Madame la Marquise de L. V.* by Monsieur le Chevalier de Mouhy is such a work[1]. Histories of literature ignore de Mouhy, and even the omniscient Sainte-Beuve is silent on his count. Lanson, in his *Bibliographie*, mentions him, but not at all as a novelist[2]. *Le Nouveau Larousse* gives the following information about him:

> Mouhy (Charles de Fieux), romancier français né à Metz en 1701, mort à Paris en 1784, neveu du baron de Longepierre. Sans fortune mais exempt de scrupules il se met aux gages de Voltaire comme solliciteur de ses procès et 'chef de meute' au parterre, puis du Maréchal de Belle-Isle pour des services peu avouables. Ecrivain médiocre il cherche surtout les succès dans l'actualité imitant les ouvrages en vogue. C'est ainsi qu'il écrivit *La Paysanne parvenue* 1735 pour faire pendant au *Paysan parvenu* de Marivaux. Dans l'abondant mais médiocre bagage littéraire de cet auteur nous citerons seulement *Les Mémoires posthumes du Comte de XXX avant son retour à Dieu*, 1735; *Mémoires d'une fille de qualité qui ne s'est pas retirée du monde*, 1747.

The notice is short, but ample for our purpose, which is not to give a biography of de Mouhy. By the way, the classic *Life* of Voltaire, by Desnoiresterres, sheds a ray of light on de Mouhy's activities as 'solliciteur' in the well-known quarrel between Arouet and Desfontaines[3]. The incident is not entirely to the Chevalier's discredit.

[1] *La Paysanne parvenue ou les Mémoires de la Comtesse de L. V.* Par Le Chevalier de Mouhy. A Amsterdam. Aux dépens de la Compagnie. 1741. All references are to this edition.

[2] Gustave Lanson, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*, Paris, 1911. The following are the works of de Mouhy cited here: p. 52, § 496: *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans merveilleux*, recueillis par Garnier, 1787–9; p. 656, § 8993–5: De Mouhy (se défier de cet auteur), *Tablettes dramatiques contenant l'abrégé du Théâtre français*, 1752; *Abrégé de l'Histoire du Théâtre français* (jusqu'au 1er juin 1780), 3 vols. in-8; *Journal manuscrit du Théâtre français*, 6 vols. in-fol. Bib. Nat. f. fr, 9229–9235; p. 709, § 9738: De Mouhy, *Les Mille et une Folies*, Conte français, 1771; p. 757, § 10419: De Mouhy is mentioned in *Les Huit philosophes aventuriers de ce siècle*, 1752, in-8, éd. mod. 1754; p. 791, § 10930: Le Chevalier de Mouhy, *Justification de la musique française*, 1754.

[3] Gustave Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire et la société française au XVIIIe siècle: Voltaire au Château de Cirey*. Paris, 1868.

The Chevalier de Mouhy dedicates his novel to l'Abbé d'Opède, 'aumônier de chez le roi.' The dedication is spirited, grateful and unusually sincere.

Voici une occasion de vous marquer ma reconnaissance ; j'en profite, et j'avoue publiquement les obligations que je vous ai. Sans me connoître, vous m'avez prévenu par des politesses infinies. Je cours la poste, je suis blessé ; vous êtes en chaise, et vous vous gênez pour m'y recevoir : votre bourse m'est ouverte ; il faut absolument m'en servir, ou vous désobliger. Où trouve-t-on des cœurs semblables ?...

The preface serves as a vehicle for the usual affectedly sincere explanation of the origin and purpose of the novel. As the sub-title implies, the novel is the 'veracious' account of the life and adventures of the Marquise de L. V. But de Mouhy betrays a certain originality even here. For three months, we learn, he has been a confirmed hater of the sex. A charming lady, it is hinted, is the cause of his access of misogyny. 'Une des plus amiables femmes de Paris née en Provence et que j'ai aimée à la folie a beaucoup de part au chagrin que j'ai contre le sexe.' It is now that the Marquise de L. V. makes her untimely request. Will M. de Mouhy call and see her? M. de Mouhy will not. Follows a letter from the Marquise: she is surprised at the ungallant reply. She does not know whether M. le Chevalier de Mouhy is 'un homme à bonnes fortunes,' but if he thinks that she is throwing herself at his head he is very much mistaken! She has a favour to ask of him. This vivacious lady continues:

Vous devez connoître les femmes, puisque vous les évitez, et savoir que lorsqu'elles se sont mises quelque chose dans la tête il est difficile de les faire changer : cela doit vous faire comprendre que si vous n'êtes point chez moi deux heures après ma lettre, je viendrai vous en demander la raison chez vous. Je suis, Monsieur, malgré mon dépit votre très-humble et très-obéissante, La Marquise de L. V.

The favour, as the reader guesses, is that de Mouhy will write up the Marquise's life from her manuscripts. De Mouhy gravely assures us then:

Ce sont donc ces Mémoires que je donne aujourd'hui au public ; les parties qui suivent celle-ci seront très-interessantes, elles paroîtront de mois en mois. Je n'ai que faire d'annoncer que le but de Madame la Marquise de L. V. dans cet Ouvrage, est d'instruire son sexe en l'amusant, de mettre la vertu dans son jour et de porter ceux qui écrivent à orner leurs Ouvrages de ses beautez.

De Mouhy, like Richardson, seeks his heroine in the humblest walk of peasant life. Jeannette B. is the daughter of a woodcutter. Her mother, however, though of peasant stock, was for some time lady's maid to the local 'grande dame,' la Comtesse de N. She has seen something of society, if only from the *coulisses*, and it is from her that Jeannette receives her gentle manners and delicate feelings. The girl

shrinks instinctively from the boisterous village lads, and rejects the advances of Colin, an eminently eligible *parti* in the eyes of her parents.

It is while the king and his hunting train are passing through the woods near Jeannette's village that she makes the acquaintance of the young Marquis de L. V., who falls a victim to the charms of the lovely peasant girl. Luckily for the Marquis, his friend the Comtesse de N. is Jeannette's godmother, and he thus arranges to have the girl educated at the château. Here Jeannette sees her lover frequently and falls in love with him, hopelessly too, it appears, because marriage seems impossible, and for Jeannette there is no compromise thinkable. She is badly treated by the venomous young lady of the house and pestered by the passionate advances of the son, a haughty and vicious youth called the Chevalier Delbieu. This impetuous gentleman swears to have her, and attempts violence in a secluded part of the grounds. Jeannette is saved in the nick of time by the arrival of her lover and rushes blindly into the wood.

She makes up her mind to go back to the cottage, and gets a lift from a friendly waggoner. To her dismay, she notices the relentless Delbieu and a friend riding behind the cart. Taking advantage of a moment when her pursuers have to make a slight détour to avoid some low hanging trees, our heroine seizes a drooping bough and takes refuge in a tree. The two scoundrels search everywhere for her, and it seems as if she is to be discovered, when a carriage passes by. The girl, at her wits' end, drops from the tree and throws herself on the mercy of the occupant of the carriage, a certain Mme de G. This good lady, who happens to know Delbieu's parents, rates that gentleman soundly and sends him off discomfited.

The next stage of Jeannette's life is her stay with Mme de G. and the attempts of that lady's husband, an old but amorous *receveur de finances,* to seduce his guest by presents. That little lady, however, turns the incident to her advantage by informing Mme de G. A match is now arranged between Jeannette and a nauseous type of 'financier' called Gripart. The Marquis, in despair, pleads with Mme de G. and Jeannette to break off the match; meanwhile the ceremony all but takes place, but unfortunately for Gripart, a lady to whom he had once proposed marriage forbids the banns. Delbieu appears again, attacks Gripart's carriage and nearly kills the financier in an attempt to carry off Jeannette. There is a fight between the Marquis and Delbieu in which the latter is severely wounded. Jeannette meanwhile takes refuge in a convent, the superior of which is an old friend of Mme de G.'s.

The Marquis *père* now enters the story. *Lettres de cachet* are out against Jeannette and Delbieu, and the young Marquis has to go for a time to Lorraine. Saint-Fal, a nephew of the old Marquis, is commissioned by the old man to seize Jeannette. He takes her away from Mme de G.'s. He falls in love with his fair prisoner but realises the hopelessness of his suit; he thereupon proves a loyal friend and outwits the old Marquis by hiding Jeannette in rooms at Versailles. *En route*, there is a chance meeting between the old gentleman and his son's sweetheart, though he does not, of course, recognise that lady.

Life at Versailles is very pleasant and novel for the provincial girl, who for safety's sake masquerades as the Comtesse des Roches, an officer's widow. Saint-Fal, a discreet and gallant gentleman, does all he can to further the love-affair of the hero and heroine. The young Marquis back from Lorraine is more in love than ever. The course of true love is disturbed by a certain Duc de ——, who is infatuated with the 'Comtesse,' and takes her to the play. The young Marquis is in the audience and is furiously jealous of the attentions of the Duc. He rejoins his regiment and rushes off to the German front, leaving a bitter note for Jeannette. The real Comtesse des Roches suddenly makes her appearance, and Jeannette is obliged to move to Paris.

During this time the old Marquis has been paying marked attention to the bogus countess. He shadows her to Paris and asks her to become the Marquise, even after a full confession by Jeannette as to her identity and origin. The girl accepts joyfully: it seems as if her dream is at last realised. To her horror it dawns on her that the old gentleman has been proposing not his son, but himself. Accompanied by Barbe, her faithful servant, she sadly takes refuge in her native hamlet. No one, not even her parents, recognise the little Jeannette of long ago in this beautifully dressed and distinguished lady. Old Mme B., however, is struck by her resemblance to her erring daughter.

The young Marquis, who had been wrongly reported killed at the front, seeks forgiveness and proposes a secret marriage, but Jeannette remains obdurate. The old Marquis, prostrated by grief and fury at Jeannette's departure, falls seriously ill. His son hastens to him, only to be told that nothing can save the old man but the sight of Jeannette. The old Marquis conjures his son to persuade her to come back and keep her promise of marriage. Otherwise he will die. Torn between love and filial affection, the young man pleads for his father. Sick with loathing at the idea, Jeannette yet consents to sacrifice her life's happiness at her lover's request. She signs a marriage contract and is prepared

to go on with the ceremony. The dénoûment comes as a surprise to the reader as to the lovers. The old Marquis casts aside his rôle of sick man and tells them that he was only testing the quality of Jeannette's love for his boy. They are happily married.

Such is the plot of *La Paysanne parvenue.* De Mouhy's theme is very vaguely that of Marivaux in his *Paysan parvenu,* but the treatment is quite original. There is no other point of contact between these two novels, and it can only have been the similarity of title which led the writer of the article in *Larousse* to speak of *La Paysanne parvenue* as a 'pendant' to *Le Paysan parvenu.* The same writer gives 1735 as the date of de Mouhy's novel. Assuming this to be correct, de Mouhy's *Paysanne* must have been published before the five parts of Marivaux's *Paysan parvenu* (1735–1736). It is worth remarking that de Mouhy is extraordinarily frank as to his debt to Marivaux's *Marianne,* a debt which is, in my opinion, exaggerated, but which he naïvely and generously acknowledges[1].

De Mouhy's work, like Marivaux's, represents the reaction against the romance of the seventeenth century, in particular the artificial type of novel of 'passion' with its impossible coincidences and factitious local colour, as popularised by Madame d'Aulnoy. Indeed he makes one of his minor characters owe her ruin to the influence of *Hypolite,* 'lecture dangereuse pour la jeunesse et qui prépare le cœur à recevoir de tendres impressions.' His merit as a novelist lies in his natural presentation of contemporary manners, his gift for portraiture and a feeling for nature quite remarkable for his time.

The social picture offered by Marivaux in *Marianne* and *Le Paysan parvenu* is admittedly excellent, but it is vague and blurred because of the author's predilection for a psychological analysis bordering on the metaphysical. There is more incident in Le Sage, but his magnificent observational powers are too much at the service of satire. De Mouhy appeals rather to the curiosity of the average reader, and his mirror reflects an average, probable sort of life; which is, after all, the cachet of the novelist of manners. His peasant girl goes to Versailles and is agog with excitement. She stops her carriage to feast her eyes on these new sights and naïvely asks Saint-Fal, her cicerone, if this, pointing to the palace, is the house he has chosen for her. Her apartments, though not quite so magnificent, fill her with delight, and with the eager curiosity of a child, she peeps into every drawer and cabinet, gloating over the contents.

[1] Tome II, pp. 195–6.

Jeannette lives in the house of a certain family called de Geneval, and de Mouhy's handling of this Geneval *ménage* is in most happy, Dickensian vein. Madame de Geneval is handsome, though not in her first bloom, vain, affected, and possessed of a most slanderous tongue[1]. There is a dinner party where Madame de Geneval quarrels alternately with her guest, an incredibly obstinate officer, and her husband, an indulgent little court official. I emphasise this aspect of de Mouhy's work, the beginning of the domestic novel of manners of the type so familiar to us in the nineteenth century and first introduced into France by Marivaux. The train of everyday life under Louis XV is presented as it appeared to the people of Versailles in 1735. The king and his court return slowly to the palace after a day's hunting. There is a sound of drum and fife, and Jeannette leans from her balcony, eager to catch a glimpse of the young idol. She accompanies Madame de Geneval to the park, and they join the fashionable throng who have come to see the king fishing.

The art of literary portraiture, borrowed from the novel, was brought to a high pitch of perfection by La Bruyère. In his *Gil Blas* Le Sage practised it with what success the whole world knows. Marivaux with his delicate but sure touch produced that happy blend of the physical and moral which made the success of his Climal, Jacob and Marianne. De Mouhy proves himself a worthy successor. His method is to present first a vivid physical portrait, the traits of which are so strongly accentuated as to savour of caricature: he then allows the moral character of his subject to evolve gradually through the media of conversation and action. This scrupulous attention to minutiae, the photographic method as applied to the novel, is characteristic. We seek it in vain elsewhere in the French novel of the eighteenth century. Marivaux, Prévost, Crébillon fils, Tencin, Graffigny and Laclos do not possess it, and in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* it is used almost entirely to produce nature effects, the one place, I venture to say, where it is least appropriate. De Mouhy's novel gains in *vraisemblance* by the author's passion for detailed description[2]. This is a new note in the novel of the period. How far we are already from the romance of the seventeenth century and the filibusters and corsairs of Courtilz de Sandras and Le Sage! Yet *La Paysanne parvenue* was written only in 1735.

Before touching on the question of de Mouhy's attitude towards nature, and lest I seem to insist unduly on a factor which might seem

[1] Cp. especially, Tome II, pp. 7 f.
[2] See especially Jeannette's description of her room, Tome II, pp. 1 ff.

unimportant to students of the English novel, let me quote from M. Le Breton's *Le roman au XVIIIe siècle*. Speaking of the remarkable absence in the eighteenth-century French novel of any feeling for external nature, he says:

> Dans le *Cyrus*, dans la *Clélie*, dans la *Cléopatre* et le *Pharamond*, le paysage tient encore moins de place: il y est également fictif et convenu. Il y a une allée de saules dans la *Princesse de Clèves* et un petit ruisseau: la ligne, la seule ligne du livre où il y soit fait allusion n'est à aucun degré descriptive. Des romans de Lesage, de Marivaux, de Prévost même, sauf quelques touches rapides dans la dernière partie de *Manon Lescaut* ou dans les premiers tomes de *Cleveland*, la nature est absente. Pour Richardson, son indifférence à cet égard dépasse ce qui se peut imaginer (p. 295).

Turn now to this description of our heroine lost in a wood:

> Il étoit bien avant dans la nuit lorsque je revins de ma foiblesse; une sueur froide me couvroit le front, et je ne me relevai qu'avec peine: le silence de la nuit, joint à l'obscurité, me saisissoient d'une secrette horreur: le sinistre cri des chats-huans, le hurlement des bêtes fauves, et le sillonnement imprévû des étoiles, faisoient tout à la fois des impressions funestes dans mon âme allarmée, que vais-je devenir, me disois-je en moi-même? où suis-je? et où dois-je aller? comment échapper au sort qui me poursuit? Tremblante, incertaine de la route que je devois prendre j'errois sans sçavoir où je porterois mes timides pas; le moindre zéphir agitant les feuilles, m'arrêtoit et me faisoit tressaillir: il semble que lorsqu'on a peur, on s'excite soi-même à augmenter les sujets de sa crainte; je me faisois des fantômes des moindres objets que j'entrevoyois; tantôt je demeurois, tantôt je fuyois, et puis au moindre bruit, je me couvrois le visage, croyant par là échapper à ma frayeur. En passant, un hibou me frappe de son aîle, je me crois perduë, je double le pas, la racine d'un arbre acroche ma robe, il me semble être arrêté par quelqu'un, je jette un cri, je me retourne: mais connoissant le principe de mon effroi, je me baisse pour me dégager: le terrain s'effondre sous moi, et je suis précipitée dans une fosse. (II, pp. 76 f.)

One feels de Mouhy's sympathy for nature throughout this novel, a sympathy which finds expression in the words of Barbe on hearing that she is to return to that 'hameau qu'elle aimoit à la folie.' 'Quoi! je pourrai voir les champs, le lever du soleil, entendre chanter le rossignol et l'alouette et filer à la porte, quelle bénédiction!' And were it only for this innovation de Mouhy deserves consideration in any serious study of the evolution of the French novel.

It was Marivaux who first discovered that rich store of 'matières à roman' which exists in the lower strata of society. The immortal quarrel between Dutour and the cab-driver, like de Vigny's notorious 'mouchoir,' created quite a scandal among the lettered. De Mouhy boldly follows in his lead, save that he seeks his 'peuple' among the peasants. His vignettes of village life are dainty studies. Jeannette's parents might have been Pamela's, the same gratitude, nay, servility, towards the lady of the manor, the same pious warnings to their daughter to preserve her virtue and not aspire above her station. Mme B., however, is an ex-lady's maid and has been to Paris, so we cease to wonder at her

daughter's shrewdness. There are village lads like Colin, rough wooers and quick to suspect and hate the 'fine gentlemen.' The smouldering animosity against the Griparts of the day, the accursed tax farmers, finds vent in violence as well as in words. Barbe, the old peasant cook, is a delightful creation, because de Mouhy lets her gossip on naturally, interlarding her conversation with many a pious invocation and garbled truism.

To class de Mouhy as a mere imitator of popular contemporary fiction, and to speak of his mediocre literary baggage, is to confess complete ignorance of the history of the evolution of the French novel. He has certainly borrowed from his predecessors: it is obvious he knows his Le Sage and Marivaux. But were not these novelists also imitators? Unfortunately the similarity of title of two of his works to novels by Prévost and Marivaux has exposed de Mouhy inevitably to that superficial sort of criticism which scarcely penetrates beyond the outside covers. We have undoubtedly in this man a novelist who has rendered a very considerable service to the novel of manners. His plot—the heroine who rose from a humble station and gets on—is not original. Marivaux works on the same theme, as also does Richardson. Yet, as M. Le Breton points out, so did Le Sage before them. De Mouhy's originality lies in his naturalness and wider sympathy: his mirror reflects the cottage as well as the château. His character portraiture lacks the glittering perfection of a Le Sage, but, though he has not Le Sage's satiric brilliancy, he is vastly more human. His is a greater fidelity to nature.

Jeannette is not better drawn than Marianne, yet she is more natural, more lovable. Unlike Marianne and Pamela, Jeannette is at least capable of thinking of other people and talking of other people, without that tiresome mental ricochet back to herself. She does not pass all her actions in review beneath a microscope, nor does she, like Pamela, spend her time shuffling after her lover on her knees. De Mouhy had the difficult task of striking the happy mean between the calculating little adventuress and the snivelling, servile servant girl. It is a marvel that he does steer a clear passage and gives us a heroine who is simple and lovable, and it is another that *La Paysanne parvenue* has remained so long ignored. 'Give a dog a bad name' is apparently also true of books and critics.

F. C. Green.

Winnipeg, Canada.

AN EARLY GERMAN ACCOUNT OF ST PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

THE Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr Smyly, has brought to my notice an early German contribution to the literature dealing with St Patrick's Purgatory[1], which tradition associates with an island in Lough Derg[2], Co. Donegal. The text (*Catalogue*: Press A. 7. 19) is printed on two leaves, as reproduced below, and is followed by a woodcut depicting what appears to be the appropriate punishment for the seven deadly sins. Abbott[3] gives the following description:

Patricius (S.), Hiberniae apostolus. Uō dē fegfeüer sancti patricÿ in ÿbernia // s.l.a.t.n. Char. goth. 29, 32 ll. 2 ff.

F. 1a (after title as above), (D)As mā aber grüntlichen uñ on alle zweÿf- // *Ends*: f. 2a, hett vnd hat innerhalb zwelff jar gelebt. ⁘ // F. 2b, picture of souls in torment.

'Franciscanorum Friburgi Brisgaui, 1648.'

'Sale of imported books by Evans: Feb. 1832.'

In pencil, '£1. 1*s*., cost Mr Heber £2. 15*s*.'

Covered with a fragment of a vellum MS. containing part of a psalm set to music.

The two leaves of text have no watermark, and they are bound up with covering leaves of a much later date. One of these precedes the text and twelve follow. The former has a large watermark—a large crown over a coat of arms. The centre of the shield contains a small crown and crossed sword and baton. The leaves that follow the text are blank, except the twelfth, which shows a watermark consisting of the capital letters K R in a large ornamental hand. As these marks do not appear in Briquet[4], this new paper is probably later than 1600. I have failed to trace the source of either paper, nor can I connect the type with any particular press. It appears to be of the variety known as Schwabach and the capital letters suggest a mixed fount, as there are two forms of S and D. As in other early printed books, there is an extra character

[1] See, for example, St John D. Seymour, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, Dundalk, 1918.

[2] Baddeley and Ward, *Ireland*, Part I, London, 1897, p. 177: 'Five miles north of Pettigo and in County Donegal is Lough Derg, an outlandish sheet of water containing an island to which from the middle of June to the middle of August pilgrims throng in their hundreds. It is called "Station Island" or "St Patrick's Purgatory," and is entirely occupied by buildings for the accommodation of the penitents, who are conveyed to it in a ferry-boat for 6*d*. St Patrick, says one account, was here miraculously favoured with an exhibition of the pains of purgatory—hence the name.'

[3] T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of Fifteenth Century Books in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and in Marsh's Library*, Dublin, 1905.

[4] C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, 1282–1600, Paris, 1907.

for r, shaped like a comma with a final hook to the right. It is represented below by ṛ.

The language suggests the second half of the fifteenth century as the period of composition and anywhere between Bamberg and Augsburg as the place of origin. There is no reason to disagree with Abbott's inclusion of the work in his catalogue of *incunabula*.

Von dē fegfeüer sancti patricÿ in ÿbernia

[D]As mā aber grüntlichen vñ on alle zweÿf=
lung wissen vñ merckē müg dz eȳ fegfeüeṛ
seÿ vñ eyn helle als dañ dÿe gancz heÿlig
geschrifft bezeügt So ist zewissen dz solichs gar tref
fenlichē geoffenbaret ist woṛdē jn dem land ÿbernia
durch dz gebet Sācti patrici d' dañ durch die schick
ung gottes in daz selb land cristenlichē gelauben da
zebṛedigen vñ an zeheben geschickt ward dz er dañ
gar mit grossem vleÿß tag vñ nacht volbṛacht = vñ
thet auch grosse wund'werck in dē namen jh'u cristi
Er sagt in auch von der grossen pein vñ marter die
man in d' helle vñ in dē fegfeüer für die sünd leÿden
můß Er verhieß in auch die übermaßlichen grossen
frewd des paradeyß ob sÿ dē heyligē cristēlichen ge
lauben empfiengē vñ dē genůg teten = aber dÿe gros/
sen wund'werck die trewūg d' grossen pein so in vō
irer sünd wegen künftig wer Auch die verheissung
d' grossen frewdē mocht dz grob hȯṛt volck von irer
irṛung nit weÿsen vñ sprach also zů sancto patricio
Du sagst vō grosser marter vñ pein so man für die
sünd leÿdē můß = auch vō grosser frewd die wir en/
pfahen wurdē ob wir an xrm̄ gelaubtē Nun zeÿge
vnd [*read* vns] die selben pein vñ freüd dauon du sagst dz wir
grüntlich vnd'richt werdē dz deine woṛt war seind
so wellen wir dir volgē vñ an xrm̄ gelaubē Do san
ctus patricius daz hȯṛet was er voṛ andechtig vnd
fleissig gewesen = do ward er vil andechtiger mit be/
ten/mit wachē/mit vastē vñ mit and'n gůtē weṛckē
f. 1b. darūb dz eṛ die vngelaubigē mēschen durch ein sol=
chen weg als sie begertñ durch die genad gottes zů
cristēlichē gelauben bṛīgen mȯcht = do got d' almȧch
tig seinē fleÿssigē ernst also sahe vñ erkēt do erschin

er im sichtberlichen ⸗ vñ gab im dē text d' vier ewāge
listen vō einem stecken dē man noch heüt auf disen
tag in ÿbernia hatt vñ in eret für loblich vñ wirdig
hailtumb als billich ist ⸗ vñ den selben stecken od' stab
tregt ein erczbischof des selben lāds vñ man nent in
dē stab jh'u Darnach ward sanctus patricius durch
dē herren gefürt in ein wilde wůstin vñ zeiget im da
ein scheüblete grausenliche grůb ⸗ vnd sprach also zů
im Welcher rew vñ leÿd vmb sein sünd hat vñ mit
einē vesten cristēlichen gelaubē dise grůb durch get
in einem tag vñ in einer nacht ⸗ der sol wid' dar auß
kūmē gereÿniget vō allen seinen sündē ⸗ aber er můß
groß pein vñ marter sehen so man für die sünd ley/
dē můß auch die grossen frewd die dē ausserweltē be
reÿt ist ⸗ aber er můß steet vñ vest in dē gelauben be/
leiben Do sanctus patricius das also sahe vñ hören
do bracht er zewegē daz ein loblich closter über das
loch gebawen ward ⸗ dar jñen seīd münch Sāt Au/
gustinus ordēs ⸗ vñ daz loch ist in dē genāten closter
in dē cchor ⸗ vñ dz lÿeß Sanctus patricius wol ver/
machen vñ beschliessen also das nÿemā freuēlich vñ
on erlaubung dar ein geen solt vnd befalhe dē prior
den schlüssel zů dem loch ⸗ Vñ zů den selben zeiten als
Sanctus patricius dannocht lebt do giēgen gar vil
hinein die all gezeügknuss gaben vō d' grossen peyn
vnd marter die sie nit allein gesehen ⸗ sund' auch em/
pfunden hetten ⸗ Auch von der grossen frewd der så/
ligen dar durch dañ das gancz land ÿbernia zů cris/
f. 2a. tenlichem gelauben bekert ward ⸗ vñ darnach wur
den gar vil menschen hinein schlieffen vnd wie ein/
er dauon saget ⸗ also saget der ander auch ⸗ vnnd das
ward also eÿgentlich geschrÿben in dem genanten
closter Man findet auch noch lewt die leben od' gar
kurtzlich gelebt haben die dar jnnen gewesen seind
Dañ es ist ein karthewser czů wirczburg der ist vor
ein münch zů heilsprunnen gewesen der spricht wie
er einen Sant Bernharts orden gesehen hab der dar
jnnen gewesen seÿ dem es dañ der babst der bischof
vnd sein abt erlaubt hett Vnd der selb münch kam
eins mals gen heÿlsprun do hettē sie im geren groß

zucht enbotten ≠ Er wolt aber nitt anders essen dann
brot vnd salcz Doch zů letst überretten sÿ in das er
ein wenig visch asse die nur in einem wasser gesot/
ten waren on alle wurcz vnd ander gemecht vnnd
wañ sie in von dem fegfewer fragten so erschrack er
alwegen vñ sprach er mőcht nit da von redē es thet
dann grosse not Er mocht auch nÿe kein frolich ge/
berde erzeigen vnd sahe alweg als wolt man in von
stunden tőtten ≠ Vnd wañ sÿ in fragten warumb er
alweg so traurig were ≠ So sprach er welcher vnder
euch nur den zehenden teyl gesehen het das ich gese/
hen hab so mőcht er seȳ leptag nit mer frőlich wer/
den Der selb münch ward auch durch gunst seines
abts ein einsidel in einem wald do er dañ ein streng
hert leben fűret ≠ vnnd gedacht alwegen an dē gros/
sen jamer den er in dem genanten fegfewer gesehen
hett vnd hat jnnerhalb zwelff jar gelebt≠

The three earliest accounts[1] of St Patrick's Purgatory belong to the late twelfth century, viz.,

1. Jocelin of Furness: *Vita Sancti Patricii*, CLXXI and CLXXII; written in 1185–6, first published at Antwerp in 1514 (1516?) and reprinted in Messingham's *Florilegium*, 1624, and in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, 1647.

2. Giraldus Cambrensis: *Topographia Hibernica, Distinctio* II, *cap.* 5; written 1186–8.

3. Henry of Saltrey: *De Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*; written *ca.* 1186[2], reprinted in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, 1647. Henry's text, with substantial and unjustifiable alterations, was incorporated by Roger of Wendover (*d.* 1235) in his *Flores Historiarum* under the year 1153. Messingham reprints in his *Florilegium* a composite account of the Purgatory compiled from Henry of Saltrey, Roger of Wendover, and David Rothe, bishop of Ossory (1573–1650). This account re-appears in Migne's *Patrologia*, CLXXX, 1855. The only satisfactory reprint is therefore that of Colgan.

Jocelin makes the barest allusion to the Purgatory, locating it on a mountain called Cruachan-aigle (now Croaghpatrick, Co. Mayo).

[1] Another *De Purgatorio Sancti Patritii* is attributed by Trithemius (*Chronicon Hirsaugiense*, 1690, pp. 403–4) to David, an Irish monk who became a famous teacher in Würzburg and in 1110 chaplain to the Emperor Henry V. This account is lost.

[2] Not *ca.* 1150, as in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. See St John D. Seymour, *op. cit.*

Although he resided for a time in Co. Down, probably at Inniscourcy, he appears to have been quite ignorant of the traditional association of the Purgatory with Lough Derg, Co. Donegal. Giraldus Cambrensis fixes it on an island in a lake in Ulster. Having travelled in Ireland in 1183 and 1185–6, he appears to have been better informed than Jocelin, though he had evidently no personal knowledge of the place.

Neither of these accounts attracted any particular attention. The great publicity which St Patrick's Purgatory achieved in the Middle Ages is due entirely to an obscure Cistercian monk of Saltrey, Huntingdonshire, of whom nothing further is known.

The fantastic story of the Knight Owen[1], who is supposed to have entered St Patrick's Purgatory in the reign of King Stephen, has been translated into various languages. It occupies Chapters IV–XX of Henry's work. Chapters I–III provide a somewhat disconnected introduction, and the final Chapters XXI–XXV deal with the transmission of Owen's story, its credibility and acceptance. The German text under discussion is partly a paraphrase and partly a translation of Chapter I, which runs as follows:

Incipit Narratio.

I. Igitur Magnus S. Patricius, qui a primo est secundus[2] qui dum in Hibernia verbum Dei praedicaret, atque miraculis gloriosus coruscaret, studuit infideles hominum illius patriae animos terrore tormentorum infernalium a malo revocare, et paradisi gaudiorum promissione in bono confirmare; dicebant, ad Christum nunquam se conversuros, nec pro miraculis, quae videbant per eum fieri, nec per eius praedicationem, nisi aliqui eorum, et tormenta illa malorum, et gaudia bonorum possent intueri, quatenus rebus visis certiores fierent, quam promissis. Beatus vero Patricius Deo devotus, etiam tunc pro salute populi devotior in vigiliis, jeiuniis, et orationibus, atque operibus bonis effectus est. Et quidem dum talibus pro salute populi intenderet bonis, pius dominus Iesus Christus ei visibiliter apparuit, dans ei textum Evangeliorum, et baculum unum, qui usque huc pro magnis, et pretiosis reliquiis in Hibernia, ut dignum est, veneratur. Idem autem baculus, pro eo quod Christus Iesus illum dilecto suo Patricio contulit, Baculus Iesu cognominatus est: Quicunque vero in patria illa fuerit Archiepiscopus, haec habet, scilicet textum, et baculum, quasi pro signo summi Praesulatus illius patriae. Sanctum vero Patricium Dominus in locum desertum adduxit, et unam fossam rotundam, intrinsecus obscuram ibidem ei ostendit, dicens; *Quisquis veraciter poenitens, vera fide armatus, fossam eandem ingressus, unius diei, ac noctis moram in ea faceret, ab omnibus purgaretur totius vitae suae peccatis sed et per illam transiiens, non solum visurus esset tormenta malorum, verumetiam, si in fide constanter egisset, gaudia beatorum.* Sicque ab oculis eius Domino disparente, spirituali iucunditate repletus

[1] For an English version see T. Wright, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844.

[2] Colgan explains that *before* the great St Patrick (*d.* 463?) there was another St Patrick, who died in 457; also that St Palladius (*d.* 431) was likewise called Patricius. 'Secundus' may therefore be correctly applied to the patron Saint of Ireland. Another explanation may be found in the old dispute about the date of St Patrick's death (463 or 493), which resulted in the invention of a St Patrick *Senior* to suit the earlier date. The compiler of a Middle Dutch version, *Die hijstorie van Sunte Patricius vegevuer* (ed. Endepols, Groningen, 1919) evaded the difficulty by reading *Paulo* for *primo* and translated: 'Die grote patricius die men seecht den anderen na den apostel Sunte pauwels.'

est B. Patricius, tam pro Domini sui apparitione, quam pro fossae illius ostensione, per quam sperabat populum ab errore conversurum: statimque in eodem loco Ecclesiam construxit, et B. Patris Augustini Canonicos, vitam Apostolicam sectantes, in ea constituit: fossam autem praedictam, quae in caemiterio est extra frontem Ecclesiae Orientalem, muro circumdedit, et ianuas, serasque apposuit, ne quis eam ausu temerario, et sine licentia ingredi praesumeret, clavem vero custodiendam commendavit Priori Ecclesiae eiusdem. Ipsius autem B. Patricii tempore, multi poenitentia adducti fossam ingressi sunt, qui egredientes et tormenta se perpessos, et gaudia se vidisse testati sunt, quorum relationes iussit B. Patricius in eadem Ecclesia notari. Eorum ergo attestatione, coeperunt alii Beati praedicationem suscipere; et quoniam homo a peccatis purgatur, locus ille Purgatorium S. Patricii nominatur; locus autem Ecclesiae Reglis[1] dicitur.

The first twenty-five lines of the German text appear to be an expansion of lines 1–7 of the Latin. The next section, lines 25–65 are a fairly close rendering of the remainder of the Latin, but the concluding anecdote of the Bernardine (Cistercian) monk is from an independent source, though even here there is a point of contact between the two. Henry's second chapter concerns an aged prior:

Post obitum autem S. Patricii erat Prior quidam in eadem Ecclesia, vir quidem sanctae conversationis, ita decrepitus, ut prae senectute non haberet in capite, nisi tantummodo dentem unum....
Eius enim cibus erat, sal, et panis siccus: potus autem aqua frigida....

The German 'Er wolt aber nitt anders essen dann brot vnd salcz' is perhaps only a coincidence.

There is one striking difference between the Latin and the German which suggests that the latter is an indirect, not a direct translation from the former. Henry of Saltrey says, 'fossam autem praedictam, quae in caemiterio est extra frontem Ecclesiae Orientalem,' whereas the German account places the Purgatory in the choir of the monastery.

G. Waterhouse.

Dublin.

[1] Probably for Irish *recles*, a cell.

Note: Since the above was written, I have been able to examine the facsimiles (especially Nos. 205 and 227) in K. Burger's *Monumenta Germaniæ et Italiæ Typographia* (Berlin, 1893–1913), and I am satisfied that the text under discussion was printed at Augsburg about 1489 by either Peter Berger or Johann Schönsperger.

WILHELM MÜLLER'S POETRY OF THE SEA.

THE development of sea-poetry in Germany prior to the appearance of Müller's *Muscheln von der Insel Rügen* (1826) and Heine's *Nordsee* (1826–7) has not been adequately investigated. The lists only include the most obvious names; P. S. Allen, for instance, mentions Brockes, F. L. Stolberg, Boie, Goethe, Tieck and Heine; and to these A. Pache adds E. von Kleist and S. Gessner[1]. Gessner, Kleist, Brockes and Boie may be excluded at once, for their poetry shows no true appreciation of the sea; indeed, one doubts whether three at least of them had ever seen it. Tieck's contribution to sea-poetry is one beautiful poem, *Livorno*, which depicts an Italian sea-scape. The inclusion of Goethe's name is justified by the two poems *Glückliche Fahrt* and *Meeresstille*, and by some fine passages in the Second Part of *Faust*. In fact, with the exception of Heine and Müller, F. L. Stolberg is the only poet of those who have been mentioned who shows a genuine understanding for the sea. Ossianic effects take the place of local colouring and render his presentation unrealistic, but he was the first to discern, however inadequately, that each sea has its own individuality[2]. But Stolberg is not an indispensable link in the development of German sea-poetry. More important are certain later and now forgotten poets associated with the Island of Rügen.

Interest in this Baltic island had been growing since the first half of the eighteenth century. The inhabitants gradually awakened to the charm of their surroundings, and the island began to attract visitors from the German mainland, who were warm in their praise of its beauty. This may be partly explained by the general trend of the time: the return to nature after the artificiality of the rococo. It was also, no doubt, due, as Biese points out, to the improvement of the road from Sagard to Stubbenkammer:

> So wurde auch die—damals noch schwedische—Insel Rügen mit ihren blauen Buchten und Bodden, mit ihren herrlichen Buchenwäldern und stattlichen Kreidefelsen, deren blendendes Weiss mit dem Grün des Laubes und dem Blau des Meeres einen höchst malerischen Farbenkontrast bildet, immer mehr das Ziel naturbegeis-

[1] P. S. Allen in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, III (1901), p. 46; A. Pache, *Naturgefühl und Natursymbolik bei H. Heine*, Hamburg, 1904, p. 41.

[2] Cp. *Die Meere* (C. and F. L. Stolberg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Hamburg, 1827, I, p. 177).

terter Reisender, besonders nachdem der Weg von Sagard nach dem romantischen schönen Stubbenkammer bequemer hergerichtet war[1].

Attention was first directed to the geological structure and the vegetation of the island, to its quaint old customs and historic remains. Histories, geographies and general accounts of Rügen—which had an early predecessor in the *Laudes Rugiae* of P. Lemnius (1597)—appear from 1770 onwards, many of them being only of value in so far as they bear witness to the growing interest in the island. The best of these works is J. J. Grümbke's *Neue und genaue geographisch-statistisch-historische Darstellungen von der Insel und dem Fürstenthume Rügen*, Berlin, 1819, a book which can still be read with some satisfaction, for, although most of the information it gives is statistical and technical, Grümbke's descriptions are not without poetic feeling. The work seems to have been widely known by contemporary German, and especially Pomeranian poets; Arndt, Kosegarten and Karl Lappe were probably acquainted with it, and E. Hoffmann and Müller certainly were[2].

The interest of the scientist in Rügen was soon followed by poetic appreciation of its natural beauty and picturesque scenery. Kosegarten was the first Pomeranian to sing of the island where he passed the greater part of his life; but his poetry does not convey a very convincing impression of his, no doubt, sincere love for Rügen, and we search his poems in vain for a more realistic presentation of the sea than that contained in the line: 'Wie brüllt das Meer! Wie saust der Wald[3]!' However, some passages in his prose works, the style of which is not marred by Ossianic influence, show that he was not blind to the beauty of his home. Here he writes of Rügen in a simple, straightforward way[4].

The most gifted member of this group of Pomeranian poets was Karl Lappe, whose works are now almost completely forgotten. H. Petrich has endeavoured to explain the unmerited oblivion into which he has fallen:

> Dieser gleich einem gesprengten Granit, deren die norddeutsche Tiefebene manche hat, ohne Anschluss an einen anderen Dichter, steht auf sich selber. Keine der üblichen Kapitelüberschriften unserer Litteraturgeschichten zwingt, seinen Namen zu nennen. Darf man sich wundern, wenn er verschwiegen bleibt[5]?

But even Petrich does not realise Lappe's importance as a sea-poet, an

[1] A. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 356.

[2] E. M. Arndt, *Gedichte*, Frankfurt a.M., 1818, I, pp. 12, 46, 71; E. Hoffmann, *Wanderlieder*, herausg. von Fouqué, 1827, p. 77; W. Müller, ed. J. T. Hatfield, *Gedichte*, p. 285.

[3] *Poesien*, Leipzig, 1802, p. 200.

[4] *Rhapsodien*, Leipzig, 1794, II, p. 126.

[5] H. Petrich, *Pommersche Lebens- und Landesbilder*, Hamburg, 1880, p. 326.

importance which must be emphasised, for he is certainly Müller's most distinguished forerunner.

These Pomeranian poets were nearly all closely connected by ties of friendship or family relationship. Lappe passed several years of his youth in the house of Kosegarten, who may thus have helped to awaken in him a love of the sea. When Kosegarten died, he expressed his admiration for him in the lines:

> Der alte Schwan der Lieder,
> Erstummt ist sein Gesang.
> Doch in sein Grab hinnieder
> Steigt jeder neue Klang,
> Die Asche froh zu regen.—
> Wer Rügens Lob erhebt,
> Soll dem ein Blümchen legen,
> Der uns mit Ruhm umwebt[1].

But, indebted as Lappe may have been to the older poet, his lyrics strike a distinctly new note. They are free from the extravagance and melancholy of Ossian. His sea-descriptions are descriptions of a particular sea, and not merely a vague idea of the sea in general. He reproduces the characteristics of the Rügen coast by the introduction of local colour and detail. No object of the shore is too minute to escape his notice. A piece of amber, a star-fish, or even a sea-fly, has its place in his poems. But he was by no means insensitive to the grander aspects of the sea; for the same poet who wrote *An ein Marienwürmchen auf Arkonas höchster Spitze*, could also exclaim:

> Dem Staubgebornen beut das Erdenrund
> Zwei Bilder hoher, tiefer Schönheit dar,
> Den blauen Himmel und das blaue Meer[2].

He loved the bold contrasts of the Rügen coast: the white dunes, the blue sea and the green meadow. Like Heine, he tried to interpret the language of the waves:

> O, sagt mir, Steine
> Am Meeresrande,
> Mit grünen Locken
> Zierlich gekämmt:
> Was spricht die Welle,
> Die um euch kräuselt[3]?

In fact, the poem in which these lines occur, *Die Rede der Wellen*, is a forerunner of, and was probably an immediate model for Heine's poetry of the North Sea. The picture of the poet, 'der stolze Mensch, der Vielgewandte, der tiefe Forscher, der Allgelehrte,' listening to the song of the waves and trying in vain to understand its meaning, at once recalls

[1] K. Lappe, *Sämmtliche poetische Werke*, Rostock, 1840, I, p. 127.
[2] Lappe, *ed. cit.*, III, pp. 87, 219.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

Heine's poem *Fragen*. A comparison of the following passages seems to me to place an indebtedness of Heine's sea-poetry to Lappe almost beyond question:

Lappe.

Nur wenn am Ufer
Ein Dichter wandelt...
In Phantasien
Der Ahnung sinnend
Erkennt er staunend
Bekannte Töne,
Wie Freundesstimmen,
Wie einstgehörtes
Verschollnes Wort.

Herüber tönen
Die Wellenstimmen,
Bald schauertragend,
Bald sehnsuchtweckend,
Wie Kriegestöne,
Wie Liebesflüstern,
Wie Prophezeihung
Von sel'gen Welten,
Wie Todesruf.

O du Wunderreich der Klänge,
Wann der Meersfluth Harfe wallt!

Heine.

Und die weissen, weiten Wellen,
Von der Fluth gedrängt,
Schäumt und rauschten näher und näher—
Ein seltsam Geräusch, ein Flüstern und Pfeifen...
Dazwischen ein wiegenliedheimliches Singen—
Mir war, als hört' ich verschollne Sagen[1].

Mein Rufen verhallt im tosenden Sturm,
Im Schlachtlärm der Winde.
Es braust und pfeift und prasselt und heult,
Wie ein Tollhaus von Tönen!
Und zwischendurch hör' ich vernehmbar
Lockende Harfenlaute,
Sehnsuchtswilden Gesang,
Seelenschmelzend und seelenzerreissend,
Und ich erkenne die Stimme[2].

Lappe's prose sketches and essays contain some delicately painted pictures of the shore. I quote from *Die Begegnungen* (*Ein Schnellroman*):

> Es war ein schöner Nachmittag im Spätsommer, und die Tromper Wiek lag wie ein glatter Spiegel zwischen dem blauen Jasmund und den weissen Küsten Wittows ruhig gebreitet. Kaum kräuselte sich auf dem glattgewaschenen Sande, den leise schwarze Streifen bezeichneten, ein kurzer Wellenschlag, in dem stelzfüssige Strandläufer nach Meerinsekten herumtrippelten[3].

In view of such delicate descriptions of sea and shore in Lappe's verse and prose, it would seem as if he might have some share of the distinction which Biese claims for Heine:

> Seit der Gudrun rauschte nur selten in der deutschen Dichtung das deutsche Meer; nur wenige, freilich gar schwer wiegende schöne Zeilen weiht Goethe im zweiten Theile des Faust dem Meer, und so hat Heine das Verdienst, insbesondere der Nordseedichtung Eingang in die nationale Poesie verschafft zu haben[4].

As poets of the sea, Kosegarten and Lappe have practically nothing in common. The difference between them is far greater than that between Lappe and Müller, for both these poets aimed at presenting the sea in a realistic way, however varying the measure of their success.

[1] Lappe, III, pp. 197 f.; Heine, ed. by E. Elster, I, p. 164 (*Abenddämmerung*); cp. also *Der Schiffbrüchige* (pp. 181 ff.).
[2] Lappe, III, pp. 196 f., I, p. 143; Heine, p. 173 (*Sturm*).
[3] *Poetische Werke*, IV, p. 168.
[4] A. Biese, *Lyrische Dichtung und neuere deutsche Lyriker*, Berlin, 1896, p. 58.

But their poems show wide differences in technique; Lappe's are typical products of the eighteenth century, while Müller's are definitely romantic. Lappe was essentially a subjective poet, while Müller shrank from revealing his own personality; he preferred to identify himself with sailors and fishers. Faithful to the Volkslied tradition, he reduces the descriptive and reflective elements to a minimum, nature being only present as a decoration or background: whereas in Lappe's poems nature plays a more active rôle. There are also, as one would expect, marked differences in the diction of the two poets. Müller's style is as direct and simple as that of his models; Lappe's is often prolix and rambling.

Müller's sea-poetry is contained in two collections, *Lieder aus dem Meerbusen von Salerno* and *Muscheln von der Insel Rügen.* The latter is much the more important; in fact, his reputation as a poet of the sea is largely based on this cycle of poems, which was the literary fruit of his short sojourn in Rügen from July 31 to August 9, 1825[1]. His themes are seldom original. Grümbke's work, which Müller cites in his explanatory notes, is the source of several of the poems, and there is hardly a fact in them relating to characteristics of the island or its people, which that writer does not mention. Grümbke, for instance, writes:

> Der Seeadler, oder Fischaar hält sich an den Küsten auf, der Steinadler horstet in den Spalten des Arkonaischen Kreideufers.... Arkona. Hier ist der äusserste Endpunct von Deutschland nach Norden und gross, kühn und stark, wie einst die Altvordern des Landes waren, ist diese Ufergränze[2].

And Müller:

> Auf Arkona's Berge
> Ist ein Adlerhorst,
> Wo vom Schlag der Woge
> Seine Spitze borst.
>
> Spitze deutschen Landes,
> Willst sein Bild du sein?
> Riss' und Spalten splittern
> Deinen festen Stein[3].

Both Grümbke and Müller use Arkona symbolically, the former to express the past greatness of Rügen's inhabitants, the latter as the cliff on which Germany in her weakness is wrecked[4]. The first verse of *Der Seehund* is a version of the beginning of a popular poem quoted by Grümbke[5].

[1] Müller travelled in company with Furchau, the author of an epic entitled *Arkona*, which I have been unable to see.
[2] Grümbke, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 126, 50.
[3] *Gedichte*, bearbeitet von J. T. Hatfield, Berlin, 1906, p. 282.
[4] Grümbke, I, p. 72; Müller's *Gedichte*, pp. 270 ff.
[5] Grümbke, I, p. 125.

The poems of *Muscheln von der Insel Rügen* may be divided into three groups: those in which some natural object is used as an illustration of a human experience (*Die Mewe, Der Feuerstein, Eiersteine, Die Steine und das Herz, Himmel und Meer, Der Schiffer auf dem Festlande, Der Seehund, Vineta, Der Adler auf Arkona*); those modelled on the Volkslied (*Der Gang von Wittow nach Jasmund, Einkleidung, Bräutigamswahl, Die Braut*); and a reflective poem (*Muscheln*).

There is a marked similarity of form in the poems of the first and largest group. Each consists of three parts: the natural phenomenon, the human experience and the contrast. *Die Mewe* may be taken as typical. The sailor's mistress tells of the strange comradeship of the seal and the gull; how the bird, like a trusty sentinel, watches for signs of approaching danger, while the seal sleeps on the soft, damp sand. This suggests to the girl her relations to her lover. When he is exposed to the perils of the sea, she, like the vigilant bird, would accompany him and protect him. Then common sense checks her imagination: she has no wings and cannot play the part of the gull. The construction of these poems was probably suggested by English models, where the parallelism of man and nature, followed by a moral deduction, was equally marked. The following lyric of Moore's, which is to be found in a collection of English poetry published at Altona, and familiar to Müller[1], is typical:

> See how, beneath the moonbeam's smile,
> Yon little billow heaves its breast,
> And foams and sparkles for a while,
> And murmuring then subsides to rest.
>
> Thus man, the sport of bliss and care,
> Rises on Time's eventful sea;
> And having swelled a moment there,
> Thus melts into eternity.

Another of Moore's lyrics, *To the Flying-fish*[2], resembles Müller's still more closely in the element of narrative. Here, too, the subject requires an introductory note of explanation such as we find in similar cases in Müller. But he avoids the didactic point of Moore's poem, his poems of this type being mainly love-lyrics, in which a definite experience is associated with a definite person. Müller felt, too, that, if there is too close a correspondence between nature and the human experience, the latter fails to hold the reader's interest; he makes the contrast, rather than the similarity, the climax of his poems. The lover's mistress has a skin as white as chalk; her flushed cheeks resemble the pale cliffs of

[1] F. J. Jacobsen, *Briefe an eine deutsche Edelfrau über die neuesten englischen Dichter*, Altona, 1820, p. 59. See p. 329, note.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Jasmund bathed in the rosy sunlight. But he remembers that chalk is brittle and contains hard flints, whereas the loved one's heart is true and kind.

Müller was particularly attracted by Moore, whose poems have the grace and melodiousness characteristic of his own; he ranked him with the greatest lyric poets[1]. But his literary essays indicate an extensive knowledge of English poetry, and although we have no evidence that he was familiar with Scott's, it is difficult to believe that the latter's *Maid of Isla* had not some influence on *Die Mewe*. The Maid's lover is compared with the frail skiff, battling with wind and waves to reach home, and the gull fighting its way to its craggy nest:

Oh, Maid of Isla, from the cliff,
That looks on troubled wave and sky,
Dost thou not see yon little skiff
Contend with ocean gallantly?

Now beating 'gainst the breeze and surge,
And steep'd her leeward deck in foam,
Why does she war unequal urge?—
Oh, Isla's maid, she seeks her home.

Oh, Isla's maid, yon sea-bird mark,
Her white wing gleams through mist and spray,
Against the storm-cloud, lowering dark,
As to the rock she wheels away;—

Where clouds are dark and billows rave,
Why to the shelter should she come
Of cliff, exposed to wind and wave?—
Oh, maid of Isla, 'tis her home!

Scott's poem lacks the antithetic close which makes Müller's so effective; but it is similarly objective.

The most beautiful and, as far as form is concerned, the most perfect lyric of this group is *Vineta*. All three poets of the sea, Lappe, Müller and Heine, were attracted by the legend of the submerged city, and each interprets it differently. The sad, sweet bells of Vineta rang up to Lappe a warning of the futility of human power and splendour; but they touched no chord in his own heart. It was his son-in-law Nernst, the author of one of the numerous accounts of Rügen, who seems to have first read a deeper and more poetic meaning into the saga. For him Vineta embodied the rosy fantasies of his youth, which had since been obscured by the greyness of reality.

[1] Cp. his *Vermischte Schriften*, v, pp. 249–261, especially p. 259: 'Die Irish Melodies können nur von einem dem lyrischen Geiste des Irländers verwandten Dichter übertragen werden; und zwar wird diese Übertragung, wenn sie nicht bloss Worte und Formen wiedergeben will, sehr frei sein müssen. Wir machen auf einige Proben einer solchen freien Übersetzung von Schmidt von Lübeck aufmerksam, welche Jacobsen in seinen "Briefen über die neuesten englischen Dichter" mitgetheilt hat.'

Ach! es ist untergegangen das Eden der ausschweifenden Knabenfantasie! Über das blühende Vineta, das der unerfahrne Jüngling so zuversichtlich auf den leichten Sand der Zukunft gründete, schlägt das kalte Gewässer der Wirklichkeit zusammen, und begräbt es in seine tiefsten Tiefen.... Nur zuweilen sieht er noch, wie der Ostseeschiffer bei Vineta, die Strassen der Wonnestadt, stösst auf die Ringmauern derselben, und ist in Gefahr zu scheitern; hört wohl gar die Glocken derselben, dumpf zusammen weinen, und ihm ist's, als läuteten sie ihm schon zu Grabe[1].

To Müller Vineta brought a different message. The turrets of the sunken city, glimmering at sunset with a fatal fascination under the water, were to him memories of a lost love. When he hears the bells of Vineta faintly pealing, it is as if angels call to him to leave the world of reality and enter the old city of romance. His poem, which dates from the happiest period of his life, is suffused with the afterglow of his love for Luise Hensel, and has that subtle sweetness which clings to the remembrance of a passion from which time has taken the sting of disappointment. It is one of the few subjective poems Müller ever wrote; for once he casts off his disguise of sailor or peasant and reveals his true self.

Heine's picture of Vineta in *Seegespenst*, written during the summer of 1825, could not have been suggested by Müller's poem, which first appeared in 1826. Although written independently of each other, *Seegespenst* and *Vineta* are not unlike in their conclusions: both poets all but yield to the sweet persuasion of the bells and abandon the world for the old wonder-town. Later, Heine quoted a verse of Müller's poem in the following passage, which is clearly written under its influence:

Man sagt, unfern dieser Insel, wo jetzt nichts als Wasser ist, hätten einst die schönsten Dörfer und Städte gestanden, das Meer habe sie plötzlich alle überschwemmt, und bei klarem Wetter sähen die Schiffer noch die leuchtenden Spitzen der versunkenen Kirchthürme, und mancher habe dort in der Sonntagsfrühe sogar ein frommes Glockengeläute gehört. Die Geschichte ist wahr; denn das Meer ist meine Seele—

Eine schöne Welt ist da versunken,
Ihre Trümmer blieben unten stehn,
Lassen sich als goldne Himmelfunken
Oft im Spiegel meiner Träume sehn.

Erwachend höre ich dann ein verhallendes Glockengeläute und Gesang heiliger Stimmen—Evelina[2]!

The originality of the *Muscheln von der Inseln Rügen* lies in setting rather than in theme or technique. Müller grafted the sea-poem on to the German Volkslied, where the sea is rarely mentioned; he introduced the sea as background into poems modelled on the popular lyric, the shore taking the place of the green meadow, the white dunes of the mountains, the gull of the nightingale.

[1] K. Nernst, *Wanderungen durch Rügen*, herausg. von L. T. Kosegarten, Düsseldorf, 1800, p. 69.

[2] *Die Nordsee*, III (*Sämtliche Werke*, ed. E. Elster, III, p. 102).

True to the spirit of the Volkslied is *Der Gang von Wittow nach Jasmund.* As the landscape in the former, so here the sea-scape is depicted in a few pregnant, suggestive words:

> Verdammte lange schmale Heide!
> Zu beiden Seiten brummt das Meer,
> Versteckt in einem Aschenkleide,
> Senkt sich der Himmel tief und schwer.

Nature and man are in harmony. The contrast between the barren, desolate heath of Jasmund, where the good-for-nothing lover is obliged to hew stones, and fruitful, smiling Wittow, where his mistress awaits him, may be easily paralleled in the German Volkslieder.

The two 'Maskenlieder,' *Bräutigamswahl* and *Die Braut,* differ in theme and technique from the other poems of this group. The subject is the same as that of Müller's earlier cycles, *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Die Winterreise,* the despair of an unfortunate lover; but conception and treatment are now more original. Formerly the girl's inconstancy was the cause of the catastrophe; in these poems the merciless sea brings about the final calamity. *Bräutigamswahl* tells how the sailor's mistress awaits the return of her lover; *Die Braut,* how, after her lover's death, she is forced by her mother to accept another suitor[1]. The motive of the sailor drowned at sea may possibly have been suggested by English poems such as *Black-eyed Susan*[2], a ballad that had been frequently translated, by Boie and others, into German. Few of Müller's lyrics have the emotional depth of these two poems; the bitterness of the closing verse of *Die Braut* almost recalls Heine:

> In die Kirche soll ich—nun, ich will ja kommen,
> Will mich fromm gesellen zu den andern Frommen.
> Lasst mich am Altare still vorüberziehen,
> Denn dort ist mein Plätzchen, wo die Witwen knieen.

The *Muscheln von der Insel Rügen* takes its name from the introductory poem: *Muscheln,* which strikes the keynote of the cycle. Müller's muse is a shy fisher-maiden who is overawed by the wonders of the sea. As long as the storm rages she cowers in a fisherman's hut, exciting the mirth of her companions, who make light of her terror and continue plaiting their baskets unperturbed. But after the storm has abated and the sea is smooth again, she ventures barefoot over the damp, soft sands, and gathers dainty shells for a wreath. As the fisher-girl her

[1] In this poem Müller repeats a motive he had used in *Die schöne Müllerin,* namely, that, when the lover is drowned, and the waves flow over him, the girl's kerchief shall cover his face. The same motive was used later by J. Mosen in his *Halund der Junge* (*Gedichte,* Leipzig, 1843, p. 231).

[2] The influence of this ballad is plainly discernible on Müller's poem, *Liebchen überall* (*Gedichte,* p. 170).

shells, so the poet loved the tiniest objects of the shore; he was, like Lappe, more often inspired by these than by the sea itself. Like this fisher-maid, who comes from inland, Müller preferred the sea in its calmer moods. His genius was not of a bold, daring kind, and the wilder, more daemonic aspects of nature did not attract him. He was too happy and contented to detect the note of tragedy in the song of the waves; that could only be heard by a Heine who himself had been wrecked by the storms of life. At the same time, *Muscheln* is one of the few poems in which there is a suggestion of the freedom and the vastness of the ocean. Its breadth and grandiosity dwarf the other lyrics of this group. Nature is not, as in the poems modelled on the Volkslied, introduced merely as background or illustration; the poet aims at presenting the sea itself, and the human element is of secondary importance. The poem is symmetrically constructed, each strophe depicting a contrasting mood of the sea. It has much, too, in common with Heine's *Nordsee*: the masterly personification of the waves, the contrast between storm and calm, and the similar *staffage*, ship, fisher-girls and hut. The opening picture of the ship fighting with wind and waves well bears comparison with a poem like Heine's *Gewitter*:

> Es braust das Meer, die Wogenhäupter schäumen,
> Die Brandung stürmt die Burg des Felsenstrandes,
> Und mit dem grossen Orlogschiffe treiben
> Die Wind' und Wellen ihre wilden Spiele,
> Wie Kinder mit dem leichten Federballe[1].

Müller's interpretation of the sea in these poems is fresh and breezy as the sea itself; in its essential realism it is totally unlike that of the earlier Romantic poets. They preferred to see it in the subdued melancholy of a misty Turneresque sea-scape, or it was for them a treasure-house of fantastic things, the abode of nixies and mermaids; a refuge from the philistinism of the world, it was always beckoning them to descend into its cool depths.

The *Lieder aus dem Meerbusen von Salerno*, which belong to an earlier date than the *Muscheln von der Insel Rügen*, have much less originality and do not call for much comment. They present a complete contrast to the *Muscheln* in tone and colouring. Instead of the cold, grey-blue scenery of the north we have here the glowing colours of the South Italian sea-scape; the almost excessive realistic detail of the

[1] Cp. Goethe's *Seefahrt*:

> Vor seinem starren Wüthen
> Streckt der Schiffer klug die Segel nieder,
> Mit dem angsterfüllten Balle spielen
> Wind und Wellen.

northern poems gives place to a background altogether lacking in individuality and definition. Compared with the Rügen songs, those of the Italian collection are trivial and superficial; there is no probing into the emotions. Their *leit-motif* is the trifling dalliance of fisher-lad and fisher-maiden, who, with a levity unknown to the stolid, naïve characters of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, regard love as a pastime, an opportunity for the display of wit and repartee.

The southern atmosphere of the *Lieder aus dem Meerbusen von Salerno* is created rather by the introduction of motives drawn from Italian folk-song than by local colour. Particularly characteristic of the *canto popolare* is, for instance, the close association of the sea with love. The heart sails over the waters like a skiff:

E m' hai lassato e l' hai fatto il dovere.
Di te non mi dovevo innamorare:
Ero nel mare, e vedevo le vele;
Vedevo lo mio amore navigare;
Ero nel mare, e vedevo lo foco!
Il nostro amore era per durar poco.
Ero nel mare e vedevo la fiamma.
Vedevo il nostro amor, fuoco di paglia[1].

The same idea recurs in Müller's poems:

Nur mein Herz will nimmer
Mit zur Ruhe gehn.

In der Liebe Fluthen
Treibt es her und hin,
Wo die Stürme nicht ruhen,
Bis der Nachen sinkt[2].

Es schwimmen auf den Wogen
Viel Schiffe gross und klein:
Ich kann nicht mit euch fahren,
Mein Nachen sank mir ein[3].

Auf diesem Liebesmeere
Wo wird die Ruhstatt sein?
Entweder an deinem Herzen,
Ach, oder im Grabe mein[4]?

In keeping with the spirit of the Italian folk-song is the motive that the heart leaves the lover's body in order to reach the object of its affections:

Giro e rigiro, e non posso trovare,
Misero! quel cor mio, che l' ho perduto.
N' ho dimandato a certi marinari
Se mai per sorte l' avesser veduto[5].

[1] *Canti popolari*, raccolti e illustrati da N. Tommaseo, Venice, 1841, I, p. 328.
[2] *Die Meere* (*Gedichte*, p. 239).
[3] *Schifferreigen* (*Ibid.*, p. 242).
[4] *Doppelte Gefahr* (p. 243).
[5] *Canti popolari*, I, p. 111.

Similarly, in *Das flotte Herz* the fisher-boy describes his heart as following his mistress's skiff through the waves:

> Fischerin, du kleine,
> Schiffe nicht alleine
> In das grosse Meer!
> Hinter dir hergezogen
> Kommt schon mein Herz durch die Wogen[1].

A recurrent motive of this group, which is possibly also of Italian origin, is the reflection of rosy cheeks in water or wine; and we find it again in a later cycle, *Die schöne Kellnerin von Bacharach*[2]. On the other hand, the idea in *Die glückliche Fischerin* of the fish striving to be caught when the fisher-maid is near, which might well have come from some Italian folk-song, occurs in a German Volkslied in Hagen and Büsching's collection:

> Wenn Hannchen sanft am Ufer ruht,
> Da fischt's sich noch einmal so gut;
> Da drängt ins Netz sich gross und klein,
> Als wollt'n sie alle gefangen sein[3].

On the whole, the Italian influence on Müller—and it was probably more extensive than is generally recognised[4]—was not favourable to Müller's development as a lyric poet; it tempted him to substitute for his own sincere and unvarnished emotion, an insincere artificiality, which often reminds us unpleasantly of the anacreontic poetry of the previous century.

Margaret E. A. Richardson.

Swansea.

[1] *Gedichte*, p. 239. Müller repeats this motive in two poems in the *Muscheln von der Insel Rügen*, namely, *Die Mewe* and *Die Steine und das Herz*.

[2] The motive also appears in Rückert's *Sicilianen* (*Gesammelte Gedichte*, Erlangen, 1836–38, II, p. 314), which supports the view that it may be of Italian origin.

[3] *Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder*, Berlin, 1807, p. 137.

[4] P. S. Allen, in the article already quoted, suggests some Italian borrowings in poems outside the present cycle.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Notes on Chaucer.

I.

Ne of phisyk, ne termes queinte of lawe.
(*Shipman's Prologue*, B. 1189.)

In his Oxford edition of Chaucer Professor Skeat prints this line: *Ne physices, ne termes queinte of lawe*, and his note (p. 731) is as follows: 'Most MSS. *phislyas*; Sloane, *phillyas*; Ln. [Lansdowne 851] *fisleas*; read *physices*, i.e. *physices liber*.' But in his edition of Chaucer, *The Prioresses Tale etc.* (Clarendon Press, 1906), apparently for metrical reasons, he adopts the reading: *Ne of phisyk*, and appends two notes, as under: (1) 'Tyrwhitt reads *of phisike*; the MSS. have the unmeaning word *phislyas*; Sloane MS. *phillyas*.' (2) 'I do not know that Tyrwhitt had any *authority* for reading *of phisike* here, but it recommends itself to one's common sense at once, as nothing can be made of the readings of the MSS.' Skeat's proposal to read *ne of phisyk* seems to have been generally accepted; see, e.g. the Globe edition of the *Works*, and Pollard's edition of the *Tales* (Macmillan, 1907).

I write this from a mofussil station in India, with but a scanty library of authorities at hand. Nevertheless may I be permitted to suggest that the MSS. readings here may be retained as not meaningless after all? May they not represent the Anglo-French *filaz* = *files* or *cases*?

The meaning fits well the context. The Sergeant of the Lawe was an official, not to say an officious, person—

In termes hadde he caas and domes alle
That from the tyme of King William were falle

—one who, we may infer, had been boring the company with the legal jargon of his 'files.' The Host, when asking him for his tale, seems to hint as much in his rallying way: the 'forward' is a legal affair, a 'cas'; the Host himself is delivering the 'jugement.' Then, after the tale (from the Anglo-Norman French) is duly told, occurs, in *The Shipman's Prologue*, the interruption of the Persone. But the Shipman will have none of his 'predicacioun'—his tale will be on different lines, and something startling.

> But it shal nat ben of philosophye,
> Ne (of?) phillyas, ne termes queinte of lawe;
> Ther is but litel Latin in my mawe.

He is neither preacher nor lawyer. Skeat himself glosses, in the Oxford edition, *phisyk* as = Latin physice = natural philosophy. But this is not the usual Chaucerian meaning. Cf. e.g. *Knightes Tale*, A. 2759–60:

> And certeinly, ther nature wol nat wirche,
> Far-wel, phisyk! go ber the man to chirche!

As for the possibility of retaining the MSS. forms, see N.E.D. under *filace*, an obsolete law term, from A.F. *fīlāz*. Other early forms are *filas, fylas*. An example is given of *filas* (= file) under date 1434. See also under *filacer*, with variants *filazer, felyssour, philaser* = a former officer of the courts of Westminster, who filed original writs, etc., and issued processes thereon. The *y* in the suffix *-yas* may be taken as marking the length of the syllable; *ya* to represent A.F. *ā* is found (see e.g. N.E.D. under *haras*, A.F. *haraz*). And as for the forms *phislyas, fisleas*, may we not consider the first *s* in each case as inserted to mark length also, on the analogy of words like *isle, disner*, where the *s*, though grown silent, was sometimes retained in spelling as a sign of length?

II.

> In termes.
> (*Prologue*, l. 323.)

If the interpretation of 'phislyas' suggested in my previous note be accepted, may we not thereby establish the right rendering of this phrase also, as = 'in legal jargon,' i.e. in Anglo-French or Latin law phraseology? The emphasis is surely on the pedantry or 'quaintness' of the records, on their preciousness; their preciseness and finish are gathered from the rest of the couplet. The latter sense would have been better given by the use of the singular, '*In terme*,'—as in the words of the Host (C. 311):

> Seyde I nat wel? I can nat speke in terme;

whereas the plural use in Chaucer always suggests clerkly jargon of some sort. There are many instances of this: I quote only one (*The Romaunt of the Rose*, A, of Coveityse):

> [that] maketh false pledoures,
> That with hir termes and hir domes
> Doon maydens, children, and eek gromes
> Hir heritage to forgo.

That there still seems to be uncertainty in translating

> In termes hadde he caas and domes alle

has been suggested to me by reading Mr A. W. Pollard's note in his edition of *The Prologue* (Macmillan, 1920), where he cites the usual interpretation of 'exactly, precisely'; he also prints an alternative rendering. Neither of these appears to me to bring out the obvious meaning. Nor does Professor Skeat's 'He was well acquainted with all the legal cases,' etc.

R. C. Goffin.

Gauhati, Assam.

The Word 'Abloy' in 'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight.'

Mrs Wright, in her Note under the above heading on p. 86 above, has, I think, found the true meaning of the word *abloy*. I should like to suggest that it is not adapted directly from the French past participle, but is an example of the poet's habit of occasionally omitting *-ed* in the pret. and p.p. of weak verbs (see a Note on this point in *M.L.R.*, vol. XIV, p. 413). The p.p. *outfleme* (rhyming with *queme, etc.*), *Pearl* 1177, is perhaps the most striking example of this peculiarity. Another instance in rhyme may, I think, be found in *Pearl* 1061, 'Kyrk þer-inne wat3 non 3ete,' referring to the Heavenly Jerusalem. This is glossed by Professor Osgood and Sir Israel Gollancz as 'yet,' but the sense is not good, and *3et* is found four lines later rhyming with *ĕ*, while *3ete* rhymes with *ē*. I should therefore translate it as 'granted, bestowed'; from O.E. *gēatan, gētan,* with omission of *-ed*. This would give the required rhyme, and a better sense.

Mabel Day.

London.

'The Owl and the Nightingale,' ll. 385, 389–90.

> þar a3te men (boþ) in worre,
> .....
> ich fol3i þan a3te manne,
> an flo bi ni3te in hore banne. (C text.)

Professor Atkins in his recent edition of the poem makes the following comment: 'The idea is possibly reminiscent of that O.E. epic convention according to which the raven, the wolf and the eagle are represented as hovering around the scenes of battle.' The only passage adduced in support of this suggestion consists of some ambiguous lines in the Old Norse *Sigrdrifumál.*

A clearer parallel is furnished by the following stanzas from the Danish Folkevise 'Kong Sverker den unge.' The quotation is from Grundtvig's *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser,* Tredje Del. Nr. 136.

Stanzas 9, 10 (Version A).

De vor vel XVIII^{m} mendt,
der de aff Danmarck foer hen :
der kam icke till-bage igien
uden tree oc tryssuer fem.

Emellem bierge oc dale
der gielder baade ugle oc ørn :
der græder saa mangen encke,
oc halff flere faderløsse børn.

Versions B and C repeat the first two lines of this second stanza, substituting the word 'raven' for 'eagle.'

Here then, in an unequivocal passage, the owl is found in the company of the eagle and the raven, hovering over the field of battle. Only the wolf is needed to complete the epic group.

MARGARET ASHDOWN.

LONDON.

'THE KNIGHT OF THE BURNING PESTLE,' Act V, ll. 193–5.

One of the few unidentified snatches of song in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is:

Come no more there boyes, come no more there:
For we shall neuer whilst we liue, come any more there,

sung by old Merri-thought in the fifth act, p. 93, ll. 193–195 of H. S. Murch's edition (Waller's edition, VI, p. 226; Mermaid Series, p. 465).

In Pepys's Collection of Ballads, Vol. IV, p. 213, there is a song entitled '*The Seaman's Frolick:* or, *A Cooler for the Captain.* To a new Tune; or, *Come no more there,* etc.' The opening lines are: 'Captain Robert is gone to sea | and I lov'd him well, and I lov'd him well, | With all his merry, merry company ther's them can sing and say.' There is, moreover, a refrain from which the tune is taken:

And shall we never, never while we live
Come no more there, (?)
We'l come no more there brave boys,
We'l come no more there:
And we shall never, never, while we live
Come no more there.

Presumably the refrain belongs to an older ballad, and was simply annexed by the writer of *The Seaman's Frolick.* The ballad is comparatively recent, being No. 226 of Thackeray's list, and should probably be dated circa 1665. There is also a copy in the Dance Collection, II, p. 197. Ebsworth printed it as an extra on p. xciii of Vol. VIII of the *Roxburghe Ballads.*

A. E. H. SWAEN.

AMSTERDAM.

REVIEWS.

On the History of the English Present Inflections, particularly -th *and* -s. By Erik Holmqvist. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1922. xvi+194 pp.

The object of this able dissertation, by a pupil of Prof. Ekwall of Lund, is, in the first place, to determine the origin of the substitution of *-s* for the primitive *-þ*[1] wherever it occurred in verbal inflexions, which was in progress in the Northumbrian English of the late tenth century, and was fully carried out in the northern dialect before A.D. 1300; and, secondly, to trace the history of *-th* and *-s* as verbal endings in other than northern dialects.

With regard to the origin of the Northumbrian substitution of *-s* for *-ð*, Mr Holmqvist summarily rejects the view of Sweet, that 'the change seems to be organic, as there do not seem to be any analogical influences at work.' His objection is that the supposed sound-change is without parallel in the recorded history of English, and that the tenth-century writings in which *-s* alternates with *-ð* in verbs have always *-ð* in nouns such as *fóstreð*, *innað*, *mónað*. I am not sure that this argument is quite conclusive; but the sole evidence for Sweet's theory lies in the difficulty of accepting the only possible alternative explanation, which is that the *-s* is due to the analogy of the second singular; and if this difficulty can be removed the analogical explanation will be entitled to preference. In the form which this explanation has hitherto assumed, it is open to obviously strong objections. It has been usual to suppose that the *-s* first passed from the second singular to the third singular, and thence to the plural. The author rightly maintains that it is psychologically very unlikely that the third singular should have been assimilated to the second singular, which was so much less frequent in use; and he disposes conclusively of the supposed parallel that has been found in the history of the Scandinavian languages. His own hypothesis is certainly much more attractive. He believes that the ending of the second singular first influenced the second plural, just as in Latin the prehistoric indicative **agite* (= ἄγετε) became *agitis* through the analogy of *agis*; and that the *-s* afterwards superseded the *-ð* in the plural generally, and last of all in the third singular. He proposes to test the truth of this hypothesis by a statistical examination of the three sets of glosses—the Lindisfarne and the Rushworth glosses on the gospels, and the glosses on the Durham Ritual—which are the sources of our knowledge of the Northumbrian of the late tenth century. In each of these texts we find a curious vacillation between *-ð* and *-s*, such that from simple inspection of any one of them, without actual counting of instances, we could not

[1] In Northumbrian MSS. of the tenth century written *-ð*; in M.E. often *-th*.

say whether the writer has more frequently followed the older or the newer fashion. Mr Holmqvist assumes as a self-evident proposition that the relative frequency of *-s* will be greatest in its oldest function, next greatest in the next oldest, and least in the newest. To me this proposition does not seem at all self-evident. However, it may have better justification than I have been able to perceive; at any rate there is no doubt that, if the author's principle be valid, his statistics do afford a brilliant confirmation of his (intrinsically very probable) theory. In each of the Lindisfarne gospels the percentage of *-s* is markedly greater for the plural than for the third singular, and also greater for the second plural than for the third plural. Further (except in Mark, where the balance is slightly on the other side), the percentage is smaller for the third singular than for the third plural. These are striking results, and the actual figures are even more telling than the summary, for the differences of percentage are nearly all very considerable. The statistics of the Northumbrian part of Rushworth, and of the Rushworth Luke separately, tell the same story. If Mr Holmqvist's method be sound, he has proved his case; and even if it be not so, his new theory appears much more satisfactory than those which have hitherto been propounded.

The author's statistics reveal the curious fact that in the Lindisfarne Matthew the ending *-s* is four times as common as *-ð*, while in Luke the proportion is precisely reversed; in John the proportion of *-s* to *-ð* is twice as great as in Luke, and in Mark a little more than twice. This inequality leads Mr Holmqvist to doubt the truth of the common opinion that the whole of the Lindisfarne gloss is by one hand. He may be right; the question certainly calls for investigation. But diversity of authorship is not the only conceivable explanation of the phenomenon. We might suppose that the gospels were glossed in the order Luke, John, Mark, Matthew; the increasing frequency of *-s* would then reflect the growing currency of the innovation. Or, again, it is possible that the glossator, being familiar with both the flexional forms, may in the course of his work have changed his mind more than once—owing to change in his surroundings—on the question which of them was more suitable for use in writing. Moreover, it is not absolutely certain that the Lindisfarne glosses were not copied from some earlier glossed MS., or even from more than one. Perhaps the results of future inquiry on this point may alter the complexion of the whole problem.

The discussion of the origin of the ending *-s* in tenth-century Northumbrian occupies only the first of the ten chapters of which the dissertation consists. The interest of this first chapter has seemed to me to justify an extended notice. Of the remainder of the work, treating of the later history of *-s* and *-th* in the present indicative, it may be sufficient to say that it is careful and methodical, and contains much that will be useful to students of historical grammar. If Mr Holmqvist's inquiries have not been very fruitful of positive general conclusions, that is due mainly to the imperfection of the accessible evidence; though it might have been better if he had not omitted to deal with the history of the plural in *-en* (and the modern uninflected plural), with which the

history of the other plural endings is intimately involved. It is worth mention that the author incidentally gives good reasons for rejecting the current opinion that *The Earliest English Prose Psalter* is in the West Midland dialect.

HENRY BRADLEY.

OXFORD.

Zum Nebenakzent beim altenglischen Nominalkompositum. Von BRUNO BOROWSKI. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1921. 162 pp.

The general rule for the accentuation of noun-compounds in Old English is that the principal accent falls on the stressed syllable of the first component word, and the secondary accent on that of the second. It is generally recognised that this rule has important exceptions, and that when a binominal compound receives the addition of a third element its accentual rhythm usually undergoes change. The conditions of incidence of the secondary accent in noun-compounds, however, have not hitherto been fully investigated. Dr Borowski's discussion of the subject is extraordinarily complete, and extends to various related problems of morphology. His inquiry is based almost wholly on the phenomena observable in the prose texts, such, e.g., as change of vowel-quality in unstressed syllables, presence or absence of thematic or connecting vowels, contractions, and the like; metrical evidence being appealed to only in the second place. Perhaps few of his conclusions, so far as they are new, are quite indisputable; but he shows a commendable sense of the insecurity of most of the accessible evidence; and, in any case, the careful collection and analysis of the data has its value. One of the most ingenious, but at the same time least convincing of his suggestions is that in prehistoric O.E. the compounds of those *i* stems that were oxytone in pre-Germanic may have had a 'Nebenton' on the *i* of the first element, as well as a stronger 'Nebenakzent' on the second element. The facts seem to admit of a simpler explanation. Another point that invites question is that the author assumes, without argument or answer to objections, that *-an* must be classed with *-or* and *-um* as a heavy ending, capable of attracting the secondary accent to itself. As Dr Borowski is an alumnus of Leipzig, it is not surprising that he has something (though in fact very little) to say about results of 'Schallanalyse,' vouched for by the usual *αὐτὸς ἔφα*. The attitude of the Leipzig school on this matter is disquieting to many who have no lack of reverence for one of the greatest of living scholars. Considering the great difficulties of the investigation, this essay contains a surprising number of new results that are at least entitled to respectful consideration. The ability which it displays justifies very high expectations with regard to the author's future work.

There is an odd slip in the list of 'Corrections and Additions.' The reader is bidden to correct 'Plantinus-Gloss' into 'Plautinus-Gloss.' Second thoughts are not always best!

HENRY BRADLEY.

OXFORD.

The Owl and the Nightingale. Edited with Introduction, Texts, Notes, Translation and a Glossary, by J. W. H. Atkins. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. xc + 231 pp. 16*s*.

This volume is likely long to hold the field as the most elaborate edition of a remarkable poem, and therefore as a landmark in English literary history. With the more strictly philological side of Professor Atkins's work I am frankly unable to deal as it deserves; I can only here record an impression of the same minute and conscientious care which is traceable in the rest of the volume, and of occasional notes which are enlightening even to the unphilological mind; e.g. that on the rhyme Rome—dome (ll. 745–6). The majority of readers will probably be most interested in that which has most interested me—the elaborate introduction of 89 pages, the vocabulary, and the translation which, for the first time, enables even the man in the street to judge of the general effect of this poem and its place in medieval literature.

Here I am not ashamed to confess a strong sense of personal enlightenment. Never having read the poem easily and fluently before, I had never done it justice; and I have met others, eager students of medieval English in general, who found it difficult to accept the poem at the valuation current among better-equipped critics, but who (let us hope) may now follow a similar line of conversion. Yet, even now, that conversion may not be complete. Professor Ker has indeed described this poem as 'the most miraculous piece of writing...among the medieval English books.' Professor Atkins himself, on pp. lxxiii, lxxiv and lxxxix of his introduction, speaks of it as 'one of the finest achievements in English medieval literature...a piece of art amazingly put together,' 'the expression of a unique personality...that the work gives proof of genius as well as the highest art is a fact that will be conceded by all who know the poem.' But we may ask ourselves: Will these judgments hold their ground fifty years hence, or do they still smack of the enthusiasm of a comparatively new discovery? We would suggest one simple test; Professor Atkins says, coming to details: 'The arguments are marshalled in effective fashion, and the reader need never be in doubt as to where the main issue lies.' But is this praise consistent with the fact, so embarrassing to the generality of students, that no two editors have yet agreed as to what exactly either Owl or Nightingale is driving at? Many readers may look upon it as one of Professor Atkins's best titles to our gratitude that he has gone far more fully into this subject than his predecessors, and formulated a more detailed and intelligible theory of the author's drift; but we should not here be so grateful if we had not a good deal to be thankful for. Is it hypercritical to suggest that, even when we are dealing with 1200 A.D., we must deduct a good deal from the literary value of a poem which tells its own tale, in many ways, so obscurely? For there is no question here of inherent metaphysical difficulties or heights of mystic speculation; if Professor Atkins is right (and I think he is) it was a comparatively simple thesis that each bird had to develope. Personally, I rise even from this present edition with

the feeling that we have here an author writing under the domination of literary conventions which were often false and wearisome—that a great deal of what is best in him, though admirable under the circumstances, does not really take a very remarkable place in the general pageant of world-literature—in other words, that he is a far more interesting figure to the literary historian than to the reader in search of good and stimulating poetry. If a modern peasant gave us to-morrow the modern equivalent of the cuckoo-song or *Blow, Northern Wind*, we should be charmed; if he gave us another *Owl and Nightingale* in modern English, would he secure anything like the same success?

Again, is the poem really comparable to another of its own time, *Reynard the Fox*? When the editor writes that the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale* 'has made use of popular material, out of which was subsequently to emerge the great animal epic of the Middle Ages,' have we not here a serious anachronism? We have evidence that the *Reynard* cycle was popular at least as early as 1112; it was probably familiar even to the grandfather or great-grandfather of our English poet; and I cannot but think, even after the great help which Professor Atkins has given us, that the greater popularity of *Reynard* is in rough proportion to its greater literary merit.

G. G. Coulton.

Cambridge.

The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt. Edited by Wilhelmina P. Frijlinck. Amsterdam: H. G. van Dorssen; London: H. Milford. 8vo. 1922. clx + 119 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This valuable edition of a fine play first brought to light by Mr A. H. Bullen is a doctoral dissertation of the University of Amsterdam. It aims at giving an exact reproduction of the MS. (B.M. Add. 18,653) and includes the many passages which Sir George Buc caused to be deleted. These were not given in Mr Bullen's edition. In a very full Introduction the editor discusses the date and stage-history of the play, its sources (including some now pointed out for the first time), the distribution of the scenes between Fletcher and Massinger to whom the authorship has been given by pretty general agreement, the play's place in dramatic history, its value from an æsthetic and an historical point of view, the translations which have been made of it, etc.

Miss Frijlinck gives to Massinger Act I, Scs. 1, 2, Act II, Sc. 1, Act III, Scs. 2, 5, Act IV, Scs. 4, 5, Act V, Sc. 1 (except ll. 2659–2699), the rest to Fletcher, except Act III, Sc. 3, which she thinks may be by a third hand. This distribution agrees in the main with that arrived at by other critics.

Some observations of my own, so far as they go, also confirm it. I made a list of lines with a heavy hypermetrical syllable (e.g. l. 490: 'I dare not terme them equall and but waigh well'). Such examples are also found in ll. 1047, 1081, 1111, 1136, 1561, 1813, 2004, 2907. All these lines fall into scenes assigned to Fletcher. I also noted cases in

which a word in -tion has this termination a dissyllable in a medial position (e.g. l. 115: 'what action of his renownd in which'). Such examples are also found in ll. 646, 2102, 2223, 2246, 2613. All these lines fall into scenes assigned to Massinger. The word 'turnop' is used in ll. 848, 1472, 2844, 'man' (verb) in ll. 456, 1850, the word 'shot' = 'aimed' in ll. 365, 1009. All these lines are assigned to Fletcher.

Miss Frijlinck's Notes are too much devoted to illustrating common Elizabethan expressions, and often ignore real difficulties of the text. I add notes on a few lines.

l. 162. 'as I vse this, I waigh you.' Query, 'as I vse, thus' etc.

l. 212. 'Pagan'='whore.' The *N.E.D.* quotes two examples of this use, one from Shakespeare and one from Massinger. The present line is assigned to Massinger.

l. 343. This line seems to require the addition of the word 'sencibly,' whatever becomes of the next.

l. 607. The form 'Shellains'='shellums' ('schelm') prepares us to find other misreadings in the MS.

l. 725. 'vnto this [g...t] height.' The missing word seems to be 'giant.'

l. 727. 'this popular S[ar]ke.' The word is probably 'Snake,' not 'Sharke.'

ll. 807, 808. 'theis new Arminians theis hissing tosts.' I doubt if the word 'tosts' contains any imputation of drunkenness. I think it only suggests heat. The Arminians are firebrands. Cp. l. 1010, and 'Hotte as a toste' quoted in the *N.E.D.* from Heywood's *Proverbs*.

l. 821. The reference in 'long tayles' is probably to the dress of English ladies, not to their talk. Cp. *N.E.D.* 'tail' I, 3.

l. 849. To the English gentlewoman 'conjure up' suggests conjuring up the devil.

l. 957. 'heavy Marches.' Query, 'heavy Marchers.'

ll. 1017–1020. The sense of these lines is not made any clearer by Miss Frijlinck's paraphrase.

l. 1200. 'but would.' Query, 'but t'would.'

l. 1260. 'prepard.' Query, 'prepare.'

l. 1476. 'from.' Query, 'for.'

l. 1540. 'ere I turne Slave to stick their gawdy triumphes.' Query, 'slick.' The passages quoted in favour of 'stick' are not convincing, nor do I find any better support for 'stick' in the *N.E.D.*

l. 1603. Miss Frijlinck's explanation of 'fry' is clearly right. In the light of l. 1603 one may even wonder if it is not a corruption of 'fire,' and was first written 'frie.' One would expect Grotius' words to be quoted unchanged.

l. 1667. 'a gowne man' surely='a civilian.' See *N.E.D.* under 'gownsman.' The note explains 'gowne' as='gone.'

l. 1777. 'Cast.' Obviously, 'Cart.'

l. 1796. 'has mett his preist'='has met his deathsman,' 'has only a minute or two to live.' The *N.E.D.* quotes Kyd, *Span. Trag.*: 'Who first laies hand on me Ile be his Priest.'

l. 1835. 'goes.' Query, 'saies.'

l. 1847. 'nor.' Obviously, 'not.'

l. 1856. 'broke the beds of Mutenies.' Query, 'the bands.'

l. 2278. 'freely to be dischargd.' Perhaps not 'to be paid' but 'to be remitted or excused.'

l. 2324. Miss Frijlinck means apparently to say that 'to' (not 'of') ought to be 'by.' Perhaps 'to' may stand if it is taken with 'warranted.'

l. 2452. It seems as if a line was missing after this line and another after 2454.

l. 2683. The word 'Sir' seems to belong to the next speech.

ll. 2686, 2687. 'more I beseech yo^{r} hono^{rs}. *Or.* take yo^{r} pleasure.' Query, 'now I beseech yo^{r} hono^{rs} take yo^{r} pleasure.'

ll. 2726, 2727. 'whip your Edipoll as clenly of and set it on againe'—'Edipoll'

is a humorous substitution for 'poll.' I see no reason for altering it to 'Dodipoll.' 'Edipol' was familiar to all who knew Plautus.

ll. 2738, 2739. 'Pompeis head. *Har.* the head of a Pumpion.' There is the same play on words in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v, 2, 503, 507.

l. 2750. 'a hanging cause,' 'a cause long pendent.'

Miss Frijlinck makes a slip in the Introduction, p. lxxii, when, commenting on ll. 655, 656: 'when the hot Lyons breath burnes vp the feildes,' she calls it 'a striking metaphor taken from animal life.' The Lion in question is of course the constellation Leo which the sun enters about July 22.

The Introduction, as is natural in an English book produced abroad, has a certain number of misprints or misspellings. This need not, however, shake our faith in the accuracy of the text, especially as in this the editor has had the invaluable co-operation of Dr W. W. Greg.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

The Influence of Milton on English Poetry. By Raymond Dexter Havens. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1922. 8vo. xii + 722 pp. 37*s.*

One can well believe that Professor Havens has spent fifteen years of his life, even with the help of a skilled assistant for six years of the time, over this monumental work. The book extends to 722 pp. and implies an amount of reading that is quite prodigious. The author speaks of his work with a rare modesty, but it is a most valuable contribution to the history of our literature in the eighteenth century. Part I deals with the attitude of the eighteenth century towards Milton: Parts II and III to the influence exerted on poetry by *Paradise Lost* and the shorter poems. More than a hundred closely-printed pages are then given to Appendices (A: Parallel passages in Pope, Thomson, Young, T. Warton, Cowper, Wordsworth, Keats, which suggest borrowing from Milton; B: Poems in Non-Miltonic blank verse 1667–1750; C: Poems descriptive of places, not known to be Miltonic; D: Rimed technical treatises) and Bibliographies (I—III of poems influenced by Milton's various works, IV of eighteenth century sonnets). These Appendices and Bibliographies are extraordinarily valuable. The main part of the book is not exactly light reading: too many works of small value are introduced to us as having some echoes of Milton's language: it is however characterised by sound judgment and is in excellent English (if we can tolerate an occasional Americanism such as 'aside from,' 'back of,' 'almost none,' 'back and forth,' 'belongs with,' 'rooming together,' 'a college youth'). The tone is curiously cool: if Dr Havens was ever fired with enthusiasm for his author, the feeling seems to have passed: 'The wide-spread enthusiasm for Milton's early productions and the frequent use made of them seem strange to most of us who enjoy the poems, but without rapture' (p. 436). But those literary students who make their way through this great volume will be well

rewarded. It will probably be a surprise to them to find that Pope shows a knowledge of every one of Milton's poetical works which is not to be paralleled in his age: that the early eighteenth century which read and imitated *Paradise Lost* was strangely ignorant and unappreciative of the minor poems: that *Paradise Lost* owed much of its vogue to its religious and biblical character: that the Graveyard School of Poetry sprang into existence with no debt to *Il Penseroso*: that Sonnets were produced in vast numbers between the time of T. Warton and that of Bowles. Dr Havens' analysis of the late eighteenth century schools of sonneteering, and especially of the sonnets of Bowles, Coleridge, Lamb and Wordsworth, is perhaps the strongest part of his book. He shows most strikingly how Wordsworth's *Sonnets of Liberty and Independence* stood out from all that had gone before them.

It will thus be seen that while Dr Havens treats his set subject exhaustively, he goes far outside it and illuminates many places that have lain in darkness. One may regret that on p. 546 he prints a modern sonnet, the only such sonnet that he does print, which if it could ever have been excused as war-propaganda, ought by this time to have been consigned to oblivion.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

L'Œuvre de Swinburne. Par Paul de Reul. Brussels: Robert Sand; London: H. Milford. 1922. 8vo. 502 pp. 15*s.*

The early fame of Swinburne was followed, as is well known, by a period of steadily declining public interest. This is the probable explanation of the rarity and general slightness of the critical studies hitherto devoted to one of the most astonishing literary apparitions of our time. Swinburne, among the most precocious of modern poets, comparatively early in his career gave the impression that he had no more to say, and that the significance of what he had said already was exhausted; even his unfailingly eloquent music went to a tune which everyone imagined he knew by heart. It made little difference that most of the old grounds of offence had disappeared. From 1870 he left behind him, as Mazzini bade him, the love-frenzy of the first *Poems and Ballads*; in poetic method *Tristram of Lyonesse* is poles apart from *Anactoria* or *Laus Veneris*. If he remained a republican, and was confident that his Arthurian Story of Balen had 'licked the *Mort d'Albert*,' he no longer chastised his country; and the stern reproaches of *Perinde ac Cadaver* had given place to the rabid quasi-patriotism of his Boer War Sonnets. In spite of all this, while Meredith, his contemporary, and Browning, his senior by a quarter of a century, continued to challenge keen comment and discussion, Swinburne's position was that of one who no longer presented any critical problem, a man of genius certainly, but one whose formula had long been found.

We do not forget the four or five short studies, by Woodberry, Mr Drinkwater, and some others, which have appeared since Swinburne's

death. But it remains the distinction of a Brussels professor to have produced the first comprehensive and penetrating study on an adequate scale. M. Paul de Reul brings to his task both the trained method, the critical insight, and the power and felicity of exposition to which a series of French exponents of our modern poets have accustomed us. In this case Swinburne's well-known affinities and affiliations to certain French poets made an obvious opportunity for a French critic, and still more for one whose French culture is free from the bias of French nationality. It is easy to exaggerate the degree of real affinity which underlay Swinburne's rapturous exaltation of Hugo. M. de Reul well points out that their common traits are of a kind at once most obvious and least imitable—the gift of verse-music which made both of them disdain *vers libre*, and accept, transform and regenerate the traditional metres, and the mastery of speech which brought upon both the charge of having more words than ideas. And the younger and more modest of the two felt the spell of their common endowment. In the 'modesty' of Swinburne his critic finds the sign of a basic difference of character: 'Hugo confronts the universe, projects his shadow on the infinite,... plays consciously the *mage* or *vates*.' *Hugo pontifie, Swinburne s'abandonne*; Swinburne's gift of veneration strikes deeper, in fact, than his iconoclasm. Nor did he, even in his towering flights of anti-theologism, strike the note of sham sublimity which brought upon Hugo the cruel allusion to '*Jocrisse en Patmos*.'

We can only refer to the excellent pages devoted to vindicating Swinburne's stylistic independence. In style and verse, when all is said, Swinburne goes his own way, not Hugo's. We find amplification, rhapsodic enumeration, but not the 'alternate bursts of light and darkness,' which betoken Hugo. 'La phrase de Victor Hugo se découpe en gestes larges, libres, et successifs; la phrase périodique de Swinburne embrasse tout ce qu'y jette la passion du moment.' And M. de Reul adds the important and far-reaching psychological observation that Hugo's imagination was visual, Swinburne's auditory. One outer sign of this was their different habits of composition. Hugo did not recite his verses, but wrote them, 'and often illustrated them on the margin as if he needed to fix the image in order to find the corresponding word. Swinburne...hated writing.' Yet one may question whether Hugo had not the auditory imagination too, certainly in larger measure than Swinburne had the visual; his grandest passages master us by their orchestration and their visionary splendour at once.

M. de Reul honours Swinburne, as becomes a good critic, 'on this side idolatry.' And through the greater part of his book he is occupied with interpreting, step by step, the entire work of the poet for foreign readers, to whom it presents obvious difficulties. But he has his quarrel with some English preconceptions (not to call them prejudices) too, and he brings to bear upon them a mastery of the poet's text which most of us may envy. He qualifies, in particular, with much force, the current dogma that Swinburne had 'few ideas.' So, again, even Morris declared that Swinburne's poetry had always seemed to him founded 'more upon

literature than on nature.' And how plausible this is when we find it as hard to get away from the signs of his immense literary culture, as from Milton's? Yet M. de Reul justly insists that Swinburne's native temperament was as potent as his culture. Under certain conditions, as in the presence of sea and sky, this is unmistakable, and here his feeling is 'more direct and more instinctive than in any other poet that we know.' But even elsewhere our critic finds 'a primitive and elemental lyric energy under the mass of adventitious vegetation.' At most we may demur that this image puts the antithesis too crudely, since we never catch the 'lyric energy' really detaching itself from the cultured rhythms which it uses or transforms.

Nor will he allow that there is anything 'un-English' in Swinburne. Foreign critics have in the past sometimes attenuated our national heritage; they have made Shakespeare German, and Chaucer French. But in a striking volume recently published, M. L. Cazamian declared Shelley (whose John Bull lineage might well be in doubt) to be not only English but specifically 'the English Romantic.' And with equal emphasis M. de Reul protests against the injustice done to the richness of English culture by 'imprisoning it in a puritan and bourgeois tradition which individuals of genius always found strength and will to break through.' Not, it should be noted, that our critic's line is by any means, at bottom, to traverse the 'Puritan' point of view. His admirable discussion of the First Series of *Poems and Ballads* strikes deeper than that. He points out how small is the proportion of 'sensual' writing in the immensely varied poetry of this collection, how short-lived this interest was in Swinburne, and how frequently the sensual motives are transcended in the same poem, as when Sappho's love frenzy in *Anactoria* passes, like the poet's grief in *Adonais*, into a vision of pantheist immortality.

We can only notice in one word M. de Reul's fascinating account of his visit to Swinburne, in April 1907. It has a certain definite biographical interest on account of some reported sayings of the poet's, as also, perhaps, in view of his impression, decidedly expressed, that Maupassant, Mr Gosse, and others, have exaggerated his 'physical singularity.' A criticism ascribed to Mr Gosse (p. 125), which excited Swinburne's huge amusement, apparently rests upon error. Throughout this interview the hero-worshipper and the punctilious scholarly observer are in continuous alliance, at times with comical effect, as when the record of Swinburne's French talk is interrupted by a bracketed note that he pronounced *fait* 'with an English diphthong.' But the alliance is typical of the organic union of poetic imagination and insight with scientific precision and method in this notable Belgian contribution to our literary history. Let us add as illustration of the latter, that (in honourable contrast with much French work of our time) it is defaced by no trace of international rancour. Goethe is adduced more than once with illuminating effect.

C. H. Herford.

Manchester.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Volume VIII. Collected by G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. 8vo. 167 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The eighth volume of *Essays and Studies* equals its predecessors in quality, and perhaps surpasses them in variety of its material. It indicates very finely the many-sidedness of what is comprehensively called the study of 'English.' Dr Grundy provides a most useful glossary of the special senses of some sixty-one terms of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon charters, and the growing band of place-name hunters will be most grateful for it: Mr Cowling edits the fifteenth century mock-heroic *Felon Sew*, with a full textual, literary and historical apparatus; whilst Dr McKerrow discusses English Grammar and Grammars in the light of common sense and reason. Indeed, of this group of what we may call the philological contributions, Dr McKerrow's paper is the most generally useful. If every teacher of English would read it, there would be an end to the stupid prejudice against the teaching of grammar which is ruining our English studies from the bottom upwards. The other four essays are concerned with literature; again however they illustrate the variety of the interests involved, and thus reveal the skill with which the editor has planned the volume. Professor Ker briefly discusses the literary mind of Hazlitt, and it is enough to say that he does it as only he can do it. Mr Hamilton Thompson indicates the chief lines which have been pursued by mystical poets in English verse, and he does so very considerably better than has been done before, mainly because his knowledge of medieval literature and theology gives him the right starting point: particularly valuable is his treatment of the religious lyrists of the seventeenth century, and most of all, his putting of the sensuous imagery of Crashaw in its right light. Dr Smart's essay on Tragedy is the most ambitious paper in the volume, and perhaps because of that, the least satisfactory. It cannot of course be expected that in such brief space he can convince us that he has plumbed the depths of the profoundest of all æsthetic enquiries, particularly as his point of view is in many ways heterodox. Brevity precludes fine distinctions; yet they may be vital. Dr Smart seems to us to confuse tragedy and the tragic: but whether his identification of the two is a confusion or a set purpose, it appears to involve the criticism of Aristotle, and to a less extent, of Hegel from standpoints not really relevant to their propositions. The acquired bias goes further, and prevents a fair understanding of Aristotle's argument, as for instance, his opposition to the saint as hero of tragedy. Yet Dr Smart's paper has substantial value: he is wise, if not merciful, on the German criticism of Shakespeare in the nineteenth century. And doubtless, it is the restricted space allotted to his essay which gives the impression that Dr Smart thinks of Shakespeare, not as a growing mind, but as a fixed system. The best paper in the volume is Professor Herford's 'Romanticism in the Modern World': it is a cause in which he writes with conviction, and the recent American attacks on the strongholds of romance find him its most adequately equipped and most fervent

defender. Not that his victory is due to his fervour alone: yet by it, his reason becomes 'impassioned,' and his logic is elevated to a plane which enables it to grapple, as his opponents have not grappled, with the ultimate issues of romance.

H. B. CHARLTON.

MANCHESTER.

Madame de La Fayette. Sa vie et ses Oeuvres. Par H. ASHTON. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. viii + 292 pp. 25*s.*

It is hard to realize that this judicious and important study, written in excellent and idiomatic French, is the work of a foreigner; the author is in any case a 'Français de formation savante.' In the first of the two short prefaces, dated April, 1914, when the book was being printed in Belgium, Dr Ashton disclaims having even attempted to fulfil the promise of the title, which indicates rather what he had originally intended than what he had been able to accomplish. He calls it a collection of materials rather than a finished literary study. There is however much new matter, which has been carefully collected and sifted, and which will be of great value to all working in the same ground. The student of the Sorbonne and the reader in the great French libraries betrays himself at every turn, and we learn incidentally that it was the lectures of M. Chamard, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, Paris, himself at work on the same subject, who inspired the original idea of the study.

In the Life much had to be done afresh. The book of M. Haussonville (1896) was a guide, but the sources had not been sufficiently indicated, and were not easy to discover. Much still remains uncertain; considerable additions however have been made in this work to our knowledge of Madame de La Fayette's life through the study of such documents as the collection of her letters, mostly addressed to Ménage, belonging to the late M. Feuillet de Conches.

It seems clear from extracts from the baptismal registers of Saint Sulpice, the originals of which perished in the Commune, that Madame de La Fayette was born in 1634, and in the parish of Saint Sulpice, *pace* M. Doumic, who in his *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 24th edition, p. 293, gives the place as Havre. The father of Madame de La Fayette, M. de La Vergne, subsequently held a command at Havre, and this fact appears to have been the source of the mistake, which is found in other works. The home into which Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne was born, and in which she lived for the greater part of her life, was a house at the corner of the rue Férou and the rue de Vaugirard, near then, as it is now, to the public gardens of the Luxembourg, in the part of the Quartier Saint Germain which was the Passy of the seventeenth century. Here it was that the life-long friendship with Ménage was begun, at first through the great man's lessons, and we learn that so great was her intuitive appreciation of poetry that, three months after beginning Latin, she could correct Ménage and Rapin in their interpretations: 'Vous n'y entendez rien ni l'un ni l'autre.' Yet we see

from her letters, the original spelling of which is carefully preserved, that she never quite mastered the mysteries of French orthography, and would probably have made Philaminte and Bélise shudder. But higher education was looked askance at in society, and Madame de La Fayette says herself 'qu'elle n'avoit pas connu de gens plus malhonetes (*sic*) que les savans.' Her greatest endowment, at least according to her gallant tutor, seems to have been that 'divine raison' of which we so often hear.

Her marriage follows with a 'mari anodin' of excellent family, who seems to have made 'piteuse mine' the first time he presented himself as a *prétendu*, and who remains a somewhat enigmatic figure, in spite of some new light as to his family and the date of his death. (A propos of French marriages of the period, Dr Ashton reminds us of the story of the young man, son of the president of the Dijon Parliament, who, on venturing to enquire of his father: 'Est-il vrai, mon père, que vous me voulez marier à Mlle une telle?' received the wise reply: 'Mon fils, mêlez-vous de vos affaires.')

The life that ensued as wife and mother, Paris hostess, dame d'honneur to Henriette d'Angleterre, authoress *sub rosa*, diplomat (as shown by the discovery of the Turin letters, several of which are given in the text and in an appendix), and friend, is described with much fresh detail. The letters are carefully utilized; some of them more than once, for instance the one addressed to Madame de Sablé after a first perusal of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*: 'Ha, Madame! quelle corruption il faut avoir dans l'esprit et dans le coeur pour estre capable d'imaginer tout cela!' We are reminded how the writer undertook to reform the heart of the gloomy pessimist, and how he in return 'lui donna de l'esprit,' which she did not seem to lack. This extraordinary friendship is treated with delicacy and penetration, on the lines suggested by Sainte-Beuve. The two had much in common, and became indispensable to each other. The comment of Mlle de Scudéry is quoted: 'La crainte de Dieu de part et d'autre, et peut-être aussi la politique, a coupé les ailes à l'amour. Elle est sa favorite et sa première amie.' Other *habitués* of the salon and of the 'samedis' of Madame de La Fayette are noted: Condé and his son 'M. le Duc,' Racine, Boileau, probably Bossuet, Perrault, and always Madame de Sévigné. We are made to see the hostess leading the polished conversation on the lines of the 'guides mondains,' yet with her own special charm, 'aimable et spirituelle, d'un esprit enjoué, d'un abord agréable...civile, obligeante, et un peu railleuse.'

When we turn to the study of the works of Madame de La Fayette, we find the close connection with her life insisted upon. The Portrait was much in vogue, even in comedies and sermons (Bourdaloue and even Bossuet), and to study thus 'l'intérieur des gens' was an excellent apprenticeship for the young novelist. Her description of Madame de Sévigné in the collection by Segrais had sufficient success to encourage her; while her style was due to her solid education, her conversational tone had been acquired by her social experience. Dr Ashton is at pains to show that, though she knew the *habitués* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, she laughed at 'préciosité,' and with all her taste for reading and reason-

ing power, had a certain 'pudeur sur la science' which prevented her acknowledging her own works, as indeed it behoved a *dame du monde.*

With the exception of *Zaïde,* the subject of all Madame de La Fayette's works is the same: a woman, married for family reasons to a man she does not love, has her affections engaged by another, and is torn by the conflict between desire and duty. (It is the subject of Corneille's *Polyeucte* and of much of Racine's work.) Like the other classics she makes the plot natural by giving it a general application, at the same time introducing individual touches drawn from her own experience. Her world is not our world, but human hearts are the same as those which she analysed, and the moral laws which confronted them confront us. Following Descartes, she shows the passions, as it were, independent of the individual that suffers them. Above all, she is an artist, imbued with the spirit of idealism which is expressed in all the art of her time; 'de très haute qualité intellectuelle,' says M. Lanson, 'sans puissance artistique.' But in taste which in its highest form is genius, in her instinct for 'mesure,' in her intuition and power of clear expression she touches the heights of art.

With respect to the literary ancestry of *La Princesse de Montpensier,* though it is certainly the first psychological 'nouvelle,' not only the romances such as the *Astrée, Cyrus, Cléopâtre,* had prepared the way, but Mlle de Scudéry had applied the treatment to real people in concealed 'portraits.' The novelty lay in the historical names employed, and in the greater truth to life; but in general treatment the *Princesse de Montpensier* is the corollary of the works which preceded it. It has not yet the inward conflict of *La Princesse de Clèves,* which it resembles in delicacy of style and in framework.

The *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre* is also real romance, a 'roman vécu,' with the same subject; Madame and Louis XIV, Madame and her unworthy husband, Madame and Guiche. Begun at the desire of the young Duchess, it terminates abruptly with her tragic death, more movingly told than even in Bossuet's famous *Nuit désastreuse.* Did the rest seem too frivolous after such a catastrophe?

Finally, the treatment of *La Princesse de Clèves* offers several points of interest. We could wish it had been even fuller. The sources in Brantôme are indicated, and other works not usually studied are quoted (e.g. *Les Angoisses douloureuses* of Hélisenne), to show that *La Princesse de Clèves* was not the first novel of this psychological character, nor the first to relate contemporary adventures within reasonable dimensions. But it is the first in which the psychological interest is of more importance than the intrigue. We follow the alternations of the heroine's feelings, the conflict not only between passion and duty, but between passion and the social code for 'honnêtes gens,' with the same interest to-day as readers of 1678 who were ready to devour one another over it. In a note on page 178, the author records the triumph of the book in 1921, when in answer to the question propounded by the review *Femina*: 'Quel est le plus beau roman féminin?' the *Princesse de Clèves* bore off the honours with 591 votes, out of 1417 distributed among 17 novels.

Not much is said as to the use by Madame de La Fayette of history and legend; this has been left for others who are already at work on the 'sources,' her methods and manner of using her documents compared, for example, with the methods of Corneille and Racine. Among various points, however, which are noted two may here be mentioned: the way in which the authoress of the *Princesse de Clèves* idealizes her rather foolish mother in drawing Madame de Chartres; and the possible influence of a contemporary novel by Madame de Villedieu, *Les Désordres de l'Amour*. In this work, published in 1676, a wife, unfaithful in heart only, confesses her weakness to her husband, who shortly afterwards leaves her free by his death to follow her inclination. The most probable explanation is that the two works had some common source, or perhaps that Madame de La Fayette had been indiscreet in speaking of her book and its plot before its publication.

Mention has been made above of the special interest attaching to the letters, many of them so far 'inédites.' Dr Ashton speaks of their remarkable modernity, and gives Madame de La Fayette the place of the second French letter-writer. We gather he is inclined to put her even higher, and some hope is held out that these letters will be collected and published with dates before long. Those relating to Turin, and the negotiations with Louis XIV and his minister Louvois, should prove of historical interest. And all must share the regret expressed that Madame de La Fayette did not apparently leave complete memoirs of the Court of her time; she probably kept a journal, but only two years, 1688 and 1689, remain to tantalize us. Though not meant for publication, they are of high value for their observation and critical judgment. Are we to blame her son, the Abbé, for the loss of the rest? Like the author of this study, we lay it down, wishing there were more to read and examine, and regretting that we can never be personally acquainted with a character of so much charm and individuality, 'vraie' as all testified (she even said her age), yet able to keep secrets; 'pratique' (she made an excellent will), yet sensitive to beauty and affection. No marvel she was known to her friends as 'l'Incomparable.'

Dr Ashton's study concludes with a chronological bibliography of the works of Madame de La Fayette, including translations, extracts, and the scattered correspondence, also a list of thirteen portraits; ten appendices giving illustrative documents; a full bibliography of works consulted, and an index of proper names. The second preface, written in September, 1922, in Vancouver, expresses regret that the want of a suitable library has prevented this pre-war book from being brought in all respects up to date. Further articles on the subject are to appear shortly.

F. C. Johnson.

London.

FRANCESCO TORRACA, *Nuovi studi danteschi nel VI centenario della morte di Dante.* Naples: Federico and Ardia. 1921. 8vo. 531 pp. L. 18.

FRANCESCO TORRACA, *Studi di storia letteraria.* Florence: Sansoni. 1923. 8vo. 332 pp. L. 12.

Studi danteschi diretti da MICHELE BARBI. Vol. VI. Florence: Sansoni. 1923. 8vo. 167 pp. L. 15.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. A line-for-line translation in the rime-form of the original by MELVILLE BEST ANDERSON. London: Harrap. n.d. 8vo. xiv + 449 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

In the first of these volumes Francesco Torraca has brought together various essays and reviews, arranged in an order roughly corresponding with the chronology of Dante's life and works; beginning with studies connected with the earlier *Rime* and the epoch of the *Vita Nuova*, they pass, through the Letters (appreciating Dr Toynbee's edition), the canzone of the *Tre donne*, and 'I precursori della *Divina Commedia*,' to particular passages, personages, or cantos of the poem, ending with one of those sexcentenary discourses upon the poet which, though pronounced for a special occasion, will still be found stimulating. The student of the lyrical poems will be particularly glad to have in this permanent form the study of the tenzone with Forese (which remains of substantial value even after the publications of a more critical text by Barbi and Massèra respectively) and the very notable commentary on the canzone of the *Tre donne*, while the eloquent *lettura* of canto XXVI of the *Purgatorio* stands out among the essays bearing upon the *Commedia*. There are points connected with the canzone of the *Tre donne* where we venture to differ from the author. We cannot recognise the lady of the 'montanina canzon' in 'il bel segno,' which distance has severed from Dante's sight, and, in spite of arguments to the contrary, the evidence, external and internal, seems to us conclusively to support the view that the poem is the one that was destined for the penultimate treatise of the *Convivio*. In any case, since Giovanni Livi has found its opening lines transcribed in the register of a notary at Bologna in 1310, it is no longer possible—notwithstanding the statement of the anonymous commentator of the Codice Magliabechiano—to hold that it was composed after Dante's fresh exclusion from Florence by the Riforma of Baldo d'Aguglione.

The second volume is particularly welcome. It includes nine studies, all—excepting the last two—dealing with early Italian literature, starting with 'la più antica poesia toscana,' the famous 'cantilena' of the Tuscan minstrel, *Salva lo vescovo senato*, of which Torraca was the first to give a correct text and interpret its signification. Under the title, *Per la Storia letteraria del Secolo XIII*, we find put together a collection of lecture notes on special points concerning some more obscure writers and texts of the Duecento, notably the 'Sigillo' of Ser Pietro da Medicina, Guido Faba (questioning the conclusions of Gaudenzi and the attribution

to the Bolognese grammarian of the important *Parlamenti et Epistole*), Ruggieri Apugliesi, Fra Pacifico (whose 'coronation' Torraca would assign to 1210 or 1211 at the hands of Otto IV), and 'Il lamento della Sposa Padovana.' The notes were written in 1905; would the author, we wonder, still adhere to the identification of Chiaro Davanzati with the popolano of Santa Maria sopr' Arno, who was already dead in 1280, rather than with his namesake of the 'popolo di San Frediano,' who was still living at the beginning of the fourteenth century? The other essays are, for the most part, more recent: *Pietro Vidal in Italia, Fra Guittone, A proposito dell' 'Intelligenza,' L'Entrée d'Espagne, Il Fiore.* The essay on Fra Guittone, a vigorous defence of his originality and his rightful place in Italian literature, is a brilliant piece of literary criticism; beyond comparison, I think, the best study of that singular and impressive poet that has appeared. More precisely than Antoine Thomas, the author would date the composition of the *Entrée* between 1298 and 1320; his treatment of the poem is full and illuminating. In dealing with the *Intelligenza*, a new hypothesis is put forward as to the origin of *ottava rima.* Hitherto, it will be remembered, scholars have differed as to whether it should be regarded as derived from the popular *strambotto*, from a particular type of stanza of canzone, or from a form of *serventese* (the 'serventese octastico'). Torraca now suggests that 'la stanza gloriosa della poesia narrativa italiana' is formed from the *nona rima* (the stanza of the *Intelligenza*) by removing the last verse, as in like manner the *nona rima* itself would have been formed by the suppression of one of the lines of the *decima rima* employed by Ruggieri Apugliesi and others among the earlier Italian poets: 'A me pare che appunto da questo processo di alleggerimento e di semplificazione sia nata l'ottava; che, in altre parole, l'ottava sia figlia della nona rima, e nipote della decima' (p. 163). To put it as a formula: *ABABABCCCB* passes through *ABABABCCB* to *ABABABCC.* But would not this theory, as far as the intermediate stage is concerned, assume a more general diffusion of the *nona rima* than the facts seem to warrant? In our present state of knowledge, it comes down to us from the *Intelligenza* as something of a 'freak' measure.

We rejoice that Torraca is resolutely opposed to the attribution of the *Fiore* to Dante and scouts the notion that any allusion to it is to be found in the delightful sonnet to Betto Brunelleschi: 'Messer Brunetto, questa pulzelletta.' I am personally tempted to associate the sonnet with the canzone, 'Io sento sì d'Amor la gran possanza' (*Rime* XCI), and to recognise Betto Brunelleschi in the third of the *tre men rei* to whom (as the second commiato implies) the poem is sent:

> Canzone, a' tre men rei di nostra terra
> te n' anderai prima che vadi altrove:
> li due saluta, e 'l terzo vo' che prove
> di trarlo fuor di mala setta in pria.

And I would hazard another hypothesis. May not the 'messer Giano,' to whom at the end of the sonnet Betto or Brunetto is advised to have recourse, be possibly, instead of Torrigiano de' Cerchi, that Maestro

Torrigiano, the Florentine physician, who at one time taught at Bologna and of whom several sonnets have come down to us?

The two concluding essays respectively deal with Petrarca's canzone, *Italia mia*, and examine the Latin poems of Ariosto, rectifying some of the views and conclusions of Carducci, with special reference to the classical equipment of the poet of the *Orlando* and the biographical data of his early life. All the studies are valuable, and the book is one which every student of Italian literature will need to have upon his shelves.

In the latest volume of Barbi's always acceptable *Studi danteschi*, the pièce de résistance is Vandelli's *Note sul testo critico della 'Commedia,'* in which a discussion of the reading and interpretation of *Purg.* I, 121–123, is illustrated by an exhaustive investigation of the practice followed by Dante (as far as this can be deduced) as to the truncation of the atonic *e* at the end of words. Minute linguistic points of this kind, of no small importance in establishing the critical text, have been too seldom considered by students. Pietro Santini, *Sui fiorentini 'che fur sì degni,'* elucidates the political activity of the citizens held in honour by Dante in canto XVI of the *Inferno*, and suggests a possible identification of the mysterious 'Arrigo' (*Inf.* VI, 80) with the judge Arrigo di Cascia. The question, recently revived by Luigi Chiappelli, as to the political faction to which Cino da Pistoia adhered, is rehandled by Michele Barbi (*Cino fu di parte 'bianca'?*), who, mainly from a study of Cino's lyrics, makes it abundantly clear that his exile, whether voluntary or enforced, was during the predominance of the Bianchi in the city, and that he did not return until after its capture by the Neri. The point is obviously important as bearing upon the date of the supposed letter from Dante to Cino, 'Exulanti Pistoriensi Florentinus exul inmeritus,' and certain of the sonnets interchanged between the two poets. Santorre Debenedetti examines Dante's indebtedness to the authentic and spurious philosophical works of Seneca; Ireneo Sanesi adds a contribution to the historical setting of the episode of Sapia. There is the usual valuable appendix of notes and bibliographical matter. We observe, with peculiar satisfaction, Professor Barbi's promise (p. 135) to deal in a future volume of the *Studi* with the sonnet, 'Se vedi gli occhi miei di pianger vaghi' (*Rime* CV), and to eliminate our doubts concerning its attribution to Dante.

A new translation of the *Divina Commedia* comes to us from America as the fruit of the labour of twenty-one years. One of the defects inevitable in the use of *terza rima*—and, indeed, in any rhymed version in English—is that the precise meaning of the original has too often to be sacrificed, or an unwarranted word added, for the sake of the rhyme. Professor Anderson has been driven to this less frequently than we should have feared. His rendering is generally accurate, readable, and not monotonous in movement (his occasional use of the English equivalent for the *rima sdrucciola* is happy), though there are halting lines here and there. Taken as a whole, his work is a highly creditable achievement, and needs only a little revision in places to make it perhaps the best translation of its kind that we have in English. We must notice

that Professor Anderson has perpetuated a common, but singularly unfortunate, misunderstanding of the lines (*Inf.* XXVI, 116–117), where Ulysses exhorts his companions not to forgo the experience, following the sun in its course to the west, of the uninhabited world: 'l'esperienza, diretro al sol, del mondo sanza gente.' Here *diretro al sol* obviously depends upon *l'esperienza*, not upon *mondo*; but Professor Anderson renders it (and, alas, he is by no means alone): 'experience of the unpeopled world beyond the sun.' Again, one of the most glorious passages of the *Paradiso* seems to us marred, when by 'che ciò ch' i' dico è un semplice lume' is understood 'that what I say gives but scant glimpse thereof' (*Par.* XXXIII, 90). Dante is revealing the mystic's vision of the unity of nature in the 'luce etterna' which is the First Cause, in which all things, included under terms of substance and accidents into which all being is divisible, are so bound together by love 'that what I speak of is a simple light.'

LONDON. EDMUND G. GARDNER.

Poesía popular y Poesía tradicional en la Literatura española. Conferencia leída en All Souls College el lunes, día 26 de Junio de 1922, por RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Oxford: Imprenta Clarendoniana. 1922. 36 pp. 2*s.*

It was a happy thought on the part of Professor Ker to invite the distinguished Director of the Centre for Historical Studies and Professor of Romance Philology in the University of Madrid to discuss at Oxford one of the most interesting phases of his literary thought. No name nor manner could be more likely to raise Hispanic studies in this country out of the category of permissible ignorance to their proper position in the equipment of every modern humanist; nor to destroy the worse than ludicrous legend that the principal value of the Spanish language is commercial. Professor Pidal joins universality of interest to rigid limitation of statement, exact documentation to great literary sensitiveness, irrefutable novelty of matter to the most intimate articulation of his thought, which are a powerful attraction to discipleship and a deterrent from cavillation. The lecture delivered at Oxford is based, of course, in reality upon the vast collection of ballads, which the speaker and a score of scholars in four continents have been amassing and classifying for publication. This, which has been the most considerable object of the scholarly energy of the present generation of Hispanists, will certainly be the dominant fact of the next. No literature illustrates so fully and variously what is 'popular' in prose and poetry than does the Spanish; nor anything in Spanish literature so well as the ballads. All Spanish art has something of a collective nature; and much of it 'has special merits which please the public generally, which cause it to be frequently repeated and last long in the appreciation of the people' (p. 22). To work of this type Professor Menéndez Pidal proposes to apply the term 'popular'; the shifting usages of which have wrought much confusion in ballad criticism since the Romantic Era. Its vagaries

have caused difficulties to be made for the Professor's own well-known theory: and so, in this lecture, he proceeds further—and this is the pith of the matter—to propose the use of the more precise and apposite term 'traditional' to describe that which 'the people has accepted as its own, takes as part of its own intellectual property, and, in repeating, does not as in the previous instances do so in a faithful and almost passive manner, but reproduces by emotion and imagination and *pro tanto* more or less remakes it, the people being regarded as one part of the author' (p. 23). Thus, 'traditional' literature differs from individualistic and artistic by being not unipersonal but the creation of many authors, from merely 'popular' literature by being active not receptive: and so the author meets the objections which regarded his former statements of the ballad theory as impersonal and somewhat mechanical. The supreme example of this 'traditional' multipersonal literature is the Spanish *Romancero*. By analysing the variants of the famous ballad of *Conde Arnaldos*, which has been so variously interpreted by Lockhart, Longfellow, Milá and Azorín, and by alluding to the results of his collation of the 164 versions of *Gerineldos*, he illustrates the work of erosion performed by innumerable minds reshaping a poem in accordance with the good or bad taste or memory of each, until tradition has produced by contamination, suppression, and truncation a series of variants which differ in notes of time, place, quality and appeal, and yet retain indestructible an essential unity. He finds the same phenomena in popular songs in Piedmont or Lithuania, in the Scandinavian *viser*, in contemporary Spanish *coplas* and mediæval *villancicos*. This traditionalism is not merely oral: we get written traditional literature in the so-called primitive epic (primitive is a description which Professor Pidal rejects), as when the *Roland*, *Iliad* or *Crónica general de España* are found even in the last analysis to show variants, due to their being refunded by each copyist (p. 32). In the life and efficacy of 'traditional' works Professor Pidal recognises two periods: an *acedic* period of efflorescence, during which the poetic narrative, whatever its origin, is actively propagated by all classes, and variants are due not merely to illiteracy but also to persons of culture and artistic competence; and a *rhapsodic* period of decadence, in which 'tradition limits itself almost exclusively to the repetition of previous creations,' and 'the diffusion of any type of poetry is limited more and more to the least enlightened classes' (p. 25).

It is not possible to enter into a discussion of these propositions, to which the above résumé has done much less than justice, because they rest upon so large a store of unpublished material and observations of the first importance. One can only endeavour to bring these matters to the notice of those specialists whose territory may be invaded by the author's results, and notably to those whose interests lie in 'popular' or 'traditional' poetry, wherever it be found. The only possible interim judgment is that of Professor Ker: 'Those explorations...are part of the Humanities.'

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

Portuguese Literature. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. 8vo. 375 pp.

Literary history is the most difficult sort of narrative to make interesting throughout for those who know the subject, and for those who are beginning to want to know. Unlike ordinary civil or natural history, it is perpetually allusive, giving opinions on matters that are not before the reader, except as names and a few quotations. Mr Bell has done wonders: he assumes a certain amount of acquaintance with the Portuguese language and history, but is careful not to impose on his readers too many particulars for them to follow; he keeps the balance very skilfully between the general history of successive fashions, and the guiding notes which encourage and help enquirers to find their way for themselves, in the library of Portuguese authors.

Fernam Lopez the chronicler and Gil Vicente the poet are known to be special favourites of Mr Bell, and their place in this history is well filled, and none the worse because we are left with a wish for more, and turn to the *Hispanic Notes and Monographs* for further information[1]. Mr Bell's selection of lyrics from Gil Vicente and his edition of four plays are well known to attentive readers of this Review. Might he not do as much for Fernam Lopez? Of course it may be said that good story-tellers, like Herodotus, Joinville, Froissart and Fernam Lopez, are best left to themselves to make their own way; still much may be gained in extracts and illustrations: we should have been glad to have a few episodes translated, and also a little more about the personages of the story. How many candidates in modern history schools can 'give an account' of the Constable of Portugal, Nun' Alvarez Pereira? He is not included yet in any publisher's 'Heroes of the Nations,' and not every reader of romance knows what the courage and common sense of Nun' Alvarez owed to the Quest of the Holy Grail. The anonymous *Coronica do condestabre de purtugal* (we are glad to know) is regarded by Mr Bell as an early work of Fernam Lopez. It saves much trouble to believe this, and Mr Bell has two eminent Portuguese historians to support the opinion. Might he not be persuaded to give a fuller description of the anonymous Chronicle, a remarkable and original story?

Gil Vicente takes a larger place than Camoens in Mr Bell's history, but none too much. Camoens, with all his genius, is less of a miracle than Gil Vicente; he had the Italian poets, he had Boscán and Garcilaso to show him the way: Gil Vicente, as Mr Bell remarks, is not much better off than an English poet of the fifteenth century. What Gil Vicente did with popular forms of verse, before the Italian-Castilian influences were dominant, is one of the most cheerful things in the history of poetry, and Mr Bell's pages in this chapter, admirable at the first reading, will be found to grow in value the more they are tested and compared with the poet's work.

'*Os Lusiadas* rather than an epic is a great lyrical hymn in praise of Portugal.' No understanding reader will cavil at this summary; but

[1] Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Fernam Lopez*; *Gil Vicente*, Oxford, Univ. Press, 1921.

many will wish that Mr Bell had given more space to his survey of the noble heroic poem and the peculiar talent of Camoens in historical narrative, not to speak of his curious skill in 'machines,' his adventures with the Olympian powers. The pagan mythology of the *Lusiads* is historically of considerable importance; the problems it suggests are full of meaning for Tasso, Milton, Dryden and Voltaire; not meaningless for the present age, if it is at all concerned with the mind of its ancestors.

Mr Bell's history will be often consulted; the Bibliography is published separately and is beyond the range of the present reviewer; who in conclusion turns back with fresh interest to read again Mr Bell's first chapter: '1185–1325, § 1 *The Cossantes*'—a description which no student of popular poetry in any language should leave unread, a guide to the rich store of early lyrical ballads and refrains, in which kind Portugal has more to show than the mediæval lyric of France and Germany.

W. P. Ker.

London.

Neue Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte Wolframs von Eschenbach. Von Albert Schreiber. (*Deutsche Forschungen*, vii.) Frankfurt am Main: Moritz Diesterweg. 1922. 233 pp. 8vo.

As a contribution to the biographical study of Wolfram von Eschenbach, this book deserves to be read with feelings of genuine gratitude for the wealth of information here brought to light. The investigations, in so far as they are concerned with historical data, are admirable in their thoroughness and sureness of aim, and the exposition is clear and vigorous. While, however, the ability shown in the biographical chapters is unquestionably of a high order, the limitations of the author's methods are plainly evident as soon as, forsaking the firm ground of historical research on which he has proved himself an expert, he addresses himself to the more difficult and delicate task of following out the successive stages in the evolution of Wolfram's poetic work. The latter part of the book is almost entirely occupied with an elaborate and, in the main, fruitless endeavour to explain things that are undiscoverable by the light of prose and reason.

The strength of the book lies thus in the care and efficiency with which the historical structure has been built up. Much, of course, remains open to question, for instance, the hypotheses in Chapter v ('Wolframs Ritterschlag durch den Grafen von Henneberg') and Chapter xi ('Wolframs Minnedienst'). But at this there is no need to cavil. For the author does not profess to deal only with undisputed verities; indeed, the absence of any contemporary reference to Wolfram's circumstances rather shuts out the possibility of adding to the limited number of facts that can be admitted as certain. Obviously, the first and most imperative task of the biographer is not to search bootlessly for new facts, but to find a stronger meaning in the old by bringing these into intimate relation with the social complex to which they belonged, investing them with greater actuality and force than heretofore. The

biographer must, of necessity, 'by indirections find directions out'; he must begin at the circumference and work inwards towards the centre. This Schreiber has done; and the results are nowhere lacking in substance and positive value, even where they are most speculative. Very interesting and suggestive is the train of causation, which, with 'mîn herre der grâf von Wertheim' as connecting link between Wolfram and Rupert von Durne, leads ultimately on the road to Provence, and not only gives cogency to arguments in favour of the authenticity of Kiot, but also establishes a link with Guillaume de Baux-Orange, whose heraldic device is found repeated in the arms of the Markgraf Willehalm, and to whose personal influence Schreiber attaches considerable weight. Interesting, too, are the studies of local colour in connection with Schastelmarveil (pp. 30–35), Sigune's cell (pp. 54–56), Bearosche (pp. 65–67); and the interpretations of *Parz.* 230, 12–13: 'so grôziu fiur sît noch ê sach man hie ze Wildenberc,' and *Parz.* 227, 9–15, 'durch schimpf er nicht zetretet was...alsô der anger ze Abenberc' may be regarded as final. Ch. VIII ('Das Steirische Rätsel') is one of the most immediately fruitful in the whole book, and perhaps forms the most conclusive point in Schreiber's investigations of historical detail.

Broadly speaking, the results of the first nine chapters are grounded upon a substantial basis of well-reasoned evidence; it is impossible to recommend these chapters too highly. It is otherwise with the imposing but fallacious theory advanced under the title 'Des Dichters Werdegang; die Entstehung seiner einzelnen Werke' (pp. 106–197). Here, although the argument is cogent and well-knit, the basis on which it rests is defective.

What adequate foundations are there for the following array of statements: that Wolfram first composed Books III–VI of *Parzival* in accordance with Chrétien's treatment of the subject, and while he had as yet no knowledge of Kiot; that subsequently these four books were re-cast, and the poem carried to its conclusion in close adherence to Kiot's version; that the first two books were added considerably later, after the composition of *Willehalm*; that *Titurel* was next taken in hand but broken off before completion, and that finally Wolfram decided to revise *Parzival* and to insert two new episodes? I am not overlooking the fact that Schreiber supports his theory by numerous well-stated arguments. But his disregard for the more subtle characteristics of Wolfram's art renders most of his criteria inadequate.

No one, realising the breadth and depth of the *Parzival*, is likely to fall into the error of supposing that it was the work of a few months, struck out at a single heat. All the same, it was *not* 'pieced together,' as Schreiber maintains; the result, whatever the successive stages by which it came into being, is not a 'mosaic,' but a great and complex work of art, the gradual revelation of one long-sustained poetic experience. The presence of inconsistencies or of unnecessary repetitions, due easily, in the first instance, to the impulses of an imagination too richly endowed, do not indicate a revision of the text in which they occur, but rather the reverse. No poet of Wolfram's calibre is wont to

insert additional passages haphazard without re-experiencing the situation to which each belongs. Further, supposing that there may have been an earlier version embedded in Books III–VI, how and by what tokens are we to recognise this substratum? It is easy to search for and discover flaws, but traces of prentice work are conspicuously absent; in no single book can one point to immaturities of technique, such as occur freely in Hartman's *Erec*. So far as the manner of *Parzival* changes, it changes gradually and towards the end, in anticipation of the more luxuriant style by which *Willehalm* is dominated.

In placing the composition of the Gahmuret section of the epic after that of *Willehalm*, Schreiber seems to have lost sight of certain large differences of style, in the presence of which those isolated points of resemblance whereon so much stress is laid, lose their value. The style of *Willehalm* is, on the whole, more discursive, more turgid and rhetorical, richer in rhyme and rhyme-engendered metaphor, than that of *Parzival*, and the difference is nowhere greater than between the two extreme points, between the first two books of *Parzival* and the last two books of *Willehalm*. The style of *Gahmuret*—as we may conveniently call it—is terse and pregnant, there is no great wealth of allusion and metaphor, the rhymes are mainly traditional, the speeches are clear-cut and vividly dramatic, the concentrated vigour of the action reminds one of a stream flowing rapidly between high banks. In the last two books of *Willehalm* one is reminded rather of a wide-sweeping river in full flood. Long descriptions, long reflective passages, explanations, speeches in which the dramatic element is sacrificed to the need for a more expansive rhetoric, swell the current of the action; and this later tendency is shown also in details of style and metre—in the frequent *enjambement*, the length and loose build of several of the sentences, the greater laxity of the rhythm, the eccentricities of rhyme and metaphor. There is, moreover, a stronger development here of the lyrical element, and this suggests a transition to the style of *Titurel* rather than a return to that of *Parzival*.

Not only does *Willehalm* differ from *Parzival* in style and technique, but it also represents another and different kind of poetic experience. *Parzival* is a romance of adventure and chivalry, *Willehalm* is an epic of relentless warfare, expressing a sterner realism than is to be found elsewhere in Middle High German literature. It is difficult, well nigh impossible, to imagine a transition from the profound sense of waste and desolation made manifest in the concluding books of *Willehalm* to the unspoiled battle-ecstasy which rings out with so unmistakable a note of triumph in the story of Gahmuret the Angevin.

Lest my judgments appear too summary, I would plead that exigencies of space hinder me from enlarging on points with which it is my intention to deal more fully elsewhere, in a study of the Gahmuret-theme.

M. F. Richey.

Englefield Green.

Die Räuber. Ein Trauerspiel von FRIEDRICH SCHILLER. Edited by L. A. WILLOUGHBY. London: H. Milford. 1922. 8vo. x + 245 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*

'It is not a pleasant story, but the film is intensely interesting.' Thus was a new 'cinema drama' recently described in *The Times.* Ludwig Tieck in 1794, a dozen years after the appearance of Schiller's tragedy *Die Räuber*, used somewhat similar language of that play. 'Es giebt eine Menge Situationen, die gar nicht anders als tragisch werden können, entweder durch das Einzige, das in ihnen liegt, oder durch die Umstände, die sie begleiten; es giebt hundert Lustspiele, in denen ein ungerathener, ausschweifender Sohn erscheint, der seinem Vater Kummer macht, sich aber endlich mit ihm versöhnt—diese Situation ist so gewöhnlich, dass sich hier gar keine tragische Nothwendigkeit findet....Man lasse aber den angenommenen ungerathenen Sohn sich an die Spitze einer Räuberbande stellen, zum Banditen und Mörder werden, so macht hier das Ausserordentliche, das Einzige die Situation tragisch' (*Das Buch über Shakespeare*, ed. Lüdeke, p. 356). If a play has an interesting 'situation' only a dullard can make it a complete failure. It is clear from Dr Willoughby's pages that *Die Räuber* has rarely seemed dull to any but dull critics. It is true that Matthew Arnold found it 'at once violent and tiresome,' but this verdict was outweighed by those of Carlyle, De Quincey and Thackeray. The real objection felt by the good Victorians was probably more often at bottom a moral one. Dr Willoughby does perhaps a little less than justice to 'the later English (and American) scholarly criticism,' but it is certainly true that Professor Robertson's treatment of the subject lifted the discussion in England up to a plane scarcely reached before, except by Carlyle, and enriched it with a range of knowledge which was not accessible before the present century. It was natural that after this rehabilitation should come at last an English edition, but it is proof of courage as well as good judgment that the head of the German Department in the University of Sheffield should have produced so soon after the war so ambitious an edition as the present. The Austrian printers have done their work well and the book is issued under the aegis of Mr Milford at a price which in these days is by no means high. The whole edition augurs well for the future of German studies in this country.

The text is that of the 'Trauerspiel' printed at Mannheim in 1782, as reproduced by Goedeke, but collated with the copy of the original preserved in the British Museum and emended in a very few places. Numerous readings from the 'Schauspiel' and the Mannheim Acting Copy are incorporated in the Notes, which, at least for University purposes, would be much easier to utilise if they were printed as footnotes. The text of the Trauerspiel has been chosen largely on the principle of 'reverentia pueris debita,' but the Introduction is chiefly meant for advanced students and the Notes hardly give the reader of school age all the aid required. The whole in fact is a compromise forced upon the editor by the necessity of appealing to as many types of buyer as possible in a country where German literature is studied by but few.

The Introduction occupies no less than a hundred pages and is exactly as long as the Text, while the Notes only take up forty-five. The Introduction contains a great deal of valuable history, some of which is, however, more fitted for the pages of a learned periodical than for the marketplace and the school. On the other hand the editor has deliberately omitted 'the usual critical appreciation and study of the characters.' He implies that there was little left to say on these points, and this is at least refreshingly frank. Instead he offers us 'the results of original research' regarding 'the position of the play in European letters and... its bearing to contemporary life and thought.' His claim is not an idle one; for myself I gladly own to having met in these pages much that was fresh to me and most readers will have the same pleasure. But let us hope that examinees will not be expected to retain in their memories any but the leading facts in the last two sections. (These should be taken, however, to include the delightful title of the Tory parody, *The Benevolent Cutthroat by Klotzboggenhagen.*) The remarks which follow are critical and supplementary, rather than laudatory, merely because this review must be kept within definite limits; they imply no general censure whatever.

Haug's 'incredible notice,' cited at page 5 is not from the *Schwäbisches Magazin*, which did not exist till 1774; it occurs, as is clear from Minor's account, in Haug's 'Programmschrift' of 1762. This slight inaccuracy is rather typical of Willoughby's tendency to be less interested in the antecedents than in the influence of Schiller's drama. Similarly he does not enquire whether the passages from Shakespeare quoted by Schiller in his early days 'in the original' were, as in the case of Goethe at Leipzig (cf. the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, vol. LV), all to be found in Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare*, nor whether Schiller's reading of Young included the tragedies of that author and especially *The Brothers*, with the very similar situation, derived from Livy and Plutarch. The question has not, it seems, been cleared up, but it is unlikely on various grounds that Schiller had not seen either J. H. Schlegel's version of 1764 or the English original, which was re-issued in 1778. It was in this or the previous year that Schiller, Willoughby reminds us, had been awarded the 'top note "very good" for English.' (At times Willoughby is not very happy in his own English, but in some cases this is probably due to the difficulty of correcting proofs with the printer in Austria.)

Twenty pages are devoted to the 'Genesis' of the play and the 'Sources and Literary Relations.' These sections are up-to-date, but not in all respects adequate. They do not put before us Schubart's brief tale *Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens*, which an editor can hardly expect his readers to look for elsewhere, nor the 'Vorrede' of Easter 1781 nor even the 'Ansprache an das Publikum' from the Mannheim Theater-Zettel, which throw light on the author's conception of his work. In dealing with Plutarch Willoughby seems to have missed an important article by Karl Fries in Ilberg's *Neue Jahrbücher*, etc. 1898 (I). (In the note to p. 116, 23 there are two slips: 'II' should be 'XI' and 'mallam' 'mallem,' and there seems to be no reason for citing Plutarch in Latin.

Further, the origin of *Aut Caesar, aut nihil* is given by Büchmann, and if Willoughby rejects the ascription to Cesare Borgia and Caligula, he should state his grounds.) The remarks on Rousseau are judicious, but they would gain by including a reference to Texte, who makes so clear the debt of Rousseau, Diderot and Mercier to Lillo's play *The London Merchant*, which was thus itself a forerunner of *Die Räuber*.

The account of the 'robber motif' is excellent as far as it goes. But the element that may come from Josephus requires fuller treatment, and one would especially welcome further details concerning the exploits of the contemporary bandits, Hiesel and Hannikel. Young students rarely realise how much there is of 'actuality' in this drama of the highways and hedges. Our editor himself knows the facts, but does not stop to illustrate them. Spiegelberg's recommendation of the 'Spitzbubenklima' of Graubünden, mentioned at page 18, would seem much more to the point if the reader had before him the title of G. J. Schäffer's *Zigeunerliste* of 1787 with its reference to the robber bands 'in Schwaben, auch in Böhmen' and the 'zum Theil mit grossen Kosten zu Chur in Graubündten abgeholten Zigeuner- und Mörderbande.' In lieu of these details, which Willoughby perhaps considered as *vieux jeu*, we have in the sections on 'Imitations and Translations' and on the 'Reception and Criticism of *Die Räuber*' a painstaking and on the whole interesting contribution, to an unusual degree original, to the comparative history of literature. From these sections the present edition mainly derives its distinctive character; they are valuable, but they have also involved the sacrifice of other subjects of at least equal worth. And some of the pages are hardly more than bibliographical lists.

The Notes are scholarly and free from padding, strong on the philological side and in parallel passages from Shakespeare and the Bible. In the note on *picht* (ii, 16) on page 223 the infinitive form should be *pichen*, not *pechen*. In the second line of note 2 on page 72 read 1916 for 1915. I omit some further points of minor interest; my general impression is that Dr Willoughby's pioneer edition of Schiller's great 'Jugenddrama' will be indispensable for many years to come.

OXFORD. MARSHALL MONTGOMERY.

A Grammar of the German Language. By GEORGE O. CURME. Revised and enlarged Edition. New York: Macmillan Co. 1922. 8vo. xii + 623 pp.

Since its appearance in 1905 (see *Modern Language Review*, Vol. III, pp. 187 ff.) Professor Curme's *German Grammar* has established itself as an indispensable handbook for all English-speaking students of the language. Reprinted in 1911, 1913, 1915 and 1917, it now appears in a revised and enlarged form which makes it doubly welcome. The number of pages of the new edition gives no indication of the extent to which it has been enlarged, as the new pages contain something like a third more matter than the old. More than this, 'the views presented in the original edition have been greatly modified, for seventeen years

of further intensive study under the beneficent influence of maturer years and a wider range of observation have changed the author and his work considerably, at least he feels the new issue as quite a different book. It is a record of striking inner change and development.'

Professor Curme tells us that he 'has had but one aim before him, namely to present the facts of the language and not to collect facts for the purpose of trying to establish favorite grammatical theories.' Illustrative examples, drawn from the most varied sources with impartiality, may be scientifically invaluable; but they justify the criticism that the issue between 'good' and 'bad' usage is thereby apt to be obscured, and the practical value of the work impaired. A book in German on English grammar, which indiscriminately took its material from accredited men of letters, ephemeral 'best-sellers,' and the daily press, would not be the most helpful guide to Germans, anxious to acquire good English. In fact, the distasteful colloquial slovenliness with which Germans—and for that part other foreigners—often use English, in the belief that they are thereby making themselves more English, should be a warning to us. I cannot help thinking that Professor Curme's work would have been much enhanced in value, had he allowed himself to take up a stronger attitude to the 'good' and the 'bad.' I should like to have seen him more definitely on the side of the angels in the feud that has been waged against 'Gelehrtendeutsch' and the 'papiernen Stil,' a feud that has made German so much more delicate and expressive a tongue than it was even a generation ago.

Professor Curme accepts North German usage as his norm; and his criticism of Alemannic and Bavarian colouring is influenced by the North German attitude to the language south of the Main. I doubt whether this is justified; for, after all, High German is High German, and not North German. Like all artificially imposed languages—like the 'exemplary' English of Inverness—the High German of the Low German north is a matter of rules, not arrived at organically, but acquired through generations. This concerns vital matters, such, for instance, as the use of the past tenses, where, it seems to me, Professor Curme shows inadequate appreciation for the southern 'Sprachgefühl.'

In his new Preface, Professor Curme tells us that 'he is now inclined to recommend the stage pronunciation rather than choose North German or the choice pronunciation of any one section, as the feeling is slowly gaining ground that the standard of the stage represents the best German of our time.' The 'feeling' may be gaining ground; I cannot say; but the stage pronunciation of to-day is certainly a less definite and homogeneous thing than it was a generation ago. And does one not hear it whispered in Germany that the best German on the contemporary stage is not spoken by a German at all, but by an Italian—Alexander Moissi? This is some consolation for the foreigner! These remarks are not, however, meant in the spirit of cavilling against the good things Professor Curme has given us in this invaluable book, which should be in the library of every teacher and student of German.

LONDON. J. G. ROBERTSON.

MINOR NOTICES.

It is difficult to imagine an implement more likely to further the avowed objects of the English Association than *The Year's Work in English Studies*, 1920–21, edited by Sir Sidney Lee and Dr F. S. Boas (London: H. Milford. 192 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*). English students are gradually forging the machinery on which rest the hopes of the development of their faculty. The Modern Humanities Research Association issues annually a Bibliography of English Language and Literature, a complete list of all publications touching the subject, which the professed scholar now finds indispensable. But the task of the editors of and the contributors to *The Year's Work* is more difficult than are compilation and classification. They do not claim to notice every book or article which may concern English studies. They select the more important items; but they give a description of their contents and attempt an assessment of their value. No one but the specialist wants more. And even the specialist will find in the volume not only the specific help in the separate sections which are in the hands of those most competent to pronounce in that particular field, but he will also get that corrective, so necessary in the specialist, of seeing his own little corner as a corner in an infinitely larger edifice. And if there still be required any justification of English studies as a liberal education, the whole scheme of this volume will provide it.

The excellence of the book suggests a comment which is the more urgent when one notes the bulk to which the volume has grown compared with last year's. There must be but a limited amount of money which can be spent on bibliographies. Yet we want both the type provided by the English Association and that by the Modern Humanities Research Association. Above all, we wish to see the critical element retained. But in order to retain it, must we not explore every avenue for economising our resources? Is not some arrangement possible, financial and otherwise, by which the bibliographical labour and expenditure of the two associations may be pooled? Could not *The Year's Work* retain its present plan, and add at the end of each section lists such as are given independently by the Research Association? If that were done, *The Year's Work* could relegate to these lists some of the items which it has now to incorporate in the text, at the expense, not of a descriptive phrase, but more generally of at least a few sentences. Precisely because we realise the great value of bibliographies, we wish to waste not a penny in overlapping costs.

H. B. C.

Professor P. F. Baum's book, or thick tract, *The Principles of English Versification* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*) contains merely his notes for the use of his class.

The first chapter is the most interesting, being more general, and leading up to a discussion of the principles of ordinary and of 'free' verse. The remainder, especially as the notes go on, contains nothing not to be found in any common manual. T. S. O.

An attractive volume of Italian lyrics, selected and translated by Madame Lorna de' Lucchi (*An Anthology of Italian Poets, Thirteenth to Nineteenth Century*. London: Heinemann. 1922. 10*s.* 6*d.*), is introduced by an interesting preface from the pen of Professor Cesare Foligno. The poets represented range from St Francis of Assisi to Carducci, and many of the pieces chosen—especially among the more modern—have not previously been translated into English. Madame de' Lucchi's renderings are not always impeccable either in rhythm or in accuracy; for instance, she has obviously misunderstood several passages in the 'contrasto' of Cielo Dalcamo and missed the significance of the opening stanzas of Manzoni's *Marzo 1821*. But, on the other hand, some of her versions are admirable; we would instance in particular the *O gemma leziosa* of Ciacco dell' Anguillaia, Ugo Foscolo's *Alla amica risanata*, and the hymn of Goffredo Mameli. The rendering of Carducci's peculiarly difficult *Cadore* is at least a highly creditable *tour de force*. The notes stand in need of considerable revision. E. G. G.

After the already classical contributions to the study of Dante in this country, represented by Dr Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*, and the excellent bibliography published by the British Academy on the occasion of the recent celebration of the sexcentenary of the death of the poet, one might wonder whether a new volume could throw more light on the subject. Signora Alice Galimberti, while recognizing the great debt we owe to Dr Toynbee, states in the preface to her *Dante nel pensiero inglese* (Florence: Le Monnier. 1922. L. 16) that her intention has been in some ways different from his. Dr Toynbee's work is chiefly a chronological exposition, while Signora Galimberti aims at giving Italian readers a more synthetical and critical study, many of the authors and books quoted by Dr Toynbee being hardly of interest to Italians. She attempts therefore to give them 'un "Dante nel pensiero inglese" veduto di scorcio, lumeggiato nelle figure principali che già in se suscitano la curiosità e l' affetto del lettore italiano.' Thus, instead of giving her countrymen a translation of Dr Toynbee's vast bibliographical work, she limits herself to considering summarily Dante's influence on Chaucer and his successors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on Spenser, and possibly on Shakespeare, on Milton and on Pope. She devotes over two-thirds of her volume to the writers and artists of the last century who reflected the revival of interest in Dante, in Italy and in this country subsequent to the publication of Cary's translation of the *Commedia*, after Foscolo's revolutionary historical criticism. This part of the book may, we think, prove most interesting to Italians, as it gives a clear exposition of the English writers—Coleridge, Byron,

Shelley, Carlyle, Roscoe, Hazlitt, D. G. Rossetti, the two Brownings, Tennyson, Swinburne—who have expressed admiration for Dante in their works. A. C.

In completing their *Historia de la Literatura española* (Madrid: Rev. de Archivos. 1921–22. 2 vols. 17 pes.), Señores Hurtado and González Palencia have given us something more than the text-book which its form and general design suggest that it was intended to be. We have noted some few errors, notwithstanding which, however, the book reaches a higher standard of accuracy than some of its less worthy predecessors. Valuable features are the summaries, historical notes and bibliographies—the last well selected and up-to-date, and, in spite of occasional *lacunæ*, very well suited to class use. A larger proportion of space might have been given to the nineteenth century, especially had the authors' plan allowed them to lay more stress on movements and less on men. But these are minor criticisms of a text-book which advanced students as well as beginners will be glad to have on their shelves. Its greatest merit is that it bears the hall-mark of the practical teacher, and without entirely neglecting the claims of scholarship goes straight to the needs of the class-room. E. A. P.

Miss Elizabeth F. Johnson's dissertation, *Weckherlin's Eclogues of the Seasons* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University; Tübingen: H. Laupp. 1922. 67 pp.), re-examines in detail the four eclogues of that contemporary of Opitz whom Herder tried ineffectually to rescue from oblivion. A previous dissertation, *Englands Einfluss auf G. R. Weckherlin*, by W. Bohm (Göttingen, 1893), had claimed to find a strong influence of English poetry, in particular of Spenser, which would have given Weckherlin a new importance in German literary history as a forerunner of the great movement of the eighteenth century. Weckherlin actually passed a great part of his life in England, and his wide culture brought him into contact with the contemporary English pastoral movement; such influence might thus have been possible. Miss Johnson's aim is to test the authenticity of the claim, and after marshalling evidence from these four important eclogues, she can but confirm the conclusion arrived at by Professor L. E. Kastner in an article in this Review in 1915 (Vol. x, pp. 366 ff.): 'The fact is that Weckherlin, in spite of his prolonged sojourn in England, owes comparatively little to English literature. He was essentially a follower of the Pléiade, just as Opitz was.' Weckherlin was no exception to his age in regarding France as the one country worthy of imitation, and though from Spenser he might have learnt what real poetry could be, Miss Johnson shows him pursuing his laboured imitation of French rhythms, incapable of learning lightness and variety even from the German folk poetry from which in some measure he derives his themes. I. M. M.

The somewhat general title of Friedrich Bruns' study, *Modern Thought in the German Lyric Poets from Goethe to Dehmel* (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, XIII. Madison, 1921.

1 dol.), enables him to group certain of the chief German lyric poets of the nineteenth century under the headings of Romanticism, Weltschmerz, Realism, Pessimism, the New Optimism. Such poets are passed by as, in the author's opinion, have not a philosophy of life (e.g. Brentano, Mörike), while Heine proves stubbornly refractory to unqualified inclusion under Weltschmerz. The method pursued is to give a short sketch of the 'Weltanschauung' of each poet, and to show the gradual evolution from the optimism of eighteenth-century enlightenment, through the pessimism of Schopenhauer to the conquest of suffering by the new will to live of Nietzsche. The author does not break new ground. His book has the merit of presenting the poets he has selected against the spiritual background of their time. I. M. M.

The three most recent volumes (XVIII–XX) of the series of *Scandinavian Classics* (New York: American Scandinavian Foundation; London: H. Milford; each 11*s.*) are Gustaf af Geijerstam's *Book about Little Brother*, translated by Edwin Bjorkman; *A Book of Danish Verse*, translated by S. Foster Damon and Robert Hillyer; and *Selected Short Stories* by Per Hallström, translated by F. J. Fielden. The two prose works are provided by their translators with adequate introductions, which rather uncritically reproduce the Scandinavian standpoint, and the translations read smoothly. Mr Bjorkman is a practised translator from the Swedish; but he does not seem to be as successful here as in some of his other work; one is occasionally pulled up by un-English words and phrases. Mr Fielden's translation is distinctly better English; but his choice of Hallström's stories inclines too much to those on non-Swedish themes. The unique thing for us about Hallström is his wonderful, almost lyric power, as in the first story of *Briljantsmycket*, of conjuring up the Swedish landscape. Mr Fielden has given us too little of this. It is a pity that books like these are sold at the prohibitive price of two dollars; they would surely be more remunerative at a third or even a quarter of the price, which would also further more effectually the object which the American Scandinavian Foundation has at heart. The *Book of Danish Verse* is recommended on the wrapper as having reproduced the original 'with miraculous success.' Only a critic who has no ear for the peculiar magic of the northern lyric could make such a statement. Many of the renderings in this volume—notably those of so exquisite a lyric genius as Jacobsen—are frankly intolerable. The translators themselves have had evidently too little lyric feeling to attempt a task like this. J. G. R.

With reference to the statement in the review of Professor F. W. Schoell's edition of *Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor)* (p. 214), that the editor reproduces 'not only the orthography, but the errors of the scribe, even to the prefacing of the first act with the words "[Actus] 2. Scena 2,"' Dr W. W. Greg writes that the MS. has '[Actus] 1 Scena 1,' and that here and in some other places Professor Schoell seems to show a want of familiarity with Elizabethan handwriting.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March–May, 1923.

GENERAL.

Abel, O., Die vorweltlichen Tiere im Märchen, Sage und Aberglauben. (Wissen und Wirken, viii.) Karlsruhe, G. Braun. 1 M.

Baugh, A. C., N. Foerster, H. C. Lancaster, J. P. W. Crawford, D. B. Shumway, American Bibliography for 1922 (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

Borinski, K., Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie, II, 1. Lief. (Das Erbe der Alten, i, 10.) Leipzig, Dieterich. 2 M.

Fraser, J., History and Etymology. Inaugural Lecture. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Grierson, H. J. C., Classical and Romantic. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Griffin, N. E., The Definition of Romance (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

Haust, J., Etymologies wallones et françaises. Paris, H. Champion. 25 fr.

Oettli, P., Sprachliche Entdeckerfahrten. Wegleitung zu denkendem Erfassen der Sprache. Frauenfeld, Huber und Co. 5 M.

Perrett, W., Some Questions of Phonetic Theory. VI. The Mechanism of the Cochlea. Cambridge, W. Heffer. 2*s.*

Ratcliff, A. J. J., A History of Dreams. A Brief Account of the Evolution of Dream Theories with a Chapter on Dreams in Literature. London, Grant Richards. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Richardson, W. L. and J. M. Owen, Literatures of the World. London, Ginn and Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Schnetz, J., Beiträge zur Kenntnis der nichtgermanischen Fluss- und Ortsnamen Süddeutschlands. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 50 pf.

Suhtschek, F. von, Literatur und Literaturwissenschaft. Abriss eines kritischen Systems. Graz, Leuschner und Lubensky. 4 M.

Thomson, W., The Rhythm of Speech. Glasgow, Maclehose and Jackson. 105*s.*

Thorndike, L., A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first thirteen centuries of our era. 2 vols. New York, Macmillan Co.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Gartner, T., Ladinische Wörter aus den Dolomitentälern. (Zeitschrift für rom. Phil., Beihefte, lxxiii.) Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

Millardet, G., Linguistique et Dialectologie romanes. Problèmes et Méthodes. Paris, H. Champion. 30 fr.

Morf, H., Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen. Vorträge und Skizzen. III. Berlin, Vereinig. wissensch. Verleger. 5 M. 50.

Thompson, J. W., The Origin of the Word 'Goliardi' (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

Mediaeval Latin.

Eginhard, Vie de Charlemagne. Éd. et traduite par L. Halphen. (Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, i.) Paris, H. Champion. 7 fr. 50.

Sedulius, The Easter Song, being the First Epic of Christendom. With Introduction, Verse-translation and Appendices by G. Sigerson. Dublin, Talbot Press ; London, Fisher Unwin. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Italian.

Austin, H. D., Dante Notes, III (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 3, March).

Baccolini, A., Vita ed opere di L. Savioli, storico e letterato bolognese del sec. XVIII. Bologna, Cappelli. L. 5.

Bandini, C., Contributi leopardiani. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 10.

Boccaccio, G., Novelle scelte dal Decamerone. Con un saggio delle narrazioni e delle ballate. A cura di G. Rua. Turin, Paravia. L. 9.

Borzelli, A., T. Tasso a Napoli nel 1592. Naples, Ceccoli.

Chiappelli, A., Un epigramma di Filippo di ser Brunellesco contro Donatello (*Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, lxxxi, 3).

Dante Alighieri, La Vita Nuova. Ed. by K. McKenzie. London, D. C. Heath. 6*s.*

Dante e il Friuli (1321-1921). A cura di A. Fiammazzo. Udine, G. B. Doretti.

De Salvio, A., Heterodoxy in Dante's Purgatory (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

Donadoni, E., Breve storia della letteratura italiana dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Milan, C. Signorelli. L. 8.

Donati-Petteni, G., D'Annunzio e Wagner. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 8.50.

Foscolo, U., L'orazione inaugurale, a cura di G. Dolci. Lanciano, G. Carabba. L. 4.

Galletti, A., Le poesie di A. Graf (*Riv. d'Italia*, March 15).

Giudetti, G., L'Amicizia, la Religione e la Lingua nelle relazioni e carteggio tra A. Cesari, A. Manzoni e G. Leopardi. Reggio, O. Giudetti. L. 7.

Gozzi, C., Memorie inutili. Introd. e note di D. Bulferetti. I. Turin, Unione Tipografico-Editrice. L. 20.

Guittone d'Arezzo, Le Lettere. A cura di F. Meriano. Bologna, R. Commissione pei testi di lingua. L. 25.

Leopardi, G., Operette morali. Con introduzione e note di D. Bianchi. Palermo, Sandron. L. 11.50.

Malattia della Vallata, G., Villotte friulane moderne, con un studio su Dante in Friuli. Maniago, La Tipografica. L. 12.

Marradi, G., Prose. Edizione postuma a cura e con prefazione di G. Biagi. Florence, Carpigiana e Zipoli. L. 8.

Mazzini, G., Scritti scelti. Prefazione e note di F. Momigliano. Florence, Battistelli. L. 10.

Momigliano, A., Primi studi goldoniani. Florence, Perrella. L. 4.

Ortiz, R., La materia epica di ciclo classico nella lirica italiana delle Origini, III (*Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, lxxxi, 3).

Piccoli, V., Itinerario leopardiano. Milan, Treves. L. 9.

Portal, E., L'Arcadia. Palermo, Sandron. L. 8.50.

Reichenbach, G., Un gentiluomo poeta del Quattrocento : M. M. Boiardo. I. Ferrara, Taddei. L. 6.

Rizzo, T. L., Sulla guida dei 'Trionfi' (*Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, lxxxi, 3).

Rosman, E., Vocabolarietto Veneto Giuliano. A cura della Soc. Fil. Romana. Rome, Maglione e Strini. L. 8.

Russo, L., I narratori. Rome, Fondazione Leonardo. L. 7.

Spaventa Filippi, S., Alfieri. Milan, Ediz. 'Alpes.' L. 6.

Stuparich, G., Scipio Slataper. Florence, 'La Voce.' L. 15.

Toynbee, P., The Bearing of the Cursus on the Text of Dante's 'De Vulgari Eloquentia' (British Academy). London, H. Milford. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Spanish and Portuguese.

Bell, A. F. G., Luis de Camoës. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs; Portug. Series, iv.) Oxford, Univ. Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Bolivar, S. Address to the Venezuelan Congress at Angostura. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Buceta, E. El entusiasmo por España en algunos romanticos ingleses (*Rev. fil. esp.*, x, 1, March).

Cabanyes, M. de, The Poems of. Ed. by E. Allison Peers. (Spanish Texts and Studies.) Manchester, Univ. Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Cervantes Saavedra, M. de, Poesías. La más completa collección hasta el dia. Ordenación y prólogo de E. Martín de la Cámara. Madrid, Rivadeneyra. 6 pes.

Cervantes Saavedra, M. de, Prologues and Epilogue. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Julia. Antonio Pérez. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs, vi.) London, H. Milford. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Leon, Fray Luis de, Poesías proprias y traducciones de autores profanos y sagrados. Madrid, Rivadeneyra. 6 pes.

Millares Carlo, A., Feijóo y Mayáns (*Rev. fil. esp.*, x, 1, March).

Navarro Tomás, T., La metafonía vocálica y otras teorías del señor Colton (*Rev. fil. esp.*, x, 1, March).

Par, Anfós, Sintaxi Catalana segons los escrits en prosa de Bernat Metge (1398). (Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil., Beihefte, lxvi.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 17 M.

Pereda, J. M. de, Obras completas. xvii. Madrid, V. Suárez. 5 pes.

Saralegui y Medina, Escarceos filológicos. Madrid, Hernández. 6 pes.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

Bédier, J. et P. Hazard, Histoire de la Littérature française. Fasc. 1. Paris, Larosse. 2 fr.

Lanson, G., Histoire illustrée de la Littérature française. Fasc. 1. Paris, Hachette. 8 fr.

Nitze, W. A. and E. P. Dargan, A History of French Literature from the Earliest Times to the Great War. London, Harrap. 15*s.*

(*b*) *Old French.*

Boulenger, J., Les Romans de la Table ronde. ii, iii. Paris, Plon. Each 7 fr.

Cohen, G., Le Livre du régisseur pour le Mystère de la Passion (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, May 15).

Eloy d'Amerval, Le Liure de la Deablerie. Ed. by C. F. Ward. (Univ. of Iowa Studies, ii, 2.) Iowa City, Univ. of Iowa. 8 dol.

Kjellman, H., Le troubadour Raimon-Jordan, vicomte de Saint-Antonin. Paris, H. Champion. 15 fr.

Knowlton, E. C., Nature in Old French (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 3, Feb.).

Krappe, A. H., The Origin of the 'Geste Rainouart' (*Neuphil. Mitteil.*, xxiv, 1–4).

Rolandslied, Das. Herausg. von E. Lerch. (Romanische Bücherei, i.) Munich, M. Hueber.

Roman de Troie en prose, Le. Éd. par Constans et Farral. (Classiques français du Moyen Age.) Paris, H. Champion. 6 fr.

Tallgren, O. J., Manuscrit gascon trouvé en Finlande (*Neuphil. Mitteil.*, xxiv, 1–4).

THOMAS OF BRITAIN, The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt. Transl. from Old French and Old Norse by R. S. Loomis. New York, E. P. Dutton.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

ADDAMIANO, N., Quelques sources italiennes de la 'Deffence' de J. du Bellay (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 2, April).

ATKINSON, G., The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700. (Columbia Univ. Studies in Romance Philology and Literature.) New York, Columbia Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 9*s.*

BALZAC, H. DE et Z. CARRAUD, Correspondance inédite (cont.) (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, March–May).

BARNES, H. E., A Study of the Variations between the Original and the Standard Edition of Balzac's 'Les Chouans.' Chicago, Univ. Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. 7*s.*

BATIFFOL, L., Richelieu a-t-il persécuté Corneille? (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, April 1).

CABOS, A., Guy du Faur de Pibrac: un magistrat poète au 16e siècle. Paris. 12 fr.

CHAPONNIÈRE, P., Les premières années d'exil de Saint-Évremond (*Rev. d'hist. litt.*, xxix, 4).

CRANE, R. S., The Diffusion of Voltaire's Writings in England, 1750–1800 (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 3, Feb.).

DELAHAYE, E., Rimbaud. Paris, Messein. 7 fr.

DITTMANN, W., P. Gringoire als Dramatiker. (Roman. Stud., xxi.) Berlin, E. Ebering. 9 M.

ECKHOFF, L., P. Verlaine og Symbolismen. Christiania, Steen. 10 kr.

FAURE, G., J. J. Rousseau à Monquin (*Rev. de France*, May 1).

GAZIER, G., La jeunesse de Ch. Nodier (*Rev. d'hist. litt.*, xxix, 4).

HAGGARD, A. C. P., Victor Hugo: His Work and Love. London, Hutchinson. 16*s.*

HANOTAUX, G., Fustel de Coulanges et le temps présent (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, March 1).

HAVENS, G. R., The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's 'Confessions' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 5, May).

LA BRUYÈRE, J. DE, Les Caractères. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*

LEVI-MALVANO, E., Les éditions toscanes de l'Encyclopédie' (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 2, April).

MARTINO, P., Le naturalisme français, 1870–95. Paris, A. Colin. 5 fr.

MASSIS, H., Jugements: Renan, A. France, M. Barrès. Paris, Plon. 7 fr. 50.

MÉRY, L., 'Atala' et la Bible (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 2, April).

MONGLOND, A., Le rôle littéraire d'un réfugié: Jérémie Bitaubé et la 'prose poétique' (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 2, April).

MONOD, G., La vie et la pensée de Jules Michelet, 1798–1852. 2 vols. Paris, H. Champion. 55 fr.

PALUDAN, H. A., Studier over Corneilles Forhold til de spanske drama (*Edda*, xviii, 4).

POINSOT, M. C., La flamme de Chateaubriand. Paris, Pensée française. 7 fr. 50.

RENAN, E. et HENRIETTE RENAN, Lettres intimes, 1842–45. Paris, Nelson. 4 fr. 50.

SAINÉAN, L., La Langue de Rabelais. II. Paris. Vols. I and II. 60 fr.

SCHAFFER, A., A Chateaubriand Rarity (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

Ségur, N., M. Renan devant l'amour. Paris. 6 fr. 75.

Simon, G., Chez V. Hugo. Les tables tournantes de Jersey. Paris, Conard. 6 fr.

Tilley, A., From Montaigne to Molière, or the Preparation for the Classical Age of French Literature. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Van Tieghem, P., La 'Prière universelle' de Pope et le déisme français au 18e siècle (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 3, April).

Verlaine, P., Poésies complètes. viii. Paris, Messein. 66 fr.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Kroesch, S., Germanic Words for 'deceive.' A Study in Semantics. (Hesperia, xiii.) Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 3 M.

Wood, F. A., Morphological Notes (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

Scandinavian.

Are, Isländerbuch (Íslendingabóc). Herausg. von W. Golther. 2. Aufl. (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, i.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 2 M.

Belfrage, S., Gustavianska dikter i stilhistorisk belysning. Stockholm, Geber. 3 kr.

Böök, F., Essayer och Kritiker, 1921–22. Stockholm, Norstedt. 6 kr. 50.

Danish Verse, A Book of. Transl. by S. F. Damon and R. Hillyer. (Scandinavian Classics, xix.) New York, Amer. Scand. Foundation ; London, H. Milford. 11*s.*

Eddalieder, Die. Klanglich untersucht und herausg. von E. Sievers. (Abh. d. sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxxvii, 3.) Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 3 M. 50.

Hallström, P., Selected Short Stories. Transl. by F. J. Fielden. (Scandinavian Classics, xx.) New York, Amer. Scand. Foundation ; London, H. Milford. 11*s.*

Krappe, A. H., A Romance Source of the Samson Episode in the 'Þiðreks Saga' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 3, March).

Larsen, S., Ebbe Skammelsøns Vise. Med kritisk Kommentar. Copenhagen, Hagerup. 8 kr.

Möhlig, K., Strindbergs Weltanschauung. i. Elberfeld, Bergland-Verlag. 2 M.

Møller, N., Salmesprog og Salmetyper. En psykologisk Undersøgelse af Reformationsaarhundredets danske Menighedssang. Copenhagen, M. P. Madsen. 12 kr. 50.

Neckel, G., Die altnordische Literatur. (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, 782.) Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 M.

Strindberg, A., Mäster Olof. Skådespel i fem akter, tryckt efter första manuskriptet, 1872. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 1 kr. 50.

Topelius, Z., Dagböcker. Utg. af P. Nyberg. iv. 1839–40. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 12 kr. 50.

Woerner, R., H. Ibsen. 2 vols. 3. Aufl. Munich, C. H. Beck. 15 M.

English.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

Abercrombie, L., Principles of English Prosody. i. London, M. Secker. 5*s.*

Hoops, J., Englische Sprachkunde. Gotha, F. A. Perthes. 3900 M.

Horn, W., Giessener Beiträge zur Erforschung der Sprache und Kultur Englands und Nordamerikas. i. Giessen, Engl. Seminar.

McKnight, G. H., English Words and their Background. New York, Appleton. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SCRIPTURE, E. W., The Study of English Speech by New Methods of Investigation (from Proceedings of the British Academy, xi.). London, H. Milford. 3*s.* 6*d.*

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

Beowulf, The Song of. Rendered into English Prose by R. K. Gordon. (King's Treasuries of Literature.) London, Dent. 1*s.* 9*d.*

EMERSON, O. F., Notes on Old English (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 5, May).

FARNHAM, W. The Dayes of the Mone (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

Guy of Warwick. Nach Coplands Druck herausg. von G. Schleich. (Palaestra, 139.) Leipzig, Mayer and Müller. 7 M.

KOCH, J., Chaucers Belesenheit in den römischen Klassikern (*Engl. Studien*, lvii, 1, Feb.).

KUHL, E. P., Chaucer's 'My Maistre Bukton' (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

LILJEGREN, S. B., Four Middle English Versions of the Eleven Thousand Virgins (*Engl. Studien*, lvii, 1, Feb.).

Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi. Ed. by K. S. Block. (Early Engl. Texts Soc., Extra Series, 120.) London, H. Milford. 30*s.*

Pepysian Gospel Harmony, The. Ed. by M. Goates. (Early Engl. Texts Soc., Original Series, 157.) London, H. Milford. 15*s.*

PRESTIFILIPPO TRIGONA, F., Chaucer imitatore del Boccaccio. Catania, Stud. ed. moderno. L. 9.

(*c*) *Modern English.*

ALBRIGHT, E. M., 'Ad Imprimendum solum' once more (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 3, March).

ALDERMAN, W. E., The Style of Shaftesbury (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 4, April).

ALLEN, E. S., Chesterfield's Objection to Laughter (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 5, May).

ATKINS, E., The Poet's Poet. Essays on the Character and Mission of the Poet as interpreted in English Verse of the last hundred and fifty Years. Boston, Marshall Jones Co. 2 dol. 50.

BEATTY, A., W. Wordsworth : his Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations. (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit., xvii.) Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin.

BENDZ, E., Joseph Conrad, an Appreciation. Göteborg, N. J. Gumpert. 4 kr.

BOAS, F. S., Shakespeare and the Universities and other Studies in Elizabethan Drama. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 12*s.* 6*d.*

BRIGGS, W. D., On a Document concerning Marlowe (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 2, April).

BUSBY, O. M., Studies in the Development of the Fool in the Elizabethan Drama. London, H. Milford. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CALINA, J., Shakespeare in Poland. (Shakespeare Association.) London, H. Milford. 6*s.*

CHANCELLOR, E. B., The London of Thackeray. London, Grant Richards. 15*s.*

CHETTLE, H., Kind-Hartes' Dreame, 1592. W. Kemp, Nine Daies Wonder, 1600. (Bodley Head Quartos.) Ed. by G. B. Harrison. London, J. Lane. 3*s.*

CHINARD, G., Jefferson and Ossian (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 4, April).

COOPER, T. P., With Dickens in Yorkshire. With an introduction by B. W. Matz. London, B. Johnson. 2*s.*

CUNLIFFE, J. W., English Literature during the Last Half Century. New ed. New York, Macmillan Co. 2 dol. 50.

EDDY, W. A., Gulliver's Travels. A Critical Study. Princeton, Univ. Press; London, H. Milford.

EMERSON, O. F., 'Monk' Lewis and the 'Tales of Terror' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 3, March).

EMERSON, O. F., Shakespeare's Sonneteering (*Stud. Phil*, xx, 2, April).

FAUSSET, H. I'A. Tennyson. A Modern Portrait. London, Selwyn and Blount. 8*s.* 6*d.*

FOERSTER, N., Nature in American Literature. New York, Macmillan Co.

FOLLETT, W., The Modern Novel. New York, A. Knopf.

GAY, J., The Beggar's Opera and Polly. Editions of 1728 and 1729. London, Chapman and Dodd. 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOLLANCZ, SIR I., In Commemoration of the First Folio Tercentenary. London, H. Milford. 5*s.*

GREEN, F. C., R. Fergussons Anteil an der Literatur Schottlands. Heidelberg, C. Winter.

GREENE, R., The Thirde and Last Part of Conny-catching. Ed. by G. B. Harrison. London, J. Lane. 3*s.*

GREENLAW, E., Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 2, April).

GRIFFITH, R. H., Alexander Pope. A Bibliography. I. Pope's own Writings, 1709–34. Austin, Univ. of Texas.

HEARN, LAFCADIO, Pre-Raphaelite and other Poets. Lectures. London, Heinemann. 8*s.* 6*d.*

HEMMINGE, W., Elegy on Randolph's Finger. Ed. by G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 3*s.* 6*d.*

JAMESON, R. D., Notes on Dryden's Lost Prosodia (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 3, Feb.).

JONSON, B., Every Man in his Humour. Ed. by R. S. Knox. London, Methuen. 2*s.*

KEMPLING, W. B., The Shakespeare Memorials of London. London, Werner Laurie. 5*s.*

KRUTCH, J. W., Governmental Attempts to Regulate the Stage after the Jeremy Collier Controversy (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

LEE, SIR S., The Prefatory Pages of the First Folio. London, Shakespeare League. 6*d.*

LOWENHAUPT, W. H., The Writing of Milton's 'Eikonoklastes' (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

LUBBOCK, P., Samuel Pepys. Reprint. London, Nelson. 2*s.*

MCCALLUM, J. D., Lord Morley's Criticism of English Poetry and Prose. Princeton, Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 4*s.* 6*d.*

MCCUTCHEON, R. P., Addison and the 'Muses Mercury' (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

MCKILLOP, A. O., The Romanticism of William Collins (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

MAIS, S. P. B., Some Modern Authors. London, Grant Richards. 7*s.* 6*d.*

MALONE, K., The Literary History of Hamlet. I. The Early Tradition. (Anglistische Forsch., lix.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 6 M. 80.

MARTIN, M. Y., Spenser and the Greek Pastoral Triad (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 2, April).

MEREDITH, G. and ALICE MEYNELL, The Letters of. 1896–1907. London, Nonesuch Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*

MORE, SIR T., Utopia. Translated into Modern English by G. C. Richards. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 5*s.*

NETHERCOT, A. H., The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 3, Feb.).

NICOLAYSEN, L., Bernard Shaw. Eine philosophische Studie. (Phil. Reihe, lxvii.) Munich, Rösl und Co. 2 M.

NICOLSON, H., Tennyson. Aspects of his Life, Character and Poetry. London, Constable. 12*s.* 6*d.*

PADELFORD, F. M., The Scansion of Wyatt's Early Sonnets (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 2, April).

PECK, W. E., The Biographical Element in the Novels of Mary W. Shelley (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

PIOLI, G., P. B. Shelley. Milan, Corbaccio. L. 15.

POLLARD, A. W., The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text. (Annual Shakespeare Lecture, Brit. Acad.) London, H. Milford. 1*s.*

PONSONBY, A., English Diaries. A Review of English Diaries from the 16th to the 20th Century. London, Methuen. 21*s.*

RHODES, R. C., Shakespeare's First Folio. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 4*s.* 6*d.*

ROLLINS, H. E., Ballads from Add. MS. 38,599 (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 1, March).

ROLLINS, H. E., The Commonwealth Drama: Miscellaneous Notes (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 1, Jan.).

SCHIRMER, W. F., Der englische Roman der neuesten Zeit. (Kultur und Sprache, i.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 2 M.

SHAKESPEARE, W., Much Ado About Nothing. Ed. by Sir A. Quiller Couch and J. Dover Wilson. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6*s.*

SIM, F. M., Robert Browning: the Poet and the Man, 1833–46. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SISSON, C. J., Le Goût public et le Théâtre élisabéthien jusqu'à la mort de Shakespeare. Dijon, Darantière.

SPENSER, E., The Shepheards Calender. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*

STEWART, G. R., Modern Metrical Technique as illustrated by Ballad Meter (1700–1920). New York.

STREATFIELD, G. S., The Mind of the 'Spectator' under the Editorship of Addison and Steele. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VISIAK, E. H., Milton Agonistes. A Metaphysical Criticism. London, Philpot. 3*s.* 6*d.*

WARD, B. R., The Mystery of 'Mr W. H.' London, Cecil Palmer. 10*s.* 6*d.*

WARD, W. C., John Ruskin's Letters to William Ward, with a short Biography of William Ward. Boston, Mass., Marshall Jones. 2 dol. 50.

German.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

BEHAGHEL, O., Deutsche Syntax, I. (Germanische Bibl., I, 10, 1, A.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 14 M.

GRIMM, J. und W., Deutsches Wörterbuch, XI, 1, 5 (Ton—Tort). Leipzig, S. Hirzel. 2 M.

KLUGE, F., Alte und neue Wortgeschichten, II (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 5, May).

ROSENBAUM, A., Bibliographie der in den Jahren 1914–18 erschienenen Zeitschriftenaufsätze und Bücher zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, VI. (Euphorion, Ergänzungshefte, xii.) Vienna, C. Fromme. 15,000 M.

WILDE, J., Die Pflanzennamen im Sprachschatze der Pfälzer. Neustadt, Pfälz. Volksbildungsverlag. 5 M.

(*b*) *Old and Middle High German.*

Bestrafte Untreue. Eine allegorische mittelhochdeutsche Minnerede. Herausg. von J. Wilks. London, Univ. of London Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Carmina Burana, Die deutschen Lieder der. Herausg. von F. Lüers. (Kleine Texte, 148.) Bonn, Marcus und Weber. 45 pf.

Kienast, W., Altes Hildebrandslied, Thidrekssaga, und Junges Hildebrandslied (*Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, cxliv, 3–4).

Naumann, H., Althochdeutsche Grammatik. 2nd ed. (Sammlung Göschen, 727.) Berlin, Vereinig. wissensch. Verleger. 1 M.

Rohr, F., Parzival und der Heilige Gral. Eine neue Deutung der Symbolik der Graldichtungen. Hildesheim, F. Borgmeyer. 8 M.

Schirokauer, A., Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Reimgrammatik. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 4 M.

(*c*) *Modern German.*

Alker, E., G. Keller und A. Stifter. Eine vergleichende Studie. Vienna, Wila Verlag. 4 M.

Alker, E., Ph. Hafner. Ein altwiener Komödiendichter. Vienna, Wila Verlag. 3 M.

Bab, J., Das Wort F. Hebbels. (Philosophische Reihe, lxx.) Munich, Rösl und Co. 2 M. 20.

Bach, M. G., Wieland's Attitude toward Woman and her Cultural and Social Relations. (Columbia Germanic Studies.) New York, Columbia Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 7*s.*

Bauernfeld, E., Erinnerungen aus Alt-Wien. Herausg. von J. Bindtner. Vienna, E. P. Tal. 8 M.

Bittner, K., Beiträge zur Geschichte des Volksschauspieles vom Doktor Faust. (Prager Deutsche Studien, xxvii.) Reichenberg, F. Kraus. 4 Kč.

Corrodi, H., C. F. Meyer und sein Verhältnis zum Drama. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 3 M.

Daffis, H., Inventar der Grimm-Schränke in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek. (Mitteil. aus der preuss. Staatsbibliothek, v.) Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann. 6 M.

Dörrfuss, A., Die Religion F. Schillers. (Veröffentlichungen des Schwäbischen Schillervereins, x.) Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta. 1500 M.

Francke, K., Die Kulturwerte der deutschen Literatur von der Reformation bis zur Aufklärung. Berlin, Weidmann. 9 M.

Frenzel, H., Goethe unser Führer durch die Zeit der schweren Not. Berlin-Lichterfeld, Deutsche Freiheit. 4 M.

Frey, L., Adolf Frey. Sein Leben und Schaffen. i. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 9 M. 50.

Grillparzer, F., Geheimschriften. Herausg. von A. Sauer. Vienna, Gerlach und Weidling.

Grimmelshausen, H. J. C. von, Courasche. Herausg. von J. H. Scholte. (Neudrucke deut. Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrh., 246–248.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 1 M. 80.

Howe, G. M., The Possible Source of Kleist's 'Familie Schroffenstein' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 3, March).

Immermann, K., Werke. Auswahl in drei Bänden. Herausg. von W. Deetjen. (Goldene Klassiker-Bibliothek.) Stuttgart, Bong und Co. 27 M.

Kohlmeyer, O., Die pädagogische Provinz in W. Meisters Wanderjahren. Langensalza, J. Beltz. 3 M.

Lange, W., H. Laubes Aufstieg. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 7000 M.

LEITZMANN, A., Die Quellen von Schillers und Goethes Balladen. 2nd ed. (Kleine Texte, lxxiii.) Bonn, Marcus und Weber. 80 pf.

LEMKE, E., G. Hauptmann. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik seiner Zeit und seiner Persönlichkeit. Hanover, E. Letsch. 5 M. 50.

LOEWY, S., Deutsche Theaterkunst von Goethe bis Reinhardt. Vienna, P. Knepler. 9 M.

LUDWIG, O., Dramatische Studien. Ausgewählt von R. Petsch. (Welt-Bibliothek, 50–51.) Dresden, Deutsches Verlagsbuchhaus. 840 M.

Magelone, Die Schöne. Älteste deutsche Bearbeitung nach der Hs. der preuss. Staatsbibliothek, German 4° 1579. Herausg. von H. Degering. Berlin, Domverlag. 25 M.

MERKER, P., Der Verfasser des Eccius dedolatus und anderer Reformationsdialoge. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 10 M.

MEYER, R. M., Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Von H. Bieber fortgesetzt. II. Berlin, G. Bondi. 12,000 M.

MICHEL, W., Hölderlins abendländische Wendung. Aufsätze. Jena, E. Diederichs. 4 M.

MORGAN, B. Q., A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation. (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies, xvi.) Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin. 2 dol.

SCHAFFNER, P., G. Keller als Maler. Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta. 24,000 M.

SCHOLLENHEBER, W. H., E. T. A. Hoffmanns Persönlichkeit. Munich, Parcus und Co. 2 M.

SHEARS, L. A., The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Th. Fontane. (Columbia Germanic Studies.) New York, Columbia Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 7*s*.

SIMROCK, K., Dr Johann Faust. Puppenspiel. Herausg. von R. Petsch. Leipzig, Reclam. 90 pf.

STOCKMANN, A., Die jüngere Romantik. Munich, Parcus und Co. 5 M.

SUDERMANN, H., Dramatische Werke. 6 vols. Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta. 48,000 M.

THALMANN, M., Der Trivialroman des 18. Jahrhunderts und der romantische Roman. (Germanische Studien, xxiv.) Berlin, Ebering. 8 M. 60.

VARNHAGEN, RAHEL, Ein Lebensbild aus ihren Briefen, 1799–1832. Munich, G. Hirth. 3 M.

WELTRICH, R., Schiller auf der Flucht. Herausg. von J. Petersen. Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta. 1000 M.

WIDMANN, E., J. V. Widmann. Ein Lebensbild. I. Frauenfeld, Huber und Co. 10 M.

ZEYDEL, E. H., A Criticism of the German Language and Literature by a German of the 18th Century (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 4, April).

ZÜRCHER, O., Das Berner Oberland im Lichte der deutschen Dichtung. Ausgewählt und eingeleitet. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 2 M.

BULLETIN OF THE
Modern Humanities Research Association

JULY 1923 NUMBER 19

¶ The new Bibliography of English Language and Literature has just been published and may be obtained by members, from Professor Allen Mawer, The University, Liverpool, at 3s. 3d. per copy. To Non-members 6s. through any bookseller.

EDITORIAL

WE deeply regret to chronicle the death of Dr Henry Bradley, one of the most famous of the members and truest of the friends of the Association. As the *Bulletin* was going to press when the sad news was received we must defer the publication of a fitting memorial notice until next quarter. Readers of the *Modern Language Review* will not fail to notice that a review from his pen appears in the current (July) number, so literally may it be said that he worked till the last.

***

We have also to mourn the loss of Dr Herman Oelsner, one of our earliest members, and from 1910 to 1914 Romance editor of the *Modern Language Review*, who passed away on April 26th. Dr Oelsner was for some years Taylorian Lecturer at the University of Oxford, and in 1909 was the first holder of the Taylorian Professorship of Romance Languages. He leaves a large circle of friends, as well as a far wider circle of those who were intimately acquainted with his work, to mourn his premature death.

***

On another page we make an important announcement with reference to a new series of Studies which is to be inaugurated during the coming year. At the foundation of the M.H.R.A., five years ago, two of its principal aims were set forth as being the publication of members' work and the granting of financial aid to those who without it were unable to carry on their research.

***

The *Modern Language Review*, which is now on a firm, though not yet entirely satisfactory footing, is always glad to consider short articles of a suitable nature submitted by our members. But the Association has in mind the needs of many young scholars, of whatever nationality, whose unpublished work is too lengthy for inclusion in a journal.

***

Such members the Association desires to aid by taking over either the whole or a part of the financial responsibility for publishing their work. It hopes every year to select for publication one or more manuscripts from those which are submitted to it, and invites all who wish to benefit by the scheme to communicate with the Hon. Secretary as fully and as soon as possible. Further details will be found elsewhere.

***

Our third annual *Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, which has just appeared, is, like the second issue, considerably larger than its predecessor, and Miss Paues and her collaborators deserve the congratulations and thanks of members, who we hope will hasten to express both by ordering their copies. The 1922 Bibliography had in all 2119 entries; the present issue has 2943, together with an index of authors and a list of periodicals searched. We hope that the sales this year will be equal to those of the last two years put together, and in this connection remind members that they may order the 1921 and 1922 issues together with that for 1923 at the prices of 1*s*. 8*d*. and 3*s*. 2*d*. (post free) respectively.

***

The Presidential Address of Professor J. M. Manly, which will have been delivered before the *Bulletin* is issued, is to be reprinted as a pamphlet and sent to all members. Copies will also be obtainable by the general public through any bookseller at 1*s*. net.

***

Early in the new session a Year Book of the Association, containing lists of officers, branches, publications and members for the year 1923–4, will be distributed freely to all members as a separate pamphlet, instead of forming part of the *Bulletin* as heretofore. As the list of members forms a valuable international address-book to all who are interested in Modern Language Research, and as the other information given is not repeated during the year, it is hoped that all who receive the pamphlet will keep it carefully for reference.

***

Changes of address or other information for inclusion in the Year Book should be notified to the Hon. Secretary before July 31st.

***

The number of subscribers through the M.H.R.A. to the *Modern Language Review* is now nearly 200. We hope to receive a large number of the remaining 600 subscriptions during the next month.

***

The following members were elected without opposition to serve on the General Committee of the Association during the year 1923–4: Miss B. Philpotts, Miss A. B. Coventon, M. Montgomery, Esq., S. J. Crawford, Esq., Professor W. E. Collinson and the Rev. H. J. Chaytor.

***

Miss R. Wilson, who has been acting as Assistant Secretary to the Association during the present session, has been re-appointed to that post for a period of three years from October 1st, 1923.

***

The Hon. Secretary would be glad if any members who have spare copies of Nos. 2, 7 or 12 or other early numbers of the *Bulletin* would communicate with him. A few such copies are particularly desired to complete sets.

***

Professor J. J. Stable, M.A., of the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, has been appointed Correspondent of the Association for Queensland.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM MEMBERS

We are invited to draw attention to the meetings of the Philological Society, which are held monthly from November to June at University College, Gower Street, London. The next meeting is arranged for November 2nd, when Professor Sir Israel Gollancz will deliver an address. A list of later meetings will be ready early in the forthcoming session.

***

Dr Ernest Bernbaum, of the University of Illinois, U.S.A., sends us, as an illustration of the work of the Graduate English Club in that University, a valuable classified bibliography of some thirty typewritten pages, of publications during 1921 and 1922 on the history and theory of prose fiction. Each professor prepares a list like this for his field, and the more important items are discussed at a meeting.

***

Mr Marcel Clavel, of the University of Michigan, U.S.A., wishes to announce that he is preparing a thesis on Fenimore Cooper, the man and his work.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY

In order to carry out the work of the Survey of English Place-names and to publish the results of its work an English Place-name Society has been formed. The minimum subscription to the Society is 15*s*. and this will entitle members to the annual volume published by the Society. Subscriptions over and above that amount are encouraged in order to meet the heavy expenses of the work of the Survey itself, which is essential as a basis for the published volumes, the minimum subscription covering only the cost to the Society of the actual production of its annual volume. The Introductory volume to the whole series will be published in the autumn of 1924 and includes chapters on Methods of Place-name Study (Professor Sedgefield), Place-names and Linguistic Studies (Professor Wyld), Place-names and Archaeology (Mr O. G. S. Crawford), the Celtic (Professor Ekwall), the English (Professor Stenton), the Scandinavian (Professor Ekwall), the French (Professor Zachrisson) and the Feudal elements (Dr J. H. Round) in English Place-names, on Old and Middle English personal names in relation to Place-names (Professor Stenton) and on the chief elements compounded in English Place-names (Professor Mawer). Thereafter the annual volumes will deal with the place-names of a county or other convenient area as a whole and concern themselves not only with the interpretation of the individual names but with all those general conclusions, linguistic, historical and cultural, which are implicit in them.

Full particulars with regard to the Society's aims, constitution and work, and forms of application for membership can be obtained on application to the Hon. Secretary (Professor Mawer), The University, Liverpool. The membership of libraries and institutions will be welcomed on the same terms as those for private membership. Subscriptions and donations may be sent to the Hon. Secretary or the Hon. Treasurer (Colonel Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., F.R.S.), Coytbury, St Giles' Hill, Winchester.

MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

PUBLICATION OF THE ORIGINAL WORK OF MEMBERS

The Modern Humanities Research Association proposes every year to publish one or more volumes of a series of Studies involving Original Research to be contributed by its members. It hopes by so doing to aid some who for financial reasons would otherwise be unable to publish the results of their researches: it will be prepared to consider suggestions from members who are willing to contribute a part of the cost as well as from those who are unable to do so.

The following conditions have been drawn up for the session 1923–4:

(1) A preliminary letter must be in every case sent to the Hon. Secretary not later than October 30th, 1923, describing the nature and length of the work in question and enclosing a statement from at least one person acquainted with it as to its scholarly character. No manuscript is to be sent until definite instructions to that effect are given.

(2) The work submitted may be written in any language, and no condition as to its nature is laid down other than that it should come within the aim and scope of the Association.

(3) Only applications from members of the Modern Humanities Research Association will be considered.

(4) All applications will be submitted to the Publications Sub-Committee of the Association.

(5) Such manuscripts as it asks for will be judged by a small committee of experts appointed by the Association.

CAPITAL FUND

Members will realise how greatly increased is the importance of this fund by the claims upon it made by the new series of publications which the Association contemplates. They are therefore urged to send to the Hon. Treasurer a contribution, large or small, with their subscription for 1923–4, or independently. Contributions amounting to about £5 per month, which would mean to each member the outlay only of a few pence, would make it possible for us to initiate the series without drawing upon capital.

The Hon. Treasurer has pleasure in acknowledging the following contributions: B. W. Downs, Esq., £4. 4*s*.; Mr Le Roy Kimball, 14*s*.; Mr A. Bell, 5*s*.; Mr J. F. Bense, 5*s*.; Professor G. S. Gordon, 5*s*. Smaller sums, 14*s*. 4*d*. Grand total, £6. 7*s*. 4*d*.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Edited by Carleton Brown. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, March, 1923.

Philological Quarterly. Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1923.

John Foster's Pioneer Interpretation of the Romantic. By Paul Kaufman. (Reprinted from *Modern Language Notes*. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, January, 1923.)

Philological Quarterly. Vol. II, No. 1, January, 1923.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY W. LEWIS AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE PSALTER OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

III. MANUSCRIPTS OF ROLLE'S PSALTER CONTAINING LOLLARD INTERPOLATIONS IN THE COMMENTARY.

IN an earlier article[1] those MSS. of Rolle's *Middle English Psalter* which contain his Commentary in a revised form were enumerated, and it was pointed out that they fall into three groups, of which Bodl. 288, Bodl. 877 and Reg. 18. C. 26 are typical. This article will attempt to determine how many writers were responsible for these various groups, and to give some account of the methods of the revisers of Rolle's work and of the views, religious and political, set forth by them.

All the known MSS. containing a revised Commentary are copies dating from the fifteenth century or later. None of them shows Rolle's work in the process of being altered. Though there is, therefore, no possibility of studying the methods of the revisers directly, an examination of the different MSS. gives some indication of them[2].

In Reg. 18. D. 1, at the head of the text, are the words:

'Here bigynneþ þe prologe uppon þe sauter þat Richard heremyte of Hampole translated in to englyshe. aftir þe sentence of doctours and resoun.'

The additional matter in the Prologue and earlier Psalms alters Rolle's work very little; only an adjective or adverb or at most a qualifying phrase is added here and there. For instance, where the original Psalter has in the Prologue,

'Sothly this shynand boke is a chosen sange byfor god[3],'

Reg. 18. D. 1 has

'soþely þis shynyng boke ⁊ *seyd deuoutli of hem þat ben in cleene lyf* ⁊ is a chosun song byfore god.'

It seems as though the heading quoted above were written in good faith, but the reviser could not restrain himself from explaining and emphasising his author's points.

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVII, 3, July, 1922.

[2] The treatment of Rolle's English rendering of the Vulgate is not considered here. The rendering in some of the later MSS. containing the original Commentary shows attempts to bring the language up to date, and in a number the dialect is altered. (See MSS. Bodl. 467, 953, for example.) The renderings in the interpolated Psalter do not show more alterations than these.

[3] Quoted from Bramley's edition of Rolle's *Psalter*.

At the end of the Prologue however a longer interpolation is found. Rolle wrote:

'In expounynge . i fologh haly doctours . for it may come in some enuyous man hand that knawes noght what he sould say, that will say that i wist noght what i sayd . and swa doe harm til hym . and til othere . if he dispise the werke that is profytabile for hym and othere.'

The reviser's version is:

'In expownyng i folewe hooly doctours and resoun ⁊ reproeuyng synne . aftir þat i haue knowyng of it . as doctours haue done by fore me ⁊ and shal do aftir me . as þei haue knowyng þat synne is usid ⁊ and tyme askiþ . ffor þis boke may come in summe enuyous mennes honde . or to some proude vicious mannes heryng ⁊ þe whiche is maad blynd þorou synne . and haþ enuye þat synne shulde be knowen. But in a wikked man ⁊ synne may not be hidde . ffor al þat he doþ ⁊ is colourid wiþ synne. And suche wolle seye ⁊ þat i wiste not what i seyde . and so do harme to hym silf ⁊ and to oþire . 3if he despise þe worke þat is profitable to hym and to oþere. But þe moste comfort in hope . þat goode men haueþ of trewþe ⁊ is þat yuel men despisiþ her wordis and her workis.'

After the first few Psalms the comments become slightly longer. Part of Psalm xxxvii is quoted below as typical of the reviser's work in this part of the Psalter. He is becoming more sure of himself and has less reverence for his original than when he began.

The Original Commentary[1].	*Interpolated Commentaries.*
Psalm xxxvii.	From MS. Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 66 b.
1. *Lord in thi woednes argu not me ⁊ na chasty me in thi ire.* The voice of him that does penance for his syn: in prayere and gretynge he bigynnys, & says . lord in thi wodnes argu me noght . that is, i pray the that i be noght amange tha til wham thou sall say . in thi dome, ga 3e werid in fire endles . na chasty me in thi ire . that is . be i noght amange tha that sall be purged in the fire of purgatory: bot here amend me.	*Lord in þi woodnesse argue me not ⁊ ne chastise me in þyn yre:* The prophete seyde þis psalme in voyce of hym þat dooþ verrey penaunce for his synne ⁊ in deuout praiyng and forþinkyng . for he wiþ sorewful herte prayeþ to god and seiþ . lord in þy woodnesse argue me not . þat is lord of þi mercy graunte þat i be not among hem to whom þu schalt seye in þi doom . goo 3ee cursid in to þe fyre eendelees . ne chastise me not in þyn yre . þat is be i not among þoo þat shal be purgid in the fyr of purgatorye . but gracious lord purge me heere. I seye not þis onely for drede of þe sharpe peyne of purgatorye ⁊ but for greett shame þat I haue in my soule þat I haue soo defoulid me heere ⁊ þat I shulde not be cleene purgid or I wente hennes . for as longe as god punyshiþ eny man he is wrooþ to hym . and to wite þat I shulde haue his unbliþelnesse heere and aftir þis lyf ⁊ is to me greett sorewe.
. . . . .	
5. *Thai rotid and thai ere brokyn . myn erres: fra the face of myn unwit.* Myn erres, that is the wondis of my	*Thei rotide and þei ben brokyn myn arrys ⁊ fro þe face of myn unwitt.* Myn arrys ⁊ þat is þe woundis of synnes þat

[1] Quoted from Bramley's text. The English rendering of the Vulgate is in italics in each verse.

The Original Commentary.

Psalm xxxvii.

synnes, hale thurgh penaunce, rotid whils i eft assentid til syn, and thai ere brokyn when i synned eft in dede: and all this is fra the face of myn unwit; that is, fore my foly, that i wild not halde me in the grace that god had gifen me. on this maner myn alde synnes rotis til my self, and ere brokyn and stynkis til other men.

6. *Wrechid i am made and krokid i am in til the end: all the day sary i ȝede.* I am tourmentid with wrechidnes, and forthi krokid fra pride. or i am krokid, gifen til erthly thynges, til the end, that is till the ded. and all the day, that is, all my life assiduelly, sary i ȝede in way of this warld: for i tharnyd the ioy of paradyse.

7. *For my lendis ful ere fild of hethyngis: and hele is not in my fleysse.* My lendes, that is my fleysse, is fild of hethyngis of the deuel. for i syn not anly for my frelte, bot alswa of the fende, that tourmentis my body and trauails my saule in vayn ymagynaciouns: and swa makis he me his hethynge.

8. *I am tourmentid and i am mekid ful mykill: i romyd fra the sorow of my hert.* I am tourmentid with penaunce, and i am mekid ful mykill in meknes of forthynkynge: i romyd, that is, i desird and soght gretly fode til my saule: fra the sorow of my hert. that is for heuen. All sorow that is for any bodily thynge is sorow of the fleysse, noght of the hert.

Interpolated Commentaries.

From MS. Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 66 b.

I haue falsly hilide þoruȝ ypocrisie. rotide wiþ ynne me alle þe tyme þat y lay wityngely in synne. and þei ben broken out as festride woundis unhelid: in hour of my deeþ. and þis bicome me for myn unwitt: þat is for my folye þat I woolde not hate synne in my lyf. And for þi

Wrecchid I am maad and crokid to þe eende: al þe day sory I in ȝede. I am turmentid wi wrecchidnesse and for þi I am crokid fro pryde. or I am crokid to þe eende: þat is to þe day of my deeþ: for I am lettid to goo euene þe wey to heuene: and for þi al þe day. þat is al my lyf assyduely I ȝede sory in þe wey of þis wrecchide lyf. ffor of my folye by fals entisyng of þe deuel I loste þe ioye of paradys. whar

For my leendis fulle ben fillid of scornynges: and heele is not in my fleshe. Mi leendis þat is my fleshe: fillid is of scoornyngis of þe feend. for he makiþ but sorewe in þe laste eende to hem: wham he ouercomeþ and soo þoruȝ þe deuel and þe world and myn owne consent noon hele is in my fleshe. for it may not be heelid for deedlynesse ne fro corrupcion.

I am turmentid and I am mekid muche: I rumyede fro þe sorewe of myn herte. I am turmentid doynge synne and for þi I am mychil mekid in forþinkynge. I rumyede: þat is my sorewe I desirede. and souȝte forȝeuenesse of my synne. and soo of sorewe of herte: þe whiche [is] verrey penaunce: I fulfillide my soule wiþ goostly foode: and þis I dide: for of my folye willefully I alyenede me froo god. and for þi I enfoorside me greetly to late come froo myn herte verrey penaunce habundauntly: to washe my synnes. þis hertely sorewe is neuere hadd: or synne hatid. fleshely sorewe will make a man dreede god: as a seruant dooþ his lord. to be punyshid. but hertly sorewe makiþ a man to drede god as asone his fadir: for his goodnesse. for a trewe man woolde drede god and loue hym: þouȝ he wiste þat þer were noon helle. ne peyne ordeyned for synne: seiynge

. . . . . .

The Original Commentary.

Psalm xxxvii.

12. *And thai that ware biside me stode olenght: and fors thai made that soght my saule.* That is the deuel with his mynystirs, that swa mykil the mare sekis the ded of his saule that thai see him manly stande.

Interpolated Commentaries.

From MS. Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 66 b.

And þei þat were byside me stode on lengþe and foorce þei made ꝟ þat souȝte my soule. Þat is þe deuel and his mynystris . whenne þei see a man or a womman ȝeue hem to serue god ꝟ soo myche þe more þei seche þe deeþ of his soule ꝟ þat[1] þei see hym manly stoonde seiynge . ȝif þou reproue þus synne in þi self or oþre ꝟ þou shalt make of freendis enemys . and ofte stire menye to grettere yuel þat þou reprouest here synne . and ȝif þei may not ouercome hem þus ꝟ þei wile to his shame reherce his oolde trespaas . and seye þou hast loued and doon often þis synne þat þou repreuest . but þat shame shal purchace to hym forȝeuenesse of alle his synnes ꝟ ȝif he suffre itt mekely . ffor grettere tokene of loue may noon shewe ꝟ þan to telle þe trewþe of crist ꝟ alle drede of shame and peyne left . but ȝitt þe deuel and his lymes casten to lette trewe men more sleyȝly seiynge . þat no man owiþ to undirnemen anoþir but ȝif he be sett his correctour . but of þe mooste straunge alyen ꝟ þes foolis woolde heere bodily harm

. . . . . .

Throughout this part of the Psalter the comments in the interpolated Psalters mostly have some connexion with Rolle's comments. In v. 1 above, for instance, the substance of Rolle's comment appears in Reg. 18. D. 1, but it is elaborated, and then an original remark—'I seye not þis onely.....is to me greett sorewe'—is added at the end. The same treatment is to be found in v. 8 and is very common in this part of the Psalter. In v. 6 Rolle's comment is elaborated and there is no addition. The reviser has endeavoured to link the comment on v. 6 with the English rendering of v. 7, by adding the word 'whar' after 'I loste þe ioye of paradys,' so that the sense runs straight on—'whar For my leendis fulle ben fillid of scornynges.' Rolle himself uses this device to some extent (see Ps. lviii, 4) but the interpolated Psalter shows it far more.

Very occasionally the reviser's comment is shorter and more concise than Rolle's. V. 5 is an example of this.

Sometimes the reviser becomes bolder and almost ignores Rolle's comment, as in v. 7. At other times so long a passage is added that Rolle's comment, even if preserved, fades into insignificance beside it,

[1] MS. has 'þat þat þei see....'

and to the reader the interpretation of the verse is quite different from Rolle's. This occurs in v. 12, where a long passage is added warning men not to be hindered from reproving wickedness by the insinuations of the devil.

From about Ps. xli to Ps. xlviii this latter type of comment becomes more frequent, and Rolle is more and more ignored. Often the reviser omits the original interpretation altogether and plunges into an exposition of his own views. After Ps. lxxii the usual habit of the reviser is to set forth his own ideas without reference to Rolle, and his comments here are extremely lengthy.

In Reg. 18. D. 1 these long comments continue to the end of the MS. (Ps. lxxix, 13). They also continue to the end (Ps. lxxxviii) in Lambeth 34, but in Bodl. 288 and Trin. Coll. B. v. 25—both complete MSS.—they cease after Ps. lxxxiv, and from that point to the end the comments are mostly short and are based on Rolle's.

The shorter comments after Ps. lxxxiv occur in all the interpolated Psalters which continue beyond that point except Lambeth 34 and Reg. 18. C. 26[1]. They are found in a complete MS. like Bodl. 877 as well as in one like Bodl. 288, for though the actual comments may differ in these two, the type of comment found in the various parts of the Psalter is the same. In fact the connexion between the groups of MSS. represented by these two is very close. In the *Modern Language Review*, July, 1922, it was pointed out that, of the passages chosen for quotation there, Pss. vii, 1, 2, and xvii, 47 differed in the two groups (see pp. 220 ff.), but Pss. lxiv, 14 and cviii, 29 were only quoted from MS. Bodl. 288, because they agreed in the two groups. A more extended comparison between the two groups shows that throughout the earlier part of the Psalter some comments are alike, others differ considerably. On the whole the group represented by Bodl. 877 has the longer comments in this part. After about Ps. xxx they become more alike, though when the MSS. like Bodl. 288 have excessively long comments, Bodl. 877 often has a shorter version. After the break mentioned above at Ps. lxxxiv, most of the comments are identical, though to the end there are a few that differ. In this part, though neither group agrees entirely with the original Commentary, neither departs far from it.

In the two exceptions—Lambeth 34, which contains Pss. i–lxxxviii, and Reg. 18. C. 26—the comments are very lengthy throughout and have little connexion with Rolle's work. The comment on cviii, 29

[1] Reg. 18. C. 26 begins with Ps. lxxxix, and ends with Ps. cxvii. Throughout the comments are exceedingly long and are unlike Rolle's.

quoted from the latter in the *Modern Language Review* (vol. XVII, pp. 220, 221) will serve to illustrate the treatment of Rolle's *Psalter* in these MSS. It is far longer than the comments on the same verse from Eton Coll. 10 (a Psalter containing original comments), or from Bodl. 288 and bears no relationship to either of them. It seems likely, since the comments are similar in style in Reg. 18. C. 26 and Lambeth 34, that both were copied from one original. Reg. 18. C. 26 may even be the continuation of Lambeth 34. It begins with Ps. lxxxix and Lambeth 34 ends with the last verse of Ps. lxxxviii.

From this account it is clear that more than one hand has been at work on these interpolated Psalters. It is impossible to make a definite statement of the number of revisers responsible for them, but an attempt to distinguish between the work of different writers may help to make the relationship between the various interpolated Psalters a little clearer. The following list is hazarded:

1. Reviser of Pss. i–lxxxiv[1], whose Commentary with alterations gave rise to

(*a*) Pss. i–lxxxiv as found in MSS. like Bodl. 288, Reg. 18. D. 1, Trin. Coll. B. v. 25 and Lambeth 34, etc.

(*b*) Pss. i–lxxxiv as found in MSS. Bodl. 877, Reg. 18. B. 21, etc.[2]

2. Writer of the short commentary on Pss. lxxxiv–cl, which again appears in two slightly different forms:

(*a*) Version in Bodl. 288, and Trin. Coll. B. v. 25.

(*b*) Version in Bodl. 877.

3. Writer of the longer commentary on Pss. lxxxiv ff., which appears partly in Lambeth 34 (Pss. lxxxiv–lxxxviii) and partly in Reg. 18. C. 26 (Pss. lxxxix–cxvii).

It is very unlikely that the same man was responsible for the longer and the shorter continuations. The methods used in the two are entirely different. It is not improbable, however, that the writer of the longer continuation was the same as reviser 1, i.e. that one man made an interpolated Psalter with comments which grew in length as he proceeded, and that a second writer made an alternative shorter version of Pss. lxxxiv–cl[3].

[1] This number shows roughly the place where the shorter comments begin in such MSS. as Bodl. 288 and Bodl. 877. Actually they begin in the course of this Psalm.

[2] It is possible that one of these groups represents the original work of reviser 1 and the other an alteration of his work, but since now one, now the other has the longer comments it seems more likely that neither represents the original work exactly.

[3] Miss H. Allen has suggested to me that William Thorpe, the Lollard, may have been one of those responsible for the revision of Rolle's Psalter. In the 'Examination of William Thorpe' (see *An English Garner*, Vol. 12, *Fifteenth Century Verse and Prose*, ed. A. W. Pollard), Archbishop Arundel is made to refer to a Psalter in which he says Thorpe wrote

The Metrical Preface to Rolle's *Psalter* (see MS. Laud 286[1]) states that the revised versions of Rolle's Commentary are the work of Lollards:

> 'Copyed has this Sauter ben ꝫ of yuel men of lollardry;
> And afturward hit has bene sene ꝫ ympyd in with eresy.
> They seyden then to leude foles ꝫ that it shuld be all enter,
> A blessed boke of hur scoles ꝫ of Rychard Hampole the Sauter.'

The views expressed in Lambeth 34, Reg. 18. C. 26, Reg. 18. D. 1 and like MSS. leave no room for doubt on this point. In the earlier parts of MSS. like Bodl. 288 and Bodl. 877, where the comments are shorter, and again after Ps. lxxxiv, it is not so easy to find Lollard views as in the middle of the Psalter, but in the earlier parts they occur to some extent[2]. In the comment on Ps. xxv, 8, for instance, objections are made to the expenditure of money for the purpose of decorating the churches with rich paintings, etc.:

> 'Þe fayrhede of þyn hous is a clene soule ꝫ out of þe whiche spryngiþ preysynge wordis and goode workis. And not of ryche peyntynge of stokkis and of stones ꝫ þe which prys shulde kepe nedy men and wymmen of good wil ꝫ fro grucchyng.... Þe alþir heyȝest dwelliþ not in housis of mannes shapynge ꝫ or makynge . þanne it is litil dayntеþ of gay churche ꝫ and a fals curate.' (f. 43.)

In the longer comments most of the topics dear to the Lollards are to be found[3]. The corrupt state of the Church is described and the priests are bitterly reproached for it:

> 'So whanne presthood in whom schulde schine moost strengþe of cristis bileeue . is brokun and departid fro charite þorouȝ symonye ꝫ nedis bihoueþ for defaute of þis goostli strengþe . wickidnesse abounde and charite of manye kele / for synne is now so encresid in ech staat þat is in þe chirche for defaute of trewe meenys ꝫ þat who hatiþ moost synne . is holden moost synful / and so for þei falsli demen vices vertues and vertues vices ꝫ þei deserue to haue woo' (Ps. xlii, 14; Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 76 b)[4].

'sharp sentences against us.' Bale ascribes to Thorpe 'glosses on the Psalter' (*Script. Illust. maiores Brit.*, p. 538).

I have not yet been able to follow up Miss Allen's suggestion as fully as I should like, but after a cursory comparison of Thorpe's confession of faith and the views expressed in the Lollard Psalter, I can find nothing which makes it impossible. Some of the views expressed in both are identical; in no case do they appear contradictory. I am unable to express a more definite opinion without further investigation, and I cannot say which of the versions of the Lollard Psalter contains views most like Thorpe's, but Miss Allen's suggestion seems to me a very valuable one.

[1] Printed in Bramley's edition of the Psalter, pp. 1, 2.

[2] Forshall and Madden in the Introduction to the *Wycliffite Versions of the Bible* (see p. v) denied that the interpolated Psalters were written by Lollards. It is true that the shorter commentary on Pss. lxxxiv–cl contains little that can be definitely ascribed to the Lollards. The writer of this part was possibly not a Lollard at all. Forshall and Madden may have examined this part chiefly.

[3] Miss Paues (*A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Introd. pp. xlv–xlix) has quoted some passages showing Lollard views.

[4] The following quotations are from MSS. Reg. 18. D. 1, Reg. 18. C. 26, Trin. Coll. B. v. 25 and Lambeth 34. In each case the passages are to be found in similar form, differing a little only in vocabulary, in all the MSS. of the subdivision to which the MS. quoted belongs. For example, Trin. Coll. B. v. 25 and Reg. 18. D. 1 belong to the same subdivision (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* July, 1922, p. 222) and passages from one of them appear similarly in the other. Passages from the last part of Lambeth 34 and from Reg. 18. C. 26 are not to be found in any of the other MSS. I have examined.

'...In þe olde lawe it was comaundid . þat no man þat hadde any spotte of lepre schulde entre in to þe temple of god to use preesthoode / but now no man schal ben acceptyd þer to but if he be mirkid wiþ symonye þat is þe moost perelous lepre of mannys soule / and so þer þoruȝ þe chirche is now putte in to repreef bi hem þat schulen gouerne it...' (Ps. lxxviii, 4; Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 132 b).

'...Lo crist ordeyned his presthode to stonde among wilful pore men ꝟ usyng it freely and bisily ꝟ noþing secheynge þer inne but þe preysyng of goddis name / but þise þingis al to gidre ben hatide and left ꝟ of þe moost part of hem þat ben in þe chirche.....the wille of crist is þat his presthode and alle hise sacramentis ben so charitably doon and usid . þat his prestis enforcen hem in alle þing þat þei kunne or moun forto sue him here inne and his apostles ꝟ no þing charginge moor þe peple þan þei diden / for chargiouse mynistris mouen þe peple to grucchying ꝟ and þe whilis þe vertu of sacramentis . worchen not gracious heelþe in neiþer partye / woo to hem þat for pride and coueitise ben cause of þis dampnable dissencioun ꝟ and woo to hem þat myȝten lette it and wolen not bisie hem þeraboute / and wo to hem þat knowen þe viciousnesse þer of eiþer miȝten knowe and wolne not ꝟ but done aftir comoun custome...' (Ps. cix, 5; Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 121b)[1].

In contrast with the priests of the time, a picture of the faithful priest is drawn:

'...Al her bysynesse shuld be forto studye and seche oute þe vertu of his (Christ's) word ꝟ and to lyue so þeraftir þat þurȝ her goode ensaumple of hooly lyuyng and trewe techyng and pacient suffryng of alle aduersitees . þe peple in euery degree myȝt take of hem ensaumple to loue his heestis and to kepe hem[2].'

The writers have no better opinion of the religious orders in their day than of priests:

'Also þer ben oþir men þat seyen hem silf to lyue undir obedyence alle to gidre undir certeyn rulis . whiche haue and coueiten to haue greete possessiouns . ordeynynge amoungis hem in certeyne every woke what breede and what ale and oþir lyuelode echone of hem shal haue / ..... And for sykirnesse of þis plentyuouse lyuelode ꝟ many men and wymmen comen to her rule / oblishynge hem to her obedience' (Ps. cviii, 10; Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 112 b).

In Reg. 18. D. 1, ff. 129 b–130 (Ps. lxxvii, 62), in a passage which Miss Paues has quoted, the religious orders are rebuked more fiercely still for:

'Þe wijdnesse of her kirtlis and þe lire of her neckis and her glotouns face, but in moost of al her ydulnesse.'

The heads of the Church do not escape condemnation. They combine with princes of the world to oppress the common people:

'Worldli princes seien þei haue power to reule þe bodies of her liege as hem luste and at her wille to sle and ȝiue lif . and princes of þe chirche setteþ þis power at nouȝt ꝟ for þe greetnes of her power passeþ þis mechil . for al þis power of mannes bodi haue þei upon her sugettis as witnessiþ her persecuciouns and her galowe trees and þe censure of her domes . and ouer þis as most cheef princes þei haue power as þei seye to putte whom þei wole in heuene and also in helle / and þus þurgh pride of þise two proude cheefteynes . þe comounes and her goodes ben spuyled and waasted ꝟ in lustes of þise princes' (Ps. lxxxii, 11; Trin. Coll. B. v. 25, f. 196 b).

[1] For Wycliffe's opinions regarding the priests and prelates see, among other passages, *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, Chap. 23.

[2] See *Mod. Lang. Rev.* July, 1922, p. 221, for the rest of this comment. The reviser declares that priests should be ready to travel from place to place where their services are required. This is what Wycliffe's itinerant preachers did.

In Ps. cvi, 40 they are again reproached with bringing misery upon the commons:

'Þis strif þat is þe vengeaunce of god . whiche regniþ in þe general fyȝtynge chirche . woundiþ ful sore þe comoun peple: þouȝ be it principaly upon hem þat setten hem silf gouernouris' (Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 104b).

The revisers express strong disapproval of some of the practices of the Church. The power of absolution is abused:

'Þou lord assoyledist men whanne þei soroweden her synne and left yt . and ellis not / but now prestis feyn hem to haue power to assoyle hem of synne whos conuersacioun.....þei myȝt knowe vicious and unable to take absolucioun' (Ps. lxxxv, 7; Lambeth 34, f. 181).

Those who hold high positions in the Church deceive themselves if they think any can forgive sin but God:

'Be man neuer so holy sett in most hiȝe dignite of þe chirche in byndynge and assoylyng of sinne . he is but as a bedel crying þe lordis wille . or as a lernd messangere sente to a lewde man wiþ letteris hauynge comaundement of þe lord to reede his letteris to þe man unknowynge his wille / and so god only forȝyueþ synne' (Ps. lxxxviii, 1; Lambeth 34, f. 194).

In the comment on the Vulgate words 'Posuerunt signa sua signa' (Ps. lxxiii, 6), the reviser's views on bulls are set forth:

'Thes enemyes of crist glorious to þe world . in doynge her abhomynaciouns han sette her tokenyns of pride and coueitise . tokenys of prouynge of cristen feiþ / ffor no sacrament of cristen bileue . þei seie mai auaile to any creature . but if þei aproue it bi conformynge of her bullis her cheef bullis ben comynli of leede acordynge to her werkis for as leede amonge metallis is moost heuy . so þe abhominaciouns of cristis chirche ben moost abhomynable and greuous and heuy to þe destruccioun of truþe...' (Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 114).

Confession to a priest, as ordained by the Church, is not in itself of any value. Some men wait to confess 'at a certeyn tyme in þe ȝeer to sum preest.....gessyng þis maner sufficient ynow . ȝhe þouȝ it were but oonys in feel ȝeeris if þe chirche had ordeynde it to be þus and wolde suffre it' (Ps. xciv, 2; Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 21), but 'trewe schrift is sorewing of synne . and absteynyng þer fro[1].'

The elaborate services of the Church are condemned[2]:

'Crist moost pleesynge of his fadir usid in sabotis to entre in to þe synagogis of iewis to preche þe lawe . for þerfore þe saboth was ordeynyd / but biholde now hou enemyes han fordon þe ordenaunce of crist: as if it hadde ben ful of errour . þei han chaungid þe preching of preestis to longe seruyce drawyn on lengþe wiþ corious songe[3]' (Ps. lxxiii, 9; Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 114b).

[1] On this matter, see Wycliffe, *Sermones*, Vol. IV, No. vi (p. 56). 'Confessio facta Deo cum contricione debita est sufficiens ad delecionem peccati, nec sine illa valet confessio facta proprio sacerdoti, ergo illa superfluit ad salutem.'

[2] Cf. Wycliffe, *De Ecclesia*, Chap. 2. 'Utinam non multiplicarentur tot cerimoniae et signa in nostra ecclesia.'

[3] Cf. Wycliffe, *Of prelatis*. 'Bi þer grete criyng of song, as deschaunt, countre note and orgene, þei ben lettid fro studynge and prechynge of þe gospel.' See *English Works of Wyclif hitherto unprinted*, edited by F. D. Matthew, E.E.T.S., London 1880 (p. 77).

The revisers consider that the paintings and other adornments to be found in the churches are unnecessary (see quotation from Ps. xxv, 8 on p. 387) and that there is real danger lest the painted and carved images of saints should lead the people into idolatry. The chief passages dealing with this matter have been quoted by Miss Paues. They occur in Ps. cxiii, 13, 14, 18 (Reg. 18. C. 26).

In the comment on Ps. cxvii, 8 in the same MS., men are warned that they should not even trust in saints, or in the Virgin, for this also is idolatry:

'We owen not to sett oure hope in princis of aungels whiche ben arkaungels . þat þei moun do ony grace of hem silf ꝟ for alle her grace is of god / for noon aungel ne seynt undir god ꝟ mowen do eny þing but as god will / ffor þi who euer putt her trist in eny aungel or seynt . ȝea eiþer in oure lady . whiche þei shulden haue and sett in god ꝟ done here inne mawmetrye..... ffor it is unworshipe to god to aske eny þing of eny seynt . as if eny þing were in eny seyntis power or at þe owen will of seyntis ꝟ siþ all þing is in þe power and will of god.'

Complaint is made that the Eucharist is not administered reverently:

'Preestis shulden so reuerentli ete cristis body here ꝟ þat aftir þis lif þei myȝte be fed in þe siȝte of his chere / but for þei ete not þis mete þat is cristis body for loue of it silf but for coueytise of worldes goodes...þerfore þei deliten not in þe worþines þer of' (Ps. lxxvii, 29; Trin. Coll. B. v. 25, f. 168).

No objection is raised to the teaching of the Church concerning the Eucharist. Wycliffe's attacks on the doctrine of Transubstantiation began a little before 1381[1], and these Commentaries may have been written before that date, or at any rate before Wycliffe's views were widely adopted by his followers. It is clear, however, from one of the comments that the matter was under discussion. The reviser condemns those who will not accept Christ's teaching on the matter and calls them 'unfeiþful':

'Þis stoon þat is crist is þe stoon of offensioun ꝟ to alle unfeiþful men / for þei spurne it in despite whanne þei neiȝe þerto unreuerentli / and moost whanne men ben in weer and douten of þe sacrament of cristes bodye . not ȝifyng feiþ to his wordes.....and many men ben now in þis errour.....þei trowen not to his wordes ꝟ for her resoun can not fully determyne hem / and so unworþeli þei ete þis sacrament to her owen confusioun' (Ps. lxxx, 15; Trin. Coll. B. v. 25, f. 191 b).

On two other matters on which Wycliffe held strong views, the revisers also keep silence—the Mendicant Orders and, more important still, the supremacy of the Pope. Yet though Wycliffe's energies were directed against both, the revisers' silence is no indication that they were not his followers. Wycliffe's views on these matters developed in the latter part of his life only, and silence concerning them, as concerning Transubstantiation, may merely imply that the revisers were writing before this, or that on these points they held different views

[1] See F. D. Matthew, *Eng. Hist. Review*, April, 1890.

from their leader[1]. The reproaches cast at the Church and the monastic orders, the objections to church ritual, and the views on confession which are contained in the Commentaries are sufficiently Wycliffite in character to prove the writers Lollards even with these omissions.

Besides these definitely Lollard views, the Commentaries contain some which were shared by all the reformers of the time, including Lollards. The revisers attack social conditions and accuse their rulers of extravagance:

'Princes and kniȝtes of þe worlde sleping in lustes . ben now knowen bi her retenue and her waastyng of gold in golden herneys . and bi her riche pelline þat pore men payen fore to be defendid in her riȝt' (Ps. lxxxii, 10; Trin. Coll. B. v. 25, f. 196 b).

Robbery, they say, is practised by every section of the community:

'Lords and myȝty persones robben pore men þan and þanne: by tyrauntrye and maystrye / and men of lawe and marchauntis: by fals sotiltese / and werkmen and crafty: robben her neȝboris by sleuþe and oþer fraudis' (Ps. civ, 31; Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 79).

High offices in the state are desired merely out of covetousness:

'þe feende...haþ enforcid him ful bisily forto envenym alle statis and officis and craftis . for ful sotilly and sliȝly he haþ poysend hem alle wiþ þe seuen dedly synnes or wiþ sum spice or braunche of þise vices / in so moche þat þe feend haþ now conquerid to him as who seye alle mankynde / for loke now and among a þousand twenty peple mown not be founden þat coueyte and taken ony state office or craft purely for þe loue of god: usynge þise iustly and duly aftir þe ordynaunce and þe heest of god / And ȝitt euery staat office and craft is coueytid taken and usid: wiþ greet multitude of peple / whiche lyuen as hem list contrary to þat þat þei shulden' (Ps. cxvii, 8; Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 160).

In the perfect state, each section of the nation—rulers, clergy and commons—has its part to play:

'Prestis and comouns shulden susteyne trewe lordis þat defenden hem in ryȝt aftir þe lawe of crist . prestis shulden trewely enfoorme lordis and comouns in werk and word . and comouns schulden trewely trauele to mayntene þes two' (Ps. xxvii, 7; Reg. 18. D. 1, f. 46).

The same idea is developed at greater length in the comment on Ps. xlvi, 1 (f. 86 b) with the remark that 'no degre ne staate: excusiþ fro good ocupacioun.'

The revisers believe in the great value to the individual of honest work if it be undertaken for the 'comoun profyte.' This is stated most definitely in Reg. 18. C. 26:

'...þe lord god...ȝyueþ þe vertue of his heuenly undirstondyng to hem þat haten and dispisen so al worldly welþe and þe bisinesse þer aboute . þat þei woln haue no

[1] It is not necessary to assume that all Lollards adopted in their entirety the views put forward by Wycliffe. When the means by which his views spread are considered, it seems unlikely that Lollards in one part of the country (say Leicestershire) would have agreed in all points of their belief with Lollards in another part some distance away, such as Sussex or Wiltshire.

bysynesse but þat þat is a meene to deserue grace forto undirstonde þerby þe bettir goddis word⁊ for to knowe hise heestis and to kepe hem / here to helpiþ every necessarye occupacioun . if þe entente of þe doer be pryncypaly for þe comoun profyte . kepynge þer inne due tyme and mesure..... But foule pryde and couetyse⁊ sclaundriþ many leeueful craftis / forþi noon oþer but beastly ydeotis[1] whiche for þe loue of crist chesen to be folis to þe world⁊ deseruen to knowe þe vertue of goddis loue / and forþi þise oonly knowen and usen leeueful craftis leeuefully / for in doynge of her craftis . þise cunnen be myndeful of þe heestis of god . and record hem and reherce hem⁊ and teche hem and oþir dyuerse sentences to her meynee and to oþer þat þei comoun wiþ / For feiþful work men and wymmen whom þe lord appreuiþ as þei bisyen hem to doon her werk feiþfully⁊ so þei bisyen hem to occupyen her hertis wiþ cleene and onest þouȝtis' (Ps. cvi, 38; Reg. 18. C. 26, ff. 193 b ff.).

In many of the comments in these interpolated Psalters the personality of the writer is revealed. It has already been said that the belief in the value of useful occupation is a favourite one with the reviser of Reg. 18. C. 26. The sound common-sense of the passage from Ps. cvi, 36 (just above) is characteristic of him. It appears again in the advice he gives to married men and women in a comment from which Miss Paues has quoted (see Ps. cxiii, 18, f. 146). Religion, as he understands it, is not concerned with ceremonies but with the everyday life of the ordinary man. It is this writer who declares that true shrift consists in abstention from sin (see p. 389) and who objects to the unnecessary insistence on all those things 'whiche ben not of þe substaunce of byleeue' (Ps. cviii, 23, f. 116 b).

The religious views expressed in Reg. 18. D. 1 and MSS. like it are on the whole more personal than this. An instance is the description of the struggle between good and evil, which goes on within a man. The intensity which comes from personal experience is in it:

'For bi twixe my body and my soule⁊ I fynde euere newe rebellyon . ffor whanne I wolde washe myn oolde synnes wiþ sorewe and preere out of my soule⁊ eche suggestion of þe deuel wiþ enclynyng of my fleshely wil makiþ me euere newe batayle' (Ps. xxxvii, 3).

Again the passage quoted on p. 384 from the same Psalm on the difficulties of making a stand against sin reads like a personal experience. The devil, it says, comes to those who attempt to restrain sin, saying:

'ȝif þou reproue þus synne in þi self or oþre⁊ þou shalt make of freendis enemys . and ofte stire menye to grettere yuel þat þou reprouest here synne...' (v. 12).

The writer is setting forth his own misgivings as to the value of such attempts.

In all the interpolated Psalters the revisers show facility in expressing their ideas. They can write clear, fluent English, though they tend to be long-winded. A passage of some charm on the nature of children,

[1] The Vulgate word 'iumenta' translated 'beestis' gives rise to this expression.

which occurs in the comment on Ps. cxii, 1 in Reg. 18. C. 26, shows this fluency:

'Certis þur3 kynde children han many goode condiciouns / for þei wolen not be ydul . þei chargen not hou þei ben clo þid . þei chalenge no meete nei þer drynke . þei louen eche o þer . þei coueiten no worldly goodis . þei deliten not in lustis . þei holden no wra þþe in her hertis . þei flateren no persone: nei þer þei dreden ony periles...' (f. 132).

The phrases which are used are often striking. In the passages quoted in the *Modern Language Review*, XVII (p. 219), from Ps. vii, 2, for instance, there is 'lioun of raueyn'; in vii, 1, 'failinge riches'; in xxxvii, 6 (Reg. 18. D. 1) 'by fals entisyng of þe deuel I loste þe ioye of paradys'; in lxxxviii, 1 (Lambeth 34) '...he is but as a bedel crying þe lordis wille.'

Sometimes this mastery of effective language is more sustained. The passage from the comment on the words 'Mane sicut herba transeat, mane floreat et transeat: vespere decidat, induret et arescat' (lxxxix, 6) is perhaps as felicitous as any in its choice of words:

'Where is þanne þe feire herbe þat is þe greete ioye of mannes childhoode: ei þer where is þanne þe swete seemly floure of mannes 3ung þhoode: certis al þis is ful soone brou3t to grounde' (Reg. 18. C. 26, f. 2).

DOROTHY EVERETT.

OXFORD.

ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH COURT MASQUE.

THE subject of this paper requires a word of explanation. During the course of research into the history of the English Masque, I found it necessary to give some attention to contemporary Italian festivities, which I believed had influenced our court masques even more deeply than was commonly supposed. My anxiety to discover the extent and character of this influence was increased by a study of the designs for masque scenery by Inigo Jones, which are collected at Chatsworth and which I was enabled to examine and trace by the kind permission of the Duke of Devonshire. Many of these designs are of real delicacy and beauty, and the question arose whether they were genuine products of the imagination of our English architect. The general influence of the art of the Italian Renaissance was obvious enough; were they not actually borrowed from the work of Italian artists? This suspicion proved to be correct. I found that several of the designs were taken—either whole or in part—from the work of the Florentine artist Giulio Parigi, the master of the famous French engraver, Jacques Callot. Further, I found that the designs and libretti of many English masques, were borrowed from certain Italian festivities which took place in the year 1608.

These facts, of which, as far as I know, historians of the masque have hitherto been unaware, are of more than mere antiquarian interest. They do, I believe, throw valuable light on the character and development of the English court masque.

The masque is sometimes treated as a rather unimportant subdivision of the drama; but it may almost be said to have been less closely related to dramatic literature than to music, dancing, painting and architecture. The nucleus of the whole performance was the arrival of magnificently disguised masquers, who first appeared carefully grouped in some gorgeous machine, set against an elaborate background; and then descended into the hall to dance new figured dances and to join in ordinary ball-room dancing with the spectators. There was just enough dramatic dialogue (spoken or chanted by professionals) to furnish a

motive for the appearance of the noble and silent masquers[1]. Grand spectacular effects and transformation scenes were generally considered to be far more important than consistent plot or good poetry. This English masque was closely related to various types of entertainment which were popular at the same period in France, Italy and elsewhere.

From the fifteenth century onwards the pastimes of European aristocracies were largely æsthetic in character; poets, painters, musicians were all required for their preparation. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a tendency to shape this inchoate mass of revellings into a definite *genre*, which was intended to be a harmony of all the arts. The result of this attempt was the Italian Opera, the French Ballet de Cour, and the English Court Masque. In France and Italy this development was the result of conscious thought and effort; in England there was, as usual, very little deliberation and theorizing and the æsthetic development of the masque was chiefly due to the fact that a favourite court amusement was taken in hand by two great artists: the architect Inigo Jones and the poet Ben Jonson. This happened at the beginning of the Stuart period.

In 1605 King James was entertained at Oxford by the performance of a tragedy, *Ajax Flagellifer*. Hoping to make their play unusually splendid, the Oxford men 'hired one Mr Jones, a great traveller, who undertook to further them much, and furnish them with rare devices, but performed very little to that which was expected[2].' He did however arrange for three changes of scene, worked by a system of revolving pillars, a device which he had taken from the Italian stage[3].

For the moment Inigo Jones may have disappointed the expectations of his countrymen; but in a very few years he had acquired a great reputation as a designer of scenery for the English court masques, and, no doubt, he owed his initial success very largely to his association with Ben Jonson. From 1605 to 1631 Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson usually worked together and for some time the poet was the dominant partner; by 1631 however the situation had become reversed, and when the two fiery artists had the inevitable quarrel, Jones was able to dispense with the services of Jonson and appoint whatever poet he pleased to write the libretti for the court masques, which he himself designed and for which he chose the subject matter.

[1] Their silence only lasted during the dramatic part of the performance. As soon as they began to join in the revels and to 'mask with' the ladies, gallant conversation was expected of them.

[2] *The Progresses of King James I.*, ed. by John Nichols. London, 1828, vol. I, p. 558.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

At first this quarrel seemed the natural outcome of an attempt to unite two different but equally noble ideals of art. Ben Jonson was a poet; to him poetry was the 'soul of masque' that would outlive all the 'painting and carpentry,' the mere 'bodily part which was of Master Inigo Jones his design and act.' But, as I then thought, Inigo, too, was a great creative artist, and Ben Jonson had no right to his superior attitude. The facts which I bring forward in this article have, however, compelled me to alter my estimate of Inigo's contribution to the masque. It seems to me now that he was only interested in it because it gave him an opportunity of reproducing in England certain scenic devices that had already made a sensation in Italy. This plagiarism was kept in check while he collaborated with Ben Jonson, but after 1631 Inigo introduced Italian designs into almost every court masque that he composed; most of these designs being taken from a few Italian illustrated pamphlets which he must have had in his possession.

Inigo Jones first appears as a designer of masque scenery in the year 1605, when he devised the setting of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, which was presented at Whitehall on Twelfth Night. The plot of the masque was that certain Ethiopian nymphs, daughters of Niger, had grown desperate through hearing that women in other parts of the world excelled them in beauty, and in response to a vision had come to seek out Britannia, a land ruled by 'bright Sol' (i.e. King James):

> Whose beams shine day and night, and are of force
> To blanche an Æthiop and revive a corse.

The painted scene consisted of a woody landscape, which disappeared on the fall of the curtain and revealed an artificial sea 'raised with waves which seemed to move, and in some places the billow to break.' Into this sea came Tritons, sea-maidens, and sea-horses bearing Oceanus and Niger; accompanying the masquers, who appeared as twelve dusky nymphs, placed in a great concave shell, like mother-of-pearl.

The idea of the masque was, I believe, suggested by a tournament, which was held on Wednesday, October 14, 1579, in the Pitti Palace, Florence, to celebrate the marriage of Francesco de' Medici with a noble Venetian lady, Bianca Cappello[1]. The theatre was erected in a courtyard of the palace, where a grotto was shown adjoining a beautiful garden. The audience was full of silent expectancy, when, to a sudden outburst of music and light, the grotto opened out and was transformed into a magnificent loggia overlooking the sea-shore. The sea, with its

[1] *Feste nelle Nozze del Serenissimo Don Francesco Medici Gran Duca di Toscana; et della Sereniss. sua consorte la Sig. Bianca Capello.* Composte da M. Raffaello Gualterotti; In Firenze nella Stamperia de' Giunti, 1579, p. 13.

foaming waves, was painted with such verisimilitude that 'it seemed really to be moving and breaking, and whitening as it broke against the rocks.'

The 'cartel' of the tournament was to the effect that three Persian knights were prepared to maintain against all comers the superiority of Persian ladies to all others in the world[1]. During the course of the tournament various triumphal cars entered the theatre, and among others a large and resplendent one of mother-of-pearl, shaped like a boat and bearing in its white bosom two ladies and two knights with their attendants, and borne along by a crowd of mermen, sea-nymphs and ocean deities. The two ladies represented Europe and Africa, who could not suffer the Persian boast of Asia's superior beauty to pass without a challenge.

I have no doubt that in this case Inigo and Ben Jonson drew their inspiration from the tournament in the Pitti Palace; but they certainly did not imitate their models with any exactness. They took some ideas from the Italian entertainment but the treatment of the theme was their own.

In 1608 Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, married Maria Maddelena, Archduchess of Austria, and the wedding was celebrated in Florence with magnificent revels beginning on Sunday evening, October 25, and lasting many days. *Il Giudizio di Paridi*, a pastoral comedy by Michelagnolo Buonarotti, was performed in 'the usual theatre of such spectacles[2],' the hall being arranged like a Roman circus. The scenery of the comedy and of the sumptuous *intermedii* which were performed between the acts was designed by Giulio Parigi.

The first *intermedio* was that of the Palace of Fame. On the top of the highest tower of the translucent palace appeared Fame herself, and showed to the royal couple a great company of their illustrious progenitors. After both Fame and these heroes had sung a madrigal, the door of the palace opened, and the heroes entered in, 'per indi salire al Cielo alla meritata gloria'—then suddenly the palace disappeared, and Fame, remaining in the air, began to rise up and singing vanished in the clouds[3].

In February, 1609, Inigo and Ben Jonson produced the *Masque of Queens* in which Queen Anne and her ladies took part. 'The part of the Scene which first presented itself was an ugly Hell'; where certain

[1] *Ibid.* p. 8.

[2] *Descrittione delle Feste fatte nelle Nozze de' Serenissimi Principi di Toscana, D. Cosimo de' Medici, e Maria Maddalena Archiduchessa d' Austria*, pp. 34, 35.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

witches danced and sang until suddenly to a loud blast of music the Hell vanished and 'in the place of it appeared a glorious and magnificent building, figuring the House of Fame, in the top of which were discovered the twelve masquers, sitting upon a throne triumphal, erected in form of a pyramid, and circled with all store of light[1].' From this palace descended Perseus or 'Heroic Virtue,' and made a speech introducing the masquers, who represented twelve great queens of antiquity. After this the throne on which the masquers were sitting suddenly changed and in place of it appeared 'Good Fame,' who called upon Heroic Virtue to honour the great queens. Meanwhile the masquers descended, and came out of the doors of the palace mounted on three triumphal chariots drawn by griffins, eagles and lions. The witches appeared bound in front of them. Songs and the revels followed, then the masquers mounted once more into their chariots and returned into the House of Fame and the masque ended.

Only a few months elapsed between the Florentine wedding festival and the performance of this masque, and the obvious resemblances between the two events can hardly be accidental.

The 'ugly Hell' may have been suggested by the flaming forge of Vulcan, a scene full of smoke and fire which formed the fourth intermedium of *Il Giudizio di Paridi*. The main theme of the masque is strikingly similar to Parigi's first *intermedio*. Again, however, there was no direct borrowing. The design for the main scene in the first *intermedio* of *Il Giudizio* does not correspond in detail to Jonson's description of his House of Fame. Moreover Jonson distinctly states that the structure and ornament of it 'was entirely Master Jones's invention and design...in which he profest to follow that noble description made by Chaucer of the place[2].' Parigi's palace was made of glass, a striking innovation which for the moment was not adopted by Inigo; next year, however, he devised for the *Masque of Oberon* 'a bright and glorious palace, whose gates and walls were transparent[3].' On this occasion Inigo and Ben took their conception of Fame from Cesare Ripe and Vergil; many years later, however, they returned to Parigi's description.

For the last scene of *Chloridia* (1631) a hill rose up out of the earth, 'and on the top of it a globe, on which Fame is seen standing with her trumpet in her hand...at which Fame begins to mount, and moving her wings flieth singing up to Heaven.... Fame being hidden in the clouds,

[1] Jonson, *op. cit.*, p. 56. [2] Jonson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60.
[3] Jonson, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

the hill sinks, and the heaven closeth[1].' Compare with this the Italian description: 'Sparve subito il Palazzo, e la Fama restata in aria, cominciò a salire all' insu, e si nascose tra le nuvole cantando...[2].' This scene appears to have been a failure, for Ben Jonson has a satiric reference to 'the ascent of Lady Fame, which none could spy[3].' After the performance of *Chloridia* the strife between the two artists broke out again and was never healed, and it is interesting that the attempt to emulate Parigi seems to have had something to do with their mutual antagonism.

Inigo Jones had done with Ben Jonson; he had not done with Parigi. Now that the restraining hand of his colleague was removed, there was a great increase in the number of his borrowings and also a change in the nature of his indebtedness. He now began to appropriate the actual designs of Parigi and others, but took care not to steal them wholesale, but to take parts of them and re-combine them and scatter them about among many different masques, apparently in order to throw dust in the eyes of his public.

In 1638 he collaborated with William Davenant in the composition of the masque *Britannia Triumphans*. After certain antimasques had been danced, a palace made of gold, silver and rustic work rose up out of the earth and revealed Fame standing on a high tower with a trumpet in her hand. 'When this palace was arrived to the height, the whole scene was changed into a Peristilium of two orders, Doric and Ionic... this joining with the former, having so many openings and windows might well be known for the glorious Palace of Fame.' A chorus of poets enter, Fame sings. 'The masquers came forth of the Peristilium, stood on each side, and at that instant the gate of the Palace opened and Britanocles (i.e. King Charles I) appeared.... The Palace sinks, and Fame remaining hovering in the air, rose on her wings singing and was hidden in the clouds[4].'

In the Chatsworth Collection there are two of Inigo's designs for this scene, one representing only the central building which appeared first, the other showing this building joined on to the 'Peristilium of two orders,' which Inigo produced by means of painted side wings (A. 32, 33). The design for the main building is an exact copy of Parigi's Palace of Fame (although we can tell from the description that Inigo did not make his palace translucent). The side wings differ from

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] Jonson, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 208. [3] Jonson, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
[4] Sir Wm Davenant, *Dramatic Works*, ed. by James Maidment and W. H. Logan, Edinburgh, London, 1872, vol. II, pp. 283–286.

those of Parigi[1]. There is, however, at Chatsworth a design for side wings, copied from the side wings of Parigi's House of Fame, and these side wings may have been intended for the scene of the ruined city in Carew's masque *Cœlum Britannicum*[2].

Parigi's third *intermedio* represented the garden of the nymph Calypso, in the island of Ogygia[3]. Design B. 10 of the Chatsworth collection is a very delicate copy of the side wings of this design by Parigi. This Chatsworth design corresponds exactly to the verbal description of the bower of Circe in *Tempe Restored,* a masque composed by Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townshend and produced at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday, 1631. Parigi's design gives a better idea of the masque scene, 'a prospect of curious Arbours of various formes,' than does the Chatsworth design, which only shows the side wings. The background of the English masque, however, differed from that of the Italian *intermedio,* for above the careful pen-work of the side wings are certain faint pencil marks suggesting 'a valley inviron'd with Hils a farre off[4].'

The fourth *intermedio* is a sea scene, a creek or bay set in an Indian landscape. Into this creek Amerigo Vespucci is sailing on top of a huge sea chariot drawn by sea monsters and dolphins. Inigo has borrowed from this *intermedio* for his designs for Davenant's masque *The Temple of Love.* There is at Chatsworth the design of side wings for this masque which is a rough reproduction of the side wings of this fourth *intermedio* (A. 39). Then again we have at Chatsworth a plan for the disposition of the masquers in a scene representing a 'creek in an Indian landscape' (A. 40), which is evidently an undetailed sketch of the scene for which the side wings were intended; and finally from the description (though not from any design by Inigo Jones) we can tell that this masque scene must have borne a very close resemblance to the fourth *intermedio.*

The masque scene represented 'a sea somewhat calm' breaking on the land 'which represented a new and strange prospect...in which were

[1] In the British Museum there is a pamphlet containing Parigi's designs for *Il Giudizio di Paridi* and also designs for magnificent water-chariots to be used for the great show on the Arno, which were invented by Parigi and engraved by Jacques Callot, the famous French artist who at that time was studying his art in Florence. The designs for the *intermedii* have been reproduced by W. J. Lawrence, in his interesting article, 'A Primitive Italian Opera,' in *The Connoisseur,* xv (1906), p. 235.

[2] For this statement I am trusting to my memory. My other statements concerning Inigo Jones's designs are based on tracings or satisfactory descriptions of the designs which I was able to make during a careful study of the drawings at Chatsworth. Jones's designs for scenery are contained in two portfolios marked A and B respectively.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

[4] Aurelian Townshend's *Poems and Masks*, ed. by E. K. Chambers. (Tudor and Stuart Library.) Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. 3, 4.

trees of a strange form and colour, and here and there were placed in the bottom several arbours like cottages, and strange birds and beasts, far unlike the country of these parts, expressing an Indian landscape.' Out of this creek came an antique barque, on which sat Orpheus, and other persons dressed as seamen. 'He playing one strain was answered with the voices and instruments of the Brachmani joined with the priests of the Temple of Love.' When the barque had taken port, and while the chorus were playing and singing, the masquers appeared in a maritime chariot made of a spongy rockstuff mixed with shells, sea-weeds, coral and pearls, drawn by sea-monsters and enthroning Indamora, Queen of Narsinga.

In the Italian *intermedio* 'the scene represented a placid, quiet sea, the shores of which were covered with trees, unfamiliar to us, and scattered among them, here and there, appeared cottages made of palms and reeds...the air was full of parrots and similar kinds of birds and on the ground were naked men dressed as western Indians.' Into this sea came a ship, with Amerigo Vespucci seated on the poop. At the brow were Hope, Boldness, Strength and other soldiers and sailors. A madrigal was sung, and as the ship came to land 'a rock, which was drawn by two sea-monsters and could be recognized as the car of Tranquillity, began to rise up from the water. This rock was full of shells and corals, with sea-weed and other sea-marvells. On the summit of it stood Tranquillity[1].'

The Italian and English descriptions resemble each other even in details, and it is interesting that the Indian cottages which are mentioned in both cases appear more clearly in the Italian than in the English drawings, and that Parigi's design for the car of Tranquillity gives a much better idea of the main scene of the English masque than do the rough sketches of Inigo Jones which have been preserved at Chatsworth.

The last *intermedio* of Parigi represented the Temple of Peace. In the Chatsworth Collection (A. 17) there is a small, incomplete but careful sketch of porticoes and pillars which exactly resemble portions of this Temple of Peace, and by the rough sketch of the framework surrounding these pillars, we can identify it as a design for 'the forum or piazza of Peace' in *The Triumph of Peace*, a scene in a magnificent masque written by Shirley and produced by Gentlemen of the Inns of Court in February, 1633–4.

Although the architectural part of Parigi's design was used by Inigo for *The Triumph of Peace*, the movement and the speeches of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

characters in this sixth *intermedio* suggest not Shirley's masque but certain passages in Townshend's masque *Albion's Triumph*, produced in 1632. After the main masque dance had been performed the scene was varied to a prospect of the city of London with the King's palace of Whitehall. 'And presently the whole heaven opened, and in a bright clowde were seen sitting five persons, representing *Innocency, Justice, Religion, Affection* to the Country and *Concord*, being all companions of *Peace*.... These moving towards the earth sing together as followeth.... Then from the upper part of the heaven was seen to follow this: another more beautiful cloud, in which alone triumphant sat *Peace*... *Proclaiming her large Benefits, and the World's Ingratitude*.... The Five in the lower clowde confessing her great *Bounty* answere.... When the five persons which first descended were come to the earth, the clowde that bare them was in an instant turned into a richly adorned Throne. And out of the foure corners of the scene proceede 4 Gods, *Neptune, Plutus, Bellona*, and *Cebele, complaining of ease and plenty*[1].'... After some dialogue, Peace commands the four gods to serve England and the English King; the gods announce that they will be delighted to obey her.

In Parigi's sixth *intermedio* Peace appears on a cloud with a large number of followers, among whom are Affection to the Country, Innocence, Concord, Justice and Adoration. (It may be noted that Parigi and Inigo Jones dress their characters differently.) Peace sings and is answered in song by the priests in her temple. Then Peace alights on the earth and seats herself on her throne, while there appear in the sky four clouds, on each of which is a chariot containing a god—Bellona, Cebele, Pluto and Neptune. In reply to questions put by Peace, the four deities explain that they have come to honour the heroic pair. Thereupon the heavens open in three places, revealing many celestial beings, who sing with joy, while at the same time clouds appear filled with zephyrs and breezes who dance together, 'con gran meraviglia degli spettatori come di cosa non più tentata in aria[2].'

This aerial dance was imitated by Inigo in *Luminalia* (1637)[3], 'which apparition for the newness of the Invention, greatnesse of the Machine, and difficulty of engining, was much admired, being a thing not before attempted in the aire[4].'

The masque *Luminalia* is a patchwork of borrowings. To trace its

[1] Townshend, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–21. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 46–49.

[3] This fact was pointed out by W. J. Lawrence in the article on 'A Primitive Italian Opera,' *op. cit.* I should like to acknowledge my great indebtedness to that article.

[4] *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library*, ed. by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, vol. IV, *Luminalia*, pp. 629, 630.

sources we must first of all return to the Florentine festivities of 1579.

Among the triumphal chariots which graced the tournament in the Pitti Palace was the Car of Night, drawn by two black animals. Above the Car of Night was Æther her son: 'In the middle of it, were many shades and phantasms, made of black gauze so that they were transparent, and *with a black but sweet smelling smoke issuing out of their mouths*[1]; and by diverse attitudes showing themselves to be afraid.'

The Car stopped in front of the Royal Box and then to all the other delights was added that of music, for the sleeping Night awoke and taking a viola in her hand sang this madrigal:

Fuor dell' humido nido
Uscita con le mie presaghe schiere
Di Fantasmi, di Sogni, e di Chimere
La Notte io son....

The whole invention was made by Signor Palla Rucellai, the music by G. S. Piero Strozzi, and the song tune by M. Giulio Caccini[2].

This Car of Night almost certainly furnished suggestions to S. Francesco Cini for his *Notte d' Amore*, a series of musical spectacles, which diversified the ball held in the Palazzo Vecchio as part of the wedding festivities of 1608[3].

A stage had been erected in the largest room of the Palace, and suddenly in the middle of the princely dancing the curtain fell and revealed a view of the western quarter of the city of Florence, with its neighbouring mountains, only more woody than in reality. Then as the spectators were lost in admiration and surprise Hesperus crossed the scene in a cloud and summoned in a song Night to come on her accustomed path and give rest to mortals, for the sun was hidden and had yielded up his power to her. At this Night appears and responds to the call of Hesperus, saying that she brings with her her faithful followers, Oblivion, Silence, Repose, Sweet Sleep. But her purpose is thwarted by the arrival of Love who brings with him his troop, namely Cupids, Play, Laughter, Dancing, Song, Contentment, and bids Night yield up her sceptre to him, for here is an assembly of lovers more ready for delights than for dreams. Night obeys and departs with her followers,

[1] I have put in italics passages in the Italian and English descriptions which bear a close resemblance to each other.

[2] *Feste nelle Nozze*, etc., pp. 24–26.

[3] *Descrittione delle Feste*, etc., pp. 28–32 (from which all the following descriptions and quotations are taken). For the poetical libretto cp. *Notte Damore* del S. Francesco Cini. Rappresentata tra Danze, nelle Nozze del Sereniss. D. Cosimo de' Medici, Principe di Toscana e della Serenissima Archiduchessa Maria Maddalena d' Austria. In Firenze l' Anno MDCVIII.

while Love urges on his followers to descend and dance among the spectators. The company and Love sing a chorus in time to which they dance. With this the first 'vigil' ended and ordinary dancing was resumed. The knights and ladies in the audience danced together at the end of each 'vigil.'

For the second vigil, the scene changed unexpectedly to a beautiful garden '*full of flowering trees and green plots and squares and fountains and loggias and circles and similar delights that deceived the eye.*'

Now there appeared in the sky certain stars in front of the moon, and '*one of them, not seeing in the place the accustomed obscurity of Night asked where she might be, or whether the sun had reversed his course.*' The moon appearing was astonished at seeing such splendours and invited the stars to descend and to admire these new wonders. Just then Endymion appeared in the garden and seeing the moon he adjured her by their ancient love to descend on the spot where Love had assembled the flower of lovers and of beauties. Then followed a chorus of Stars, Moon and Endymion, dancing together. Love adds his summons to mirth and dancing and the second vigil ends.

More hours passed by, the guests dancing and making merry in company with the new masquers until weariness began to overtake them. In order to revive their flagging interest the scene changed again and showed '*castles in the air, mountains, rocks, seas, buildings burning or in ruins; with men, some sailing, some falling; with various other dreamlike apparitions; the whole thing sustained by the rainbow.*' Across the scene flew the Nocturnal Hours and one of them cried out in a loud voice, summoning Dreams false and true, calling upon '*Morpheus, representor of human figures, Itatone of monsters, Panto of material forms*[1],' and on all sleep-disturbing phantasms. Upon this the Dreams appeared, in all kinds of stunted, monstrous and unfinished shapes, and danced together for a while, until one of them asked the flying Hours whither they were driving them, 'for this was no place for them, here where the lovers—like so many Arguses—were keeping a delightful vigil.'

[1] The ultimate source of this passage is to be found in Ovid, *Met.* xi, 633–643. The forms *Itatone* and *Panto* are corruptions of *Icelon* (acc. sing.), *Phantasos* (nom. sing.). Perhaps they indicate an intermediate source between Ovid and Cini, possibly a corrupt mediæval version. We may compare the corrupt form *Eclympasteyre* in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 166, 167, which goes back to the same passage: Ovid, *Met.* xi, 641, 642 'Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus | Nominat....' 'Eclym' is Ovid's *Icelon*,—'pasteyre' possibly represents *Phobetora*. Gower (ed. Pauli, ii, 103) calls *Icelos*, 'Ithecus,' and *Phantasos*, 'Panthasas,' cp. Skeat's *Chaucer, The Minor Poems* (Clarendon Press, 2nd edit.), p. 241, note to line 167 *Eclympasteyre*. In an *intermedio* performed in Mantua in 1608, the names drawn from Ovid are spelt almost but not quite correctly: 'Morfeo, Forbetore e Fantaso,' *Compendio delle Sontuose Feste*, etc. In Mantova. Presso Aurelio & Lodovico Osanna Stampatori Ducali, MDC.IIX, pp. 88, 89.

Love, hearing this, tells the Dreams that all the lovers present are enjoying their true delights, and are not to be troubled by vain visions, but the Dreams may dance among themselves to cause laughter and delight. After the Dreams have performed the burlesque dance, Love and his chorus sing together, bidding the monstrous Dreams to vanish, to go and disturb the dreams of sleepers:

E noi tornando, à gl' amorosi inviti,
Guidiam balli d' Amor, balli graditi.

The princely guests now amused themselves with dancing until it was almost day. Then the scene was changed into a garden as before, and there appeared in the air the Morning Breeze, who called upon Aurora to redden the mountain tops. Aurora obeys the call. Tithonus remaining alone in the sky, laments his bride Aurora and curses the Morning Breeze. Love bids Aurora to delay the arrival of the Sun and to descend among them. Stars and Cupids sing in chorus during the descent of Aurora. Then there is a chorus of Stars, Loves, the Morning Breeze, Aurora, and Endymion dancing together. 'It is no wonder,' they cry, 'that deities should descend when such a goodly company is gathered together.' They bless the princely couple and their friends. Aurora turns towards the sky and announces the coming of the sun. One by one the Moon, the Stars, and finally Endymion all depart, lamenting the transience of human delights.

Apollo appears, leading in the day, and coming to drive everyone to deeds worthy of the light. There is a short dispute with Love who finally departs with his chorus of Cupids, singing:

O chiaro, o lieto giorno... etc.

In 1617 Ben Jonson composed a masque, *The Vision of Delight*, which shows unmistakable traces of the influence of both the *Carro della Notte* and still more of the *Notte d' Amore*. For the first scene there is 'a street in perspective of fair-building discovered. Delight is seen to come as a far off, accompanied with Grace, Love, Harmony, Revel, Sport, Laughter, and followed by Wonder.' The first antimasque is summoned and dismissed. Then 'Night rises slowly, and takes her chariot bespangled with stars,' and hovering over the place sings:

Break, Phant'sie, from thy cave of cloud,
And spread thy purple wings;
Now all thy figures are allowed,
And various shapes of things;
Create of airy forms a stream...
And though it be a waking dream,
Chorus: Yet let it like an odour rise
To all the senses here,
And fall like sleep upon their eyes,
Or music in their ear.

Here Ben Jonson transmutes into a few lines of poetry part of the description of the *Carro della Notte* (cp. *supra*, p. 403, italicised passages), and of the summoning up of the Dreams by the Nocturnal Hour in the *Notte d' Amore*. After this the scene changed to cloud, from which Phant'sie breaking forth, spoke a long speech which is nonsensical doggerel from beginning to end, and may have a slightly sarcastic reference to the deformed shapes and queer, unfinished dances of the Dreams in *Notte d' Amore*. Phant'sie's speech is followed by an Antimasque of Phantasms, and then 'one of the Hours descending, the whole scene changed to the bower of Zephirus, whilst Peace sung as followeth:...Here to a loud music, the Bower opens, and the masquers are discovered as the glories of the Spring....' Then after the masque dance and revels had been performed Aurora appeared (the Night and Moon being descended), and this Epilogue followed:

Aurora: I was not wearier where I lay
By frozen Tithon's side to-night;
Than I am willing now to stay,
And be a part of your delight.
But I am urged by the Day,
Against my will to bid you come away.

Chorus: They yield to time, and so must all.
As night to sport, day doth to action call;
Which they the rather do obey,
Because the morn with roses strews the way[1].

Here, again, Jonson has condensed some of the dramatic business of *Notte d' Amore* into a few lines of poetry.

Inigo Jones uses the same source—but with far less discretion and poetic skill—for his *Luminalia*. The masque opens with 'a scene all of darknesse...there arose out of the hollow caverns of the earth a duskie cloud, and on it a chariot enricht and borne by two great owles....' In it was Night. ...'She tels she came to give repose to the labours of mortals, but seeing all things here tending to feasts and revels, she with her attendants will give assistance though it serves but as a foile to set off more noble representations...[2].' For this 'cloudy night-piece' Inigo may have taken some hints from the *Carro della Notte*. Night sings and from the sides of the scene appear her attendants—*Oblivion, Silence, and the four nocturnal hours or Vigils*. We may compare the appearance of these with that of the corresponding Italian characters, for the descriptions of their dresses are practically identical[3].

[1] Jonson, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–120.
[2] *Luminalia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 615, 616.
[3] Compare *Luminalia*, *op. cit.*, p. 617, with *Descrittione delle Feste*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

The attendants of Night call forth certain antimasques. These antimasques are divided into entries and are so like the entries of a typical French Ballet de Cour that it would not be surprising to learn that they were borrowed from one of them.

'*These antimasques being past, the scene of night vanished; and a new and strange Prospect of Chimeras appear'd, with some trees of an unusuall forme, Mountaines of gold, Towers falling, Windmills and other extravagant edifices, and in the further part a great City sustained by a Rain-bow, all which represented the City of Sleepe*[1]. One of the vigils in song called forth sleepe who appeared comming out of a darke cave, with three of his principall sonnes, *Morpheus the presenter of humane shapes, Iceles, of fearfull visions, and Phantaste*[2], *of anything that may be imagined, Sleepe, a fat man in a black robe, and over it a white mantle, on his head a girland of Grapes, with a Dormouse sitting before, in his hand a golden wand.*' (In *Notte d' Amore*, 'il sonno' is dressed in exactly the same way.) Then 'the sonnes of Sleepe bring in these antimasques of dreams.' [For the fourth entry appear 'five feathered men, inhabitants of the City of *Sleepe*.... Here an antique ship was seen farre within the scene, sailing in the aire.' Of the fifth entry we are told: 'From the temple of the Cocke, seated by the haven of the City of Sleepe, the principall Mariners or Master Mates in rich habits...make their entry.']

'...These antimasques being past, the Heaven began to be enlightened as before, the sunne rising, and the scene was changed into *a delicious prospect; wherein were rowes of Trees, Fountains, Statues, Arbors, Grotos, Walkes, and all such things of delight, as might expresse the beautifull garden of the Britanides.* The morning starre appears on a cloud in the air in the form of a beautiful youth.' From the other side of Heaven comes Aurora 'in a chariot touch'd with gold borne up by a rosie coloured cloud.... *Hesperus asks Aurora, why the Sunne is so long in coming, and whether being weary of his last journey, he is gone to take his rest.*' Aurora replies that the sun has yielded his office to 'a terrestriall Beautie,'

[1] Compare this with the italicised passages taken from *Descrittione delle Feste*, *op. cit.* Cp. *supra*, p. 404.

[2] Inigo Jones (or his poet-collaborator) evidently rejected the forms *Panto* and *Itatone* as meaningless. He must have had direct or indirect knowledge of the passage in Ovid, *loc. cit.* The names employed by Jones may be due to imperfect memory, or that indifference to exact scholarship which annoyed Ben Jonson. The writers of that time did not shrink from taking liberties with proper names, when in difficulties with rhyme or metre: an example occurs in Arthur Golding's translation of this very passage of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 'Among a thousand sonnes and mo that father slomber had | He calld up *Morph* the feyner of mannes shape a craftye lad.' Elsewhere he uses the form *Morphye*. The other names are spelt correctly: *Icilos*, *Phobetor*, *Phantasos*. It may be noted that the only time the name *Iceles* occurs in the *verse* of *Luminalia*, it has to rhyme with 'please.'

and she bids him and the Flamens and Arch-Flamens to celebrate 'this Goddesse of brightnesse with those faire Nymphs dependant on her splendour.' The masque ends with the scene of the aerial dance which was taken from the last *intermedio* of *Il Giudizio di Paridi*.

In the Chatsworth Collection there are several designs for scenes of this masque *Luminalia* (A. 43, 73, 44; B. 22, ?38, 39, ?40). They are more imaginative and mysterious than most of the other designs, and it would be interesting to know whether Inigo copied them from Italian designs or whether he invented them out of the hints furnished by the prose description of the *Notte d' Amore*. However that may be *Luminalia* is a convincing proof that Inigo Jones had formed no sort of conception of the masque as a work of art with its own unity and intrinsic excellence. The designs at Chatsworth are really beautiful; the plot of *Luminalia* is entirely devoid of merit.

It is worth noticing that, although these latter masques of Inigo's are a perfect patchwork of Italian devices picked to pieces and recombined, the borrowings almost all come from the Florentine Festivities of 1608[1]. Inigo Jones was not in Italy at the time; but he must have very quickly procured illustrated pamphlets describing the events, and have preserved them most carefully. He uses both the designs and the written descriptions. Though the rest of the world may not have known where the famous architect found his ideas, the masque poets must have been in the secret. Ben Jonson probably objected strongly; and his sneer at Inigo's 'Twice conceived, thrice paid for, imagery' had a good deal of justification. It is amusing that Inigo Jones makes his most definite claim to originality in his Preface to *Luminalia*, the masque in which his plagiarism appears most blatantly:

'The King's Majesties Masque being performed, the Queene commanded Inigo Jones Surveyor at her Majesties works to make a new subject of a Masque for herselfe, that with high and hearty invention, might give occasion for variety of scenes, strange apparitions, Songs, Musick and dancing of severall kinds: from whence doth result the true pleasure peculiar to our English Masques, which by strangers and travellers of judgment, are held to be as noble and ingenious, as those of any other nations' (p. 613).

As a matter of fact, 'the true pleasure peculiar to our English Masques' was derived from their lyrical and dramatic excellence, in

[1] Further research, of course, might prove this statement to be inaccurate. I have, however, examined a fair number of descriptions of Italian entertainments which have *not* been imitated by Inigo Jones. He took a few hints from a Florentine tournament held in 1616.

all other respects the masques were merely inferior versions of Italian ballets and *intermedii*. Ben Jonson realized this, and as long as his influence prevailed Italian borrowings were only permitted when they could be fitted into his scheme and transmuted into poetry. The Philistines at the Stuart Court sided with Inigo Jones, but posterity has justified Ben Jonson.

ENID WELSFORD.

CAMBRIDGE.

JOHN DONNE AND SIR THOMAS OVERBURY'S 'CHARACTERS.'

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY'S poem, *A Wife*, was published posthumously in 1614. Later in the same year a second edition was issued, with the addition of a number of 'Characters' and letters of witty aphorisms written by Overbury and his friends. The title of this edition runs thus:

'A Wife Novv The Widdow of Sir Thomas Overburye. Being A most exquisite and singular Poem of the choice of a Wife. Whereunto are added many witty Characters, and conceited Newes, written by himselfe and other learned Gentlemen his friends.

Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori,
Cœlo musa beat. Hor: car: lib. 3.

London Printed for Lawrence Lisle, and are to bee sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Tigers head. 1614.'

The introductory epistle 'The Printer to the Reader' contains the following noteworthy passage: 'The surplusage, that now exceeds the last edition, was (that I may bee honestly impartiall) in some things only to be challenged by the first author, but others now added, (little inferior to the residue) being in nature answerable, and first transcrib'd by Gentlemen of the same qualitie, I haue vpon good inducements, made publike with warrantie of their and my owne credit. Not doubting therefore to be doubly discharged, both by the verdict of conscience and the well-deserued thankes of all iudicious Readers, I bid you euery one farewell, May 16. 1614.'

On Sig. F4 there is a sub-title: 'Newes, from Any whence: Or Old Truthes vnder a supposall of Noueltie. Occasioned by diuers Essayes and priuate passages of wit between sundry Gentlemen vpon that subiect.' This collection begins with 'Newes from Court' by T. O. (Overbury himself), followed by 'Answer to the Court newes' by A. S., 'Country Newes' by S^r^ T. R., 'Newes from the very Country' by I. D., 'Answer to the very Country Newes' by A. S., and a number of other items. I. D. stands for 'Iohn Donne,' if we can believe the younger Donne, who in the 1650 edition of his father's poems printed this 'Newes from the very Country' as the first item on the additional sheets (aa1–bb4) which he supplied on obtaining control for the first

time of the *Poems*. The younger Donne was not a trustworthy person, but there seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the additional matter, and he could have had little inducement to claim this short prose piece as his father's fraudulently, for it fits oddly enough into a volume of poems. Moreover the piece itself, trifling as it is, bears the characteristic marks of Donne's early prose style, as shown in the 'paradoxes' and 'problems' which appeared in his *Juvenilia*. It is accepted without question as Donne's by Mr G. L. Keynes in his valuable *Bibliography of John Donne* (1914), pp. 73 and 117, but Mr Keynes is in error in writing of it as appearing first in the 'sixt impression' (1615) of Overbury's *Characters*. He was perhaps misled by Dr E. F. Rimbault, who on p. xvi of his introduction to *The Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of Sir Thomas Overbury* (1890) mentions the 'Newes from the very Country' as if it appeared first in the sixth edition, whereas, as we have seen, it appeared in 1614 in the second edition of *A Wife*—the first which included the *Characters* and *Newes*. Donne was apparently one of the original contributors to the budget of 'conceited news' which Overbury started with his 'Newes from Court' and circulated among his friends in order that they might supply their share of wit.

It has not, as far as I am aware, been previously noted that the substance of Donne's 'Newes from the very Country' appears in the jottings printed as 'Table Talk' in Section C of Appendix IV of Mr Pearsall Smith's *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. Mr Pearsall Smith states that he found these jottings in a manuscript commonplace book at Burley-on-the-Hill, from which he printed a number of letters and despatches, which he was able to identify as Wotton's. 'It is plain,' he adds, 'from the number of documents connected with Wotton, that the commonplace book belonged to him, or to some one associated with him, and that in it were copied many of the most important papers connected with his first embassy at Venice. The following collection of anecdotes and sayings may be safely regarded, I think, as notes of "table talk" made by some one in Wotton's house in Venice—the frequent references to the assassination of Henry IV (Nos. 36, 39, 40, 45, 75, 76) would fix the date at the summer or autumn of 1610, and there is no reference to any event of a subsequent period. While it would be unwise and perhaps unjust to attribute all the remarks to Wotton himself, a number of them are undoubtedly his....'

Mr Pearsall Smith is certainly right in connecting a large number of the jottings with the year 1610, and with Wotton's Venetian

embassy, but the collection seems to fall into several groups, one of which—the first, as the jottings now appear—is composed of remarks found in the 'Newes' of the Overbury volume. Thus, adopting Mr Pearsall Smith's numbering of the jottings, we find that Nos. 3–8, 10–12, 23–29 occur in Donne's 'Newes from the very Country.' Nos. 13–15, 18–22 are to be found in 'Newes from my Lodging' ascribed to B. R. (Benjamin Rudyard). Nos. 1, 2, 16, 17, 30–34 occur in Overbury's 'Newes from Court.' After these jottings we come to a group, dealing with foreign politics, and especially with the murder of Henry IV of France. These are followed by a few remarks about Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex, intermingled with Italian quotations and reports of incidents in Venice. There is another small group of general maxims, followed by a large number of jottings referring to Venetian affairs and also to the death of the French King, and finally we have a series of remarks dealing with the behaviour of princes and a number of references to the history of Henry III of England.

Since the collection seems to have been completed in 1610, and some of the entries may have been earlier, Wotton or his secretaries evidently did not draw on the printed collection of 'Newes' in the Overbury volume. Moreover the jottings are in a different order from that in which they occur in the 'Newes,' and items from Overbury's 'Newes from the Court' are interspersed among Donne's and Rudyard's contributions.

The Burley commonplace book contained a number of letters and poems by Donne, most of the letters being apparently addressed to Wotton or one of his circle. I venture therefore to suggest that it was Donne who forwarded to Wotton the series of jottings which form the first group of the 'Table Talk' collection. Donne's 'Newes from the very Country' is reproduced almost in its entirety in 'Table Talk,' though its contents are rearranged, while only fragments of Overbury and Rudyard's contributions appear. Moreover, one of the 'Table Talk' jottings is unintelligible as it stands, and its force is seen only when we consider it in its proper context in 'Newes from the very Country.' This is the form in which it appears in 'Table Talk' (No. 12): 'Court motions are up and down, ours circular; theirs, like squibs, cannot stay at the highest, nor return to the place whence they rose from, but vanish and wear out in the air: ours like millwheels, busy without changing; they...fortunes, we vicissitudes[1].' In 'Newes from the very

[1] Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 491.

Country' we read: 'That Court motions are vp and down, ours circular: theirs like squibs cannot stay at the highest, nor return to the place which they rose from, but vanish & weare out in the way, Ours like mill-wheels busie without changing place; they haue peremptorie fortunes, we vicissitudes[1].' Here is the contrast between Court and country, which is obscured in 'Table Talk,' where there is no indication in the context to show to whom 'ours' and 'we' refer. Again No. 15 of 'Table Talk' runs thus: 'He that sleeps in the cradle of security, sins without snorling.' This appears in 'Newes from my Lodging' in the form—'That hee who sleepes in the cradle of securitie, sins soundly without starting[2].' Nos. 33, 34 of 'Table Talk' run thus: 'The wisdom of action is discretion; the knowledge or contemplation is truth, the knowledge of action is man. He that first considers what should be the latter, makes use of what is.' The obscurity of these sentences disappears in 'Newes from Court,' where they run thus: 'That the wisdome of *Action* is *Discretion*, the knowledge of contemplation is truth, the knowledge of action is men. That the first considers what should be, the latter makes vse of what is[3].'

Did Donne contribute anything further to the curious miscellany which, increasing in size with every fresh edition, continued to be described as Sir Thomas Overbury's work, though Overbury's undoubted share in it was gradually overwhelmed by the flood of new 'characters,' essays, and other items introduced by the editors and publishers of the eighteen editions which appeared within fifty-one years of Overbury's death? Among this new material were contributions by Sir Henry Wotton, Lady Southwell, Bishop Corbet, Francis Beaumont, and others. One or two items were signed with the full name, one or two more with the initials of the writer when they first appeared, but the bulk of the new material had no indication of authorship. The title of each new edition described it as 'enlarged with more Characters than any of the former Editions,' or as containing 'additions of new Characters, and many other Wittie Conceits never before Printed.'

The eleventh edition (1622) contained for the first time 'An Essay of Valour,' unsigned. This essay appeared on Q6–R1 after 'The Character of a happy life. By Sir H. W.' and before 'Certaine Edicts from a Parliament in Eutopia; Written by the Lady Southwell'

[1] Overbury, *Wife* (1614, second edition), Sig. G 2 verso.
[2] *Ibid.* Sig. H 2.
[3] *Ibid.* Sig. F 4 verso.

which in the tenth edition (1618) had immediately followed Sir H. W.'s poem. It was reprinted, again unsigned, in the twelfth edition (1627) and continued to appear in later editions[1].

The editors and bibliographers of Donne have failed to notice that this was the first appearance in print of an essay which was published as Donne's by his son in the 1652 volume, *Paradoxes, Problemes, Essayes, Characters, Written by Dr Donne Dean of Pauls.* The younger Donne in his dedicatory epistle described the contents of this volume as 'the *Essays* of *two Ages*, where you may see the *quicknesse* of the *first*, and the *firmness* of the *latter*,' thus alluding to the early paradoxes with their accompanying problems and essays, as contrasted with the graver *Essays in Divinity.*

The text of the 'Essay of Valour' in Overbury's *Characters* differs in a few points from that in the *Paradoxes.* Apart from differences in spelling and punctuation, it contains certain readings which are superior to those given by the younger Donne. Thus on Q6, line 17, the reading: 'It [valour] feareth a sword no more than an Ague' is clearly the right one, and the reading of the 1652 *Paradoxes* (p. 73): 'It feareth a word no more then an Ague' is corrupt. The context shows that the reading 'must neuer boast' (1622, Q6 verso, line 13) is the original one, of which 'must ever boast' (*Paradoxes*, p. 73) is a corruption. On the other hand, the 1622 edition, followed by all succeeding editions of the *Characters*, has the misprint 'Mistrisses' (Q7 verso, line 5)—'they carry their Mistrisses weapons, and his valour'—where the *Paradoxes* rightly reads 'Masters.' 'Mistrisses' in the 1622 volume is evidently due to the printer's eye having caught the word where it occurs rightly in the line before, and the blunder was repeated in subsequent editions.

The eleventh[2] edition (1622) also contained for the first time 'The true Character of a Dunce,' which is to be found on G3–G5 between the characters of 'An Ostler' and 'A Good Wife.' It is unsigned, but in 1652 it was published as John Donne's by the younger Donne in *Paradoxes, Problemes, Essayes, Characters.* In that volume it occupies pp. 67–71, and is placed after 'The Character of a Scot at the first sight' and immediately before 'An Essay of Valour.' I have collated the text of the two editions, and have found a number of trifling variations.

[1] I have not been able to examine copies of all the later editions, but the essay is found between the 'Character of a happy life' and 'Certaine Edicts' in the fourteenth edition (1630), and between 'Certaine verses concerning the present estate of Man' and 'Certaine Edicts' in the seventeenth edition (1655).

[2] Rimbault erroneously states (*op. cit.* p. xviii) that the character of a Dunce appeared first in the 'sixteenth impression' (1638) which he reckons as the seventeenth. He makes no conjecture about the authorship.

It is noteworthy that these two pieces of Donne's, 'The true Character of a Dunce' and 'An Essay of Valour,' appeared for the first time in 1622 when Henry Seile joined Lisle in issuing the Overbury volume. It was Seile who in 1633 issued Donne's *Juvenilia*, containing a number of prose paradoxes and problems. These had been licensed by Sir Henry Herbert, but in a few months the license was withdrawn, in consequence of a summons of Sir Henry before the Board of the Star Chamber to explain 'why hee warranted the book of D. Duns paradoxes to bee printed.' Evidently Seile had access to a manuscript containing copies of Donne's early prose pieces, but the publication was resented by John Donne the younger, who in 1637 presented a petition to Archbishop Laud in which he stated that since the death of his father, lately Dean of St Paul's, there had been many scandalous pamphlets published under his name, which were none of his. Among these were instanced the *Poems* of 1633, *Ignatius his Conclave*, and *Juvenilia*. It is plain that the younger Donne's motive was merely to obtain control of the publication of his father's works, for a few years later he acknowledged the authenticity of all these three volumes by re-issuing them as Donne's, with additional poems and prose matter.

Probably the manuscript which Seile consulted contained also the only other 'character' ascribed to Donne by his son, 'The Character of a Scot at the first sight,' but in 1622, while James I was still on the throne, it would have been impolitic to publish it.

These pieces have no great literary value, but they are witty enough in their way, and it is interesting to find Donne thus associated with Overbury, Rudyard, Roe, and other brilliant young men of the day in their attempt to vie with one another in the production of 'characters,' essays, and 'conceited news.' Probably all Donne's contributions belong to the early years of James I's reign, when Donne, though spending most of his time in retirement at Mitcham, kept in touch with friends at Court.

EVELYN M. SIMPSON
(*née* SPEARING).

OXFORD.

ANDREW MARVELL: FURTHER BIOGRAPHICAL POINTS.

Professor Margoliouth's very interesting article in a recent number of this *Review* (Vol. xvii, p. 351) has prompted me to publish a few facts which no biographer of Marvell's has yet mentioned. As I am writing in France and cannot verify some of my statements, I beg to be excused for possible slips and shall be thankful for any correction or addition which more experienced workers in the field of research may offer.

I. Marvell and the Skinners.

On the points so thoroughly investigated by Professor Margoliouth I have nothing to add, unless I were to point out that the Marvell family was somehow acquainted with a sister to Mrs Skinner and aunt to Cyriack. There is in the Inner Temple library a MS. sermon on *Israel and England parallel'd*, which its author, the Rev. Andrew Marvell, dedicated to Mrs Anne Sadleir, under date of 28 April 1627[1]. Now that lady, a daughter of Sir Edward Coke like Mrs Skinner, lived on into the times of the Civil War and Commonwealth (probably she even saw the Restoration), and there is preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, a curious correspondence between her and the New England pioneer of religious liberty, Roger Williams, of which correspondence Masson gave extracts in his *Life of Milton*[2]. Williams tried to alter the lady's strongly royalist and episcopalian views and recommended *Eikonoclastes* to her. But she rebuked him indignantly: 'For Melton's book...that he wrote against the late King that you would have me read, you should have taken notice of God's judgment upon him, who struck him with blindness; and, as I have heard, he was fain to have the help of one Andrew Marvell, or else he could not have finished that most accursed libel. God has begun his punishment upon him here; his punishment will be hereafter in Hell.' The supposition

[1] Historical MSS. Commission, XIth report, part 7: MSS. of the Inner Temple, p. 235, No. 531 C, 12°. From No. 531 E in the same collection we learn that Mrs Sadleir lived at Standon in Hertfordshire. I have not seen the manuscript sermon and dedication myself. They might yield further information.

[2] Volume iv, pp. 528–31. Masson does not give the lady's Christian name, but the *D.N.B.* (Life of Roger Williams) refers to her as 'Mrs Anne Sadleir.'

that Marvell should have given Milton help in the writing of *Eikonoclastes* (published in October 1649, i.e. about nine months before he wrote the *Horatian Ode*, so utterly different in its appreciation of the king's execution) deserves no consideration whatever; but the report itself, credulously taken up by Mrs Sadleir, shows in what light she looked at Marvell, when he had done little that we know to bring upon himself

Ni cet excès d'honneur ni cette indignité.

For the Williams-Sadleir correspondence took place in 1652 or 1653[1]. Milton wrote his well-known introduction of Marvell to Bradshaw on February 21, 165$\frac{2}{3}$, but it proved ineffectual, and from it we gather that the two poets had not been long acquainted and that the younger one had just left the rather royalist household of Fairfax. The *Character of Holland*, Marvell's earliest decidedly republican utterance, belongs indeed to the former half of 1653, but if it then appeared in print (and that not anonymously), of which we have no proof, it does not seem to have achieved fame. Neither was Marvell's appointment in July of the same year as tutor to Cromwell's ward, William Dutton, of a nature to make him notorious among the royalists at large. We must therefore conclude that Mrs Sadleir heard very early, though from no strictly accurate informer, of the poet's going over to the republicans, and that the news shocked her all the more because she knew his family and gratefully remembered his father.

We might perhaps go one step further: what Mrs Sadleir most objected to in Williams, was the fact that he had been helped to his education by her father: think of poor Sir Edward Coke, were he told in his grave of the present attitude of his *protégé*![2] Suppose now she was aware that her sister had provided the youth Marvell with money, e.g. when he set out on his grand tour: it would fully account for her hostile notice of him[3]. I do not mean to revive the legend of Mrs Skinner's legacy in its traditional form, as definitely laid to rest by Professor Margoliouth, but just to encourage lovers of the romantic in the belief that there may have been some foundation for it after all.

[1] Three letters passed from each side, none of them dated. But we know that Williams embarked for England in November 1651 (according to Masson he arrived in London in March or April 1652). He left early in 1654. It seems probable that he did not wait till the end of his stay to attempt renewing his acquaintance with the family of his late patron, Sir Edward Coke (see *infra*).

[2] This appears from a note prefixed to the correspondence by Mrs Sadleir, who kept Williams's letters and copies of her own.

[3] Note that Mrs Skinner died some time before June 18, 1653 (the date of the proving of her will). Cyriack had then been Milton's disciple and admirer for several years, and must also have incurred his aunt's reprobation.

II. Marvell's First Election to Parliament.

It is well known now that Marvell first sat for Hull in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, to which he was elected on the 10th January, 165$\frac{8}{9}$. But the circumstances of his election require some elucidation.

At the time Marvell acted under Thurloe in the capacity of 'Latin secretary.' He had been living away from Hull for at least sixteen years[1], and we have no record of any visit paid by him to that town during this *grande mortalis aevi spatium*. He was not yet a burgess of Hull and had to apply *in extremis* for that 'freedom' which I take to have been a necessary qualification for election. Witness the following entry in the bench-books[2] which has never, to my knowledge, been printed: on Thursday, the 28th of December, 1658:

> Mr Edmund Popple sheriffe of this towne came into this board and acquainted that his brother in law Mr Andrew Marvell made it his request that the board would please to make him a free burgesse of this corporation, which the board taking into consideration and accompting the good service he hath already done for this towne they are pleased to grant him his freedome, and to that intent a commission or deputation under the towne seale be sealed unto Tempest Milner Esq. Thomas Lyster Esq. Benjamin Lyster Esq. Francis Allan gent. John Harris and Samuel Stanfield authorizing them jointly or any of them severally to take a corporall oath of the said Mr Marvell as Burgesse of this Corporation which oath is inserted in the said commission.

So Marvell was in London when he received the freedom; he was likewise absent from Hull on the day of his election as seems established by a fragment of a letter (not included in Grosart's edition) engraved under reproductions of the Hollis portrait: 'Pray what say our 86 [?] men of the businesse and of me?—Your most obliged affectionate cosin.—Andrew Marvell.—Jan. 15. 1658[3].'

Marvell's biographers account for his success at the poll by his father's memory and the interest of his brothers-in-law James Blaydes and Edmund Popple. Due stress has not been put on his official position which had already enabled him to do the town 'good service' and on governmental backing. As we shall now see, all these assets together might not have carried the result without more direct interference.

For the two seats allotted to Hull there were, besides Marvell, four

[1] Supposing he served a clerkship there in 1641–2, as Prof. Margoliouth surmises. If he did not, we should say twenty-five years instead of sixteen.

[2] Bench-book VI, p. 264.

[3] This autograph, to be seen at Wilberforce House, Hull, is said to come from an original letter in possession of John Thane. The figure before *men* is hard to make out. I guess this *cosin* to have been Marvell's nephew, William Popple, so styled in two of the letters collected by Grosart: March 30, 1669; March 21, 16$\frac{7}{8}\frac{0}{1}$, but perhaps he was too young in 1659 to take part in politics. The only other person addressed by Marvell as cousin is Humphry Duncalfe, mayor of Hull in 1668–9 (letters of Oct. 27, Nov. 28, 1668, and March 16, 166$\frac{8}{9}$).

candidates[1]: Thomas Strickland and Henry Smyth, about whose politics for the time being I know nothing; John Ramsden who became the senior member, and no doubt favoured the protectorate (the Marvell and Ramsden families had long been and were to continue upon intimate terms); and Sir Henry Vane the younger, who was perhaps Richard Cromwell's most formidable opponent as he had been Oliver's greatest annoyance. Vane represented Hull in the (to his mind still undissolved) Long Parliament, but he decided to swallow the conditions imposed upon the candidates by the new *régime* and to stand again. Now this is what Ludlow says: 'Great endeavours were used by the Court to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane; and tho their officers refused to return him at Hull and Bristol, at both which places it was said he had the majority, yet at last he was chosen and returned for the borough of Whitchurch in the county of Southampton[2].' Ludlow was partial but honest, and his allegation is entitled to consideration[3]. True, he produces it upon hearsay, but it is not incredible, nor even improbable:

I. The fragment of Marvell's letter quoted above hints at some incident, and if the beginning of the text were recovered, it would no doubt provide a clue to this mystery. II. The entry in the bench-books gives no figures for the poll, as is done for Marvell's second and third elections in 1660 and 1661[4]. This is somewhat suggestive of underhand proceedings. III. The then sheriff was, as we have seen, Marvell's brother-in-law, which might well throw suspicion on the report of the officers. IV. As early as June following the corporation of Hull was sending an address of congratulation to the restored Rump[5], thereby endorsing its former choice of Sir Henry Vane for its representative, and renouncing Marvell along with the fallen Protector.

Vane does not seem to have taken advantage of his new term of power to avenge himself upon Marvell whom he allowed to continue in his Latin secretaryship and to whom the republican council of state even granted lodgings at Whitehall on July 14, 1659. Perhaps this lenity

[1] Grosart, vol. II, p. 14.

[2] Ludlow's *Memoirs*, edited by Sir C. H. Firth, Oxford, 1894, vol. II, p. 51.

[3] Guizot accepts it in his *Histoire du Protectorat de Richard Cromwell et du rétablissement des Stuarts*, 1874, vol. I, p. 33.

[4] I am sorry to say I omitted when at Hull to look up the previous elections. If the figures were given in 1640, 1654, 1656, the argument against the fairness of Marvell's election becomes much stronger.

[5] Guizot, *ut supra*, p. 152, note 1. From the Journals of the House of Commons. I have not been able to look up any life of Vane except that in the *D.N.B.* (by Sir Charles Firth), where two references are given concerning the $165\frac{3}{9}$ election, to Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 588 and 590. But they throw no light on the point at issue.

proceeded from a desire to conciliate Milton who in fact returned to the republican fold about that time. At the election of the Convention (April 2, 1660), Vane, in disgrace with his own party, desisted from entering the lists and Colonel Matthew Alured[1], who seems to have stood for the Good Old Cause at its last gasp, failed with 55 votes to Ramsden's 227 and Marvell's 141[2].

To sum up, though the case for Marvell's retrospective unseating be not proven, yet the bulk of the evidence to my mind weighs decidedly against him, or rather against his supporters as he had no direct responsibility in the matter. Strange however that many should have known his politics only through Wordsworth's sonnet which associates him with his opponent:

> Great men have been among us ; hands that penned
> And tongues that uttered wisdom—better none !
> The later Sidney, Marvell, Harrington,
> Young Vane and others that called Milton friend.

III. Marvell in Parliament.

The Journals of the House of Commons, however jejune at that time, contain some interesting facts concerning Marvell which have remained buried owing to a sadly deficient index.

(A) On the 23rd of July, 1660, a letter is received by the House 'from the Prince Elector [Palatine of the Rhine] signed Carolus Ludovicus, dated Heidelberg Nonis Junii 1660.' After the letter has been read, it is

Ordered : That the members of this House [who are] of the King's Majesty's Privy Council be desired to acquaint the King's Majesty with this letter ; and if His

[1] No doubt the same Colonel Matthew Alured, to whom Cromwell wrote May 16, 1654. See the letter with Carlyle's comments. He was then dismissed from the army, on the score of anabaptist notions and questionable dispositions. What Marvell thought of the republican opposition in Richard's parliament, and of Vane's in particular, appears from his two letters to George Downing, of Feb. 11, 165$\frac{8}{9}$ and March 25, 1659, hitherto unpublished (British Museum, Add. MS. 22,919, pp. 14 and 78): 'Their doctrine hath moved most upon their maxime that all pow'r is in the people. That it is reverted into this house by the death of his Highnesse, that Mr. Speaker is protector in possession and it will not be his wisdom to part with it easily, that this house is all England. Yet they pretend that they are for a single person and this single person [Richard] but without negative voice without militia not upon the petition and advice but by adoption and donation of this House and that all the rights of the people should be specifyd and indorsed upon that Donation. But we know well enough what they mean....They have held us to it [the debate upon the bill for recognition of his Highness] and yet little nearer....For they speak eternally to the question, to the orders of the house, and in all the tricks of Parliament. They have much the odds in speaking but it is to be hoped that our justice our affection and our number which is at least two thirds will weare them out at the long runne....' True, Marvell is writing by Thurloe's command to a diplomatic agent of the protectorate. But the irony is all his own. The frank admission of superior eloquence and parliamentary skill on the republican side only brings out more clearly Marvell's intellectual aversion from these *doctrinaires*.

[2] Grosart, vol. II, p. 15.

Majesty shall think fit, that a letter be sent by this House in answer thereunto; that then they, and Mr *Marvell*, a member of this House, do, together with the members that serve for the Universities, prepare an answer and present it to this House.

Let us remember that Charles II has been in England less than two months and that the Convention-Parliament is in the height of royalist fervour. Thurloe, Marvell's former chief, is under arrest on a charge of high treason; he has lately been granted 'free liberty to attend the secretaries of state' but will not be amnestied until the 11th of August. Milton, Marvell's colleague, fares still worse. He is in hiding and his *Defensio* has just been burnt by the common hangman. And when a good Latin pen is wanted to write to the King's first cousin on the occasion of the 'Blessed Restoration,' some humorist in the House names Marvell, with a transparent reference to his previous employment with Old Noll, and the House in the spirit of the jest inflicts this mild form of punishment upon the delinquent. For we may safely surmise that the Right Honourable the Privy Councillors and the members for the Universities left the drudgery of writing this Latin prose to Marvell alone.

(B) Marvell sat on several select committees during this Convention-Parliament[1] where he seems to have made himself rather popular. On one occasion he reported to the whole House from one of those committees (the procedure resembling much more the French than the present English practice)

amendments to a bill for erecting and endowing vicarages out of impropriate rectories which he read with the coherence[2] in his place; and were afterwards read the first and second time by the clerk. Resolved: That this bill be committed to

[1] In Richard Cromwell's parliament Marvell had already been elected to several committees: (1) Committee to examine Elizabeth Lilborne's petition, Feb. 5, 165$\frac{8}{9}$; (2) Committee of the five northern counties to consider how they may be supplied with a learned, pious, sufficient and able ministry (same date); (3) Committee to examine whether the county palatine of Durham should be represented in Parliament, March 31, 1659; (4) Committee to examine a petition of the disbanded forces in Lancashire, April 13; (5) Committee to consider how to remove and where to place records then at Worcester House which is to be returned to its owner (same date).

In the Convention-Parliament he sits on committees appointed: (1) to examine the humble petition of several heads, governors and other members of the University of Oxford, June 25, 1660; (2) to examine papers printed in the name of the King and bishops derogatory to the authority of Parliament, June 30; (3) to consider reparation to the Earl of Bristol out of the lands of Carew Raleigh, Aug. 29; (4) to consider the spending of money to redeem captives at Algiers and Tunis (as an additional member), Sept. 3; (5) to report on the draining of the great level of the Fens, Sept. 4; (6) to settle the militia, Nov. 6; (7) to examine the petition of Michaell Crake, Nov. 9; (8) to examine a bill for preventing the voluntary separation and living apart of married persons, Nov. 14; (9) to settle a chapel of ease in the Forest of Waltham, Nov. 15; (10) for the debts of the Earl of Cleveland, Nov. 26.

A similar list might be made for the Cavalier Parliament, but then we have Marvell's correspondence with his constituents.

[2] i.e. the context. Marvell read a sentence or two before and after the amended ones.

the former committee: who are to meet this afternoon and to report with all convenient speed.

This takes place on the 15th of November 1660. The bill has been committed a first time on the 7th to a committee of 67 members. On the 27th of the same month, after prayers,

Mr Marvell reports further amendments and two provisoes to the bill for erecting and endowing vicarages out of impropriate rectories: which he read with the coherence in his place; and were after read the first and the second time by the clerk: and, on the question, the said amendments and provisoes previously reported, were, on the question, agreed. Resolved that this bill, with all the said amendments be ingrossed. Mr Marvell reports from the said committee, that this House would desire His Majesty that he would be pleased to write his [sic] letter to the colleges in the Universities, that they would take into consideration their respective impropriations, and augment the vicarages, or curates' places, belonging thereto, to such proportion, as will consist with the maintenance of the said colleges.

We need not infer that Marvell since his Trinity days bore the Cambridge dons a grudge and took this opportunity of revenging his dismissal from his scholarship in 1641; but he was evidently pleased with his day's work, since writing to his constituents the same night he told them, contrary to his usual practice, the share he had taken in the proceedings[1].

The bill was read a third time on November 30, passed and carried up to the Lords the same day[2] (but not by Marvell). There it waited for their Lordships' pleasure, who in spite of a reminder from the Commons (December 17) allowed it to sleep until the dissolution put an end to it on December 29. On this measure of practical reform most moderate men, whether presbyterians or episcopalians, could agree. But the Bishops succeeded in thwarting this lay interference. From 1660 to 1676 six bills to the same purpose all miscarried and then the attempt was finally dropped[3]. But, apart from the first, Marvell never took a leading part in forwarding any of them; he probably felt that his open support would injure a good cause in the uncongenial atmosphere of the Cavalier Parliament. That, however, his interest in the question never flagged, readers of the second part of the *Rehearsal Transprosed* know full well. The length of the passage will not allow quotation here,

[1] Grosart, vol. II, p. 24: 'Today upon the recommitment, I made my second Report of that very good Bill for erecting and augmenting Vicarages out of all impropriations belonging to Arch Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters or any other Ecclesiasticall person or corporation, to 80 li. *per annum*, where the impropriation amounts to 120 li. and where lesse, to one moity of the profits of such impropriations. And the Bill upon reading the amendments was ordered to be ingrossed.' This shows that the verb *to impropriate* must not be taken here in its restricted modern meaning (*N.E.D.*: to place tithes or ecclesiastical property in lay hands), but rather in the earlier one: to annex to a corporation or person.

[2] Cf. Marvell's letter of Dec. 4. Grosart, vol. II, p. 29.

[3] Journals of the H. of C. Index.

though its mixture of irony and conviction deserves it. In brief, while denying a charge that 'he thinks enviously of the revenue of the Church of England' and even wishing 'there could be some way found out to augment it,' he boldly attacks 'the manner of its distribution,' reflecting with his usual directness upon his adversary Parker: 'It is a shame that such an one as you should, for writing of political, flattering, personal, scandalous Books, be recompens'd with more preferment than would comfortably maintain ten godly orthodox and conformable ministers, who take care of the people's souls committed to their charge, and reside among them[1].'

(C) We learn from Marvell's correspondence what hopes he entertained of the 'Bill for enacting his Majestye's declaration [of Breda] in religious matters' and how sadly he was disappointed when the House of Commons threw it out[2]. The bill provided 'ease for tender consciences,' the same cause which both Charles II and Marvell for different reasons had so much at heart and which was to occasion in the year 1672 the *Declaration of Indulgence* and the *Rehearsal Transprosed*. The Journals, under date of November 28, 1660, inform us that Marvell acted as teller for the Yeas in the decisive division, when the proposal of a second reading was negatived by 131 votes to 117[3].

(D) As we have already said, Marvell did not feel at home in the Cavalier, or Pensionary, Parliament. His biographers have quoted from Cobbett's *Parliamentary History* the report of the debate on his alleged striking of Sir Philip Harcourt (March 29, 1677); he then narrowly escaped being sent to the Tower for this fictitious offence and subsequent insolence towards the Speaker. But nobody seems to have yet noticed that this was not Marvell's first scrape in the House[4]. See the Journals (March 18, 166½):

[1] Grosart, vol. III, pp. 335–8.

[2] Letters of Nov. 27 and 29, 1660, in Grosart, vol. II, pp. 25 and 26.

[3] Marvell in his letter of Nov. 29 gives the figures as 183 to 157.

[4] This is partly accounted for by the omission in the Parliamentary History, and consequently in Grosart, vol. II, p. xxxii, and Birrell, p. 212, of a significant passage to be found in Grey's debates which is the original authority (pp. 328–31). It ought to be inserted after Sir John Ernley's speech. The name of the following speaker, which Grey had forgotten, is represented by xxxxx. 'The gentleman that had the blow given him, had once one given him by Lord *Clifford*, and had satisfaction given him by the House. Would have things for a mistake, but would have it examined; for he never knew before a blow given in the House of Commons.' Then follows Sir Job Charlton's speech as in the Parliamentary History. The above quoted speech of the anonymous member calls for two remarks: (*a*) Grey evidently blundered in his report: instead of 'The gentleman that had the blow given him' (Harcourt) we must read 'The gentleman that gave the blow' (Marvell). The repetition of 'given him' three times in two lines accounts for the mistake. (*b*) The anonymous member distorted the facts of Marvell's quarrel with Clifford but he had some faint recollection of this event, then fifteen years old. See *infra*.

Ordered that the difference between Mr *Marvell* and Mr *Clifford*, two members of this House, be referred to Mr Speaker to examine; and to that end to hear Mr *Scott*, another member of this House, who was present when the difference did happen; and to mediate and reconcile the same between them if he can; or else to report it to the House, with his opinion therein.

The incident comes again for notice on March 20:

Mr Speaker reports, that he had examined the matter of difference between Mr *Marvell* and Mr *Clifford*; and found that Mr *Marvell* had given the first provocation that begot the difference: and that his opinion was that Mr *Marvell* should declare his sorrow for being the first occasion of the difference; and then Mr *Clifford* to declare, that he was sorry for the consequences of it: And that Mr *Clifford* was willing to yield to this determination, but that Mr *Marvell* refused.

And the House thereupon directing the said Mr *Marvell* and Mr *Clifford* to withdraw; and taking the matter into debate;

Resolved, that the said Mr *Marvell* and Mr *Clifford* be called into their places: and that each of them shall have a reprehension from Mr Speaker, for breach of the peace and privilege of the House; and according to Mr Speaker's report, be enjoined to declare their sorrow for it; and to crave the pardon of the House.

And the said Mr *Marvell* and Mr *Clifford* being accordingly called in to their places; and having received a grave reprehension from Mr Speaker, and Mr *Marvell* declaring, that he was sorry, that he should give the first provocation of the difference; and Mr *Clifford* acknowledging that he was sorry for what ensued; and both of them engaged to keep the peace and privilege of the House for the future; and not to renew this difference, but to have the same correspondence they had before it did happen: with which the House was well satisfied; and did remit the breach of privilege.

From this official report we understand that Marvell submitted perforce to a ruling which he considered in his heart unfair[1]. However he vented his resentment later on in his satires.

Not on Scott, who seems to have been a very insignificant member of the majority; who sat for York city; died in 1664, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Osborne, later Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds[2]. Clifford, of course, as yet a private member (for Totnes in Devonshire), will become Lord Clifford of Chudleigh and the C of the Cabal administration. Pepys mentions 'his rudeness of tongue and passions when angry.' The neat poem on the *Young Statesmen*[3] (the *Chits*) variously ascribed to Dryden and to Rochester, tells us 'Clifford was fierce and brave.' Altogether he seems to have stood on a higher moral plane than any other of Charles's ministers, and to have resigned rather than take the Test, which shows him at least to have been a sincere and consistent

[1] There is a break in Marvell's correspondence with his constituents between his letters of June 27, 1661 (from Westminster), and March 12, 166$\frac{2}{3}$ (from Vianen in the Low Countries). Besides he was not likely to mention this incident to the Corporation of Hull, any more than he did his later adventure with Sir Philip Harcourt. This is not mentioned in the Journals either, which I cannot account for. During the nineteen years of Marvell's sitting (1659–78) the index to the Journals records only six quarrels between members.

[2] *Accounts and Papers: Members of Parliament*, part I (1878), p. 532.

[3] *State-poems* (1697), part I, p. 173. *Id.* (1703), part I, p. 163. In Add. MS. 34,362 of the British Museum, f. 117, this line is altered to the less complimentary 'Clifford could rant and rave.'

Roman Catholic. But here is what Marvell has to say about him; in the *Last instructions to a painter* (written in 1667):

> With Hook then thro your microscope take aim,
> Where, like the new Comptroller, all men laugh,
> To see a tall louse brandish a white staff. (Lines 16–18.)

Clifford had been made Comptroller of the Household on Nov. 8, 1666.

In the *Farther instructions to a painter* (1670 or 1671), Marvell places 'hard by the bar, on the left hand—Circean Clifford with his charming wand.' (Lines 13—14.) Clifford is now Treasurer of the Household.

In *An Historical Poem* (end of 1673), there is a pitiless allusion to Clifford's tragic end in September of the same year:

> Clifford and Hyde before had lost the day;
> One hanged himself and t' other ran away. (Lines 139–40.)

In the *Advice to a painter*, written about the same time, among the Duke of York's popish counsellors the first is:

> Clifford, who first appear'd in humble guise,
> Was thought so meek, so modest and so wise;
> But when he came to act upon the stage
> He prov'd the mad Cethegus of our age.

In *Nostradamus' Prophecy* (1675 ?) Clifford is charged with peculation, without ground, it seems from contemporary evidence. It will fare ill with England, the prophet says:

> When a lean treasurer shall in one year
> Make himself fat, his king and people bare. (Lines 35–6.)

Clifford, appointed Lord Treasurer in 1672, resigned upon the passing of the Test Act in 1673[1].

No doubt Marvell considered Clifford an enemy to the State and to the Protestant religion; but personal feeling also had something to do with his relentlessness[2].

Not Clifford however but the Speaker, Sir Edward Turner, stood the chief brunt of Marvell's displeasure. He appears several times in the *Last Instructions*, as the Court's dishonest tool, using loaded dice, and

[1] Though Marvell's editors agree upon Clifford's being the 'lean treasurer,' I must own I rather fancy the blow to have been aimed at Danby, who became Lord Treasurer after Clifford's resignation, and seems to have taken bribes as freely as he gave them. See *The Statue at Charing-Cross* (stanzas xi–xiii) also written in 1675 when Danby had been Treasurer about two years.

[2] For a more favourable but probably less ingenuous appreciation of Clifford by Marvell, see *An Account of the Growth of Popery...* (Grosart, vol. iv, p. 262): there for the sake of argument and after the lapse of four years, Clifford's resignation is praised, in contradistinction to the continuance in office of the Crypto-catholics.

sharing in the spoils of the cheated people. (Lines 111–16.) When Clarendon prorogues Parliament four days after its meeting (29th July 1667), he can rely upon the Speaker's assistance:

> And Turner gay up to his perch doth march
> With face new bleacht, smoothed and stiff with starch.
> (Lines 789–90.)

After some manœuvring to avoid an awkward debate on the Dutch war,

> The Speaker, summon'd to the Lords, repairs,
> Nor gave the Commons leave to say their pray'rs,
> But like his pris'ners to the bar them led,
> Where mute they stand to hear their sentence read.
> (Lines 809–12.)

And now Sir Edward Turner receives the honour of a full-length picture:

> Dear Painter, draw the Speaker to the foot:
> Where pencil cannot, there my pen shall do 't;
> That may his body, this his mind explain;
> Paint him in golden gown with mace's train;
> Bright hair, bright face, obscure and dull of head,
> Like knife with iv'ry haft and edge of lead:
> At prayers his eyes turn up the pious white,
> But all the while his private bill 's in sight:
> In chair he smoking sits like master cook,
> And a poll-bill does like his apron look.
> Well was he skill'd to season any question,
> And make a sauce fit for Whitehall's digestion,
> Whence every day, the palat more to tickle,
> Court-mushrooms ready are sent in to pickle.
> When grievance urg'd, he swells like squatted toad,
> Frisks like a frog to croak a taxe's load:
> His patient piss he could hold longer than
> An urinal, and sit like any hen;
> At table jolly as a country host,
> And soaks his sack with Norfolk like a toast;
> At night than Chanticleer more brisk and hot,
> And sergeant's wife serves him for Partelot. (Lines 815–36.)

This portrait, in the true Chaucerian line, is one of the best things in Marvell's satires. Let us therefore rejoice that the Speaker decided against our author in his quarrel with Clifford[1].

PIERRE LEGOUIS.

BESANÇON.

[1] In one of Marvell's private letters, dated March 21, 16⅞ (Grosart, vol. II, p. 315), the following incident is mentioned: after the Commons had been waiting upon the King 'at coming down (a pretty ridiculous thing!) Sir Thomas Clifford carryed Speaker [still our friend Sir Edward Turner] and Mace, and all members there, into the King's cellar to drink his health.' Marvell, in spite of his fondness for canary, does not seem to have gone.

LES DEUX DEMOISELLES MAITTELAND.

THERE is still a certain amount of pleasure and profit to be derived in turning over the discoloured yellow pages of four dusty little duodecimos: *Vies Intéressantes et Edifiantes des Religieuses de Port Royal et de plusieurs Personnes qui leur étoient attachées*; and the English reader in particular will find his curiosity aroused by the *Relation touchant les deux Demoiselles Maitteland*[1]. Who were the 'deux Demoiselles Maitteland'? Who was their father so unmercifully persecuted, and who was his cruel uncle, Grand Chancelier du Roi d'Angleterre? Who are the rather vague and conventional King and Queen? How much of the story is true?

The problem, no doubt, is unimportant enough, yet it is a fascinating one to unravel, and when one comes to the end of it, one knows at least what became of the grandchildren of Sir William Maitland of Lethington, 'Secretary' to Mary Queen of Scots,—for it is easy to identify the demoiselles Maitteland[2],—a few more details may be added to what the late Andrew Lang was able to discover concerning James Maitland, the only son and apologist of the famous secretary[3], and the suggestion that James Maitland's descendants still exist[4] is disposed of, as well as the statement that he died without issue[5]. Last but not least, there is unfolded one more admirable record of the boundless charity of Port Royal to all those whose only claim was that they were poor and in trouble.

Sir William Maitland when no longer young amused his friends—'a very fool and stark staring mad,' they describe him—by falling in love with Mary Fleming, Queen Mary's favourite maid and the flower of the Marys[6]. Early in 1567 he married her, and in the following year was born James, the father of our demoiselles Maitteland[7]. It was a time of

[1] *Vies intéressantes*, 1750–2, II, pp. 312–26.

[2] 'Petite-fille du chancelier d'Écosse,' la mère Angélique describes one of the Maitlands. *Lettres*, Utrecht, 1742–4, 3 vols, III, p. 182.

[3] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, Edinburgh, 1904, II; *The Apologie for William Maitland of Lidington*, with an introduction by Andrew Lang.

[4] *The Scottish Antiquary*, VIII, pp. 43, 91; IX, p. 95.

[5] E.g. in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[6] J. Skelton, *Maitland of Lethington*, Edinburgh, 1888, 2 vols, I, pp. 330–1.

[7] Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1907, V, pp. 295 ff.

strife and turmoil. Before James was six years old his father had died in prison, his lands were forfeited, and the widow and the orphans—for James had at least one sister—were left in 'great distress & miserie,' so James himself tells us[1]. Little more is known about him beyond the facts of his marriage, his catholic sympathies and his exile, but by means of the Port Royal account we are enabled to elaborate the mere outline of his life.

La sœur Magdeleine de Sainte Candide Le Cerf wrote down the story in 1665 as it had been told to her by the younger of the demoiselles Maitteland, and many years later the more or less unknown compiler of the *Vies intéressantes* added to it the substance of a little narrative by la mère Angélique, for she too had written on the same subject. No doubt there are some rather fantastic touches, but in the main the story seems reliable, and when we reach the point where the Maitlands come under the protection of Port Royal, we are treading on firm ground.

James Maitland's uncle, so we read, 'le grand Chancelier du Roi d'Angleterre,' whom we identify with Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, ultimately chancellor to James I and VI, had no children and decided to make his youthful nephew his heir. For this purpose he had him educated and sent him, duly accompanied, to travel on the continent when about twelve or thirteen years old. Returning from Rome, the boy spent a few months in Paris and became a Roman Catholic. His uncle did all in his power to prevent this step, and finally, when threats and promises alike proved of no avail, he disinherited him, swore a solemn oath never to see him again, and married once more, so that he might provide himself with other heirs. Comparing this story with what is known of Sir John Maitland, we find that he did, in fact, a middle-aged man, marry Janet Fleming in 1583 when his ward and nephew James was about fourteen years old. James withdrew to Paris and lived there for two years, but the 'Queen of England,' we are told, obliged Sir John to send for him that he might be converted by means of a Protestant marriage. Summoned to London, James went to see his uncle, but, as he entered his uncle's presence, the latter—one remembers the solemn oath—was stricken with a blindness from which he never recovered, a blindness interpreted by la sœur Candide as a judgment of God, but probably a reminiscence of the blindness of Sir John's father and James's grandfather, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. The Queen, we hear next, did all to promote a marriage with 'une fille riche et de fort grande relation, mais qui étoit hérétique'; young Maitland, however,

[1] *The Apologie for William Maitland*, p. 154.

remained steadfast. No doubt the Queen, if Elizabeth is meant, was otherwise employed, but that there is some truth in the Port Royal story is clear from the fact that in 1687, when James Maitland was nineteen, a marriage had been arranged for him by his cousin, Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, with Annabel Bellenden, sister of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchinoul, and rather than complete the marriage James bought his freedom for 8000 Scottish merks[1].

It now happened, says la sœur Candide, that a young Catholic lady of noble birth, betrothed against her wish to a seigneur hérétique, heard of James Maitland and of his desire to marry a Catholic. Everything was prepared for her wedding which was to take place in a week, but she sent word to James that if he would marry her she was ready to follow him. Without losing any time James assembled a number of friends and went to her father's house, where she and her mother happened to be alone with but few attendants, the others having gone to London to meet the King who was to be present at the wedding. These royal details are all somewhat impossible, but doubtless to the good nun the 'King' and 'Queen' are vague English counterparts of Louis XIV and Anne of Austria, coloured with reminiscences of the Stuart exiles who had so recently left France. To return to her story, after various incidents which she relates in detail, James Maitland carried off the lady, they were married that night and lived happily for some years afterwards, though the bride was disinherited by her parents. A son and two daughters, the demoiselles Maitteland, were born of the marriage, a marriage that contemporary accounts show us to have taken place in 1592, when Agnes Maxwell, daughter of William, fifth Lord Herries, a prominent Roman Catholic, became the wife of James Maitland. Their son Richard was born before June 1593.

After some time, continues la sœur Candide, Roman Catholics began to be persecuted in England, and, M. Maitteland's chancellor uncle having died (in 1595 to be quite exact), his position was given to the lord who was to have married Agnes Maxwell or to one of his relatives—la sœur Candide is not quite sure who it was, but she knows that he was animated by a desire for revenge, and was only too glad to persecute James Maitland on the ground of his faith, and to involve him in lawsuits with his young cousin, the chancellor's son, concerning their lands. This vindictive person may well have been another cousin of his, Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington—not that we know of his having wished to marry Agnes Maxwell, but the marriage spurned

[1] Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, v, pp. 295–6.

by James Maitland seems to have been of his arranging, and he had succeeded the rejected lady's brother, Sir Lewis Bellenden, as a lord of session and Sir John Maitland as Lord Privy Seal. There is no reason to see in the successor mentioned by la sœur Candide the new lord chancellor, appointed after an interval of three years, John Graham, third Earl of Montrose.

James Maitland, so the narrative proceeds, would easily have won all lawsuits, had not this person prejudiced the King against him on the ground that Maitland was a papist, and, when the lawcourts were on the point of giving a decision that might well have been favourable, the King ordered him to retire to Scotland within a fortnight or to leave the country altogether, failing which he was to be beheaded. During two years Maitland lay in hiding near the border with his family, a priest and some servants, scarce venturing out of doors except at night; but, recognizing finally that the position of Roman Catholics in England was not improving and his resources having come to an end, he went to Flanders, obtained a small pension from the King of Spain, placed his daughters in a convent in Brussels and lived with his son on the continent. His wife remained in England and died shortly after.

Much of this is rather obscure, but, turning to English sources, we find that James Maitland's relatives do not seem to have treated him well as regards his lands, that, though reinstated in certain of the family possessions, he never inherited the lands of Lethington which passed to his chancellor uncle and to the latter's son John, Lord Thirlestane, and that this uncle was not considered the rightful heir by every one—'the conquest he made of the barony of Liddington from his brother's son James Maitland was not thought lawful or conscientious[1],' and 'Leidington was not honestly purchased, for it belonged by right to the grandchildren of William Maitland[2].' John Maitland, the Chancellor, was careful to specify that, failing his son John and his descendants, his property was to pass to the remoter Auchincreif and Auchingassil branches of the house of Maitland, and no mention was made of his nephew James[3]. James himself writes bitterly of his near kinsfolk, 'become our ennemies or warss than ennemies[4].' We also know that he lived abroad in Brussels and Antwerp from at least 1612 onwards,

[1] *Staggering State*, 12, quoted in Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, v, p. 299.
[2] Sir John Lauder, *Historical Observes*, Edinburgh, 1840, p. 75. The same author says that the Duke of Lauderdale paid a small pension to James Maitland's children who lived in Rouen, but I have found nothing to bear out this statement.
[3] Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, v, p. 300.
[4] *The Apologie for William Maitland*, p. 153.

banished the King's dominions, he says, without knowing the cause[1], and that he sent home petition after petition, without, however, receiving any redress[2]. As he was prominently identified with the Catholic cause and a favourer of the Spanish faction in 1593[3], it would seem probable that he was exiled for these reasons.

On the continent, so we glean from family sources, James Maitland lived in great poverty and loneliness, hardships which he felt not only in his own person, he writes, but in the persons of his son and two daughters, 'noue come to the age & estait of man & wooman, leeving lang strangers in ane strange cuntrie as or warss than banischitt, destitut of our auin meanes withe al wants, witheout the confort or the conversation of freendis[4].' His wife he does not mention, which bears out la sœur Candide's story that she had died in England. In Antwerp James Maitland wrote the unfinished *Apologie for William Maitland of Lidington*, unfinished no doubt because the little spare time he had was for the most part diverted by 'continual diseases or extreme cairs & burdens[5].' He died on June 18, 1639, in Brussels, and his son Richard applied once more for relief, this time to Charles I. In his letter he described the calamities endured by his father who was deprived of his means, expelled from his country and persecuted by his prince—James I—and he begged for help in his misery which resulted, he said, solely from his grandfather's services rendered to Queen Mary[6].

To return to la sœur Candide's story. When the two ladies Maitland had grown up, they went to visit their relatives in England, escorted by their father who, however, at once returned to Brussels. It was hoped that they might obtain some help from these relatives, especially as the position of Catholics in England had improved upon the marriage of Charles I to Henrietta of France. The relatives received the girls kindly and promised to find each a rich husband, but only on the condition that they changed their faith. Their father, hearing of the temptations to which they were exposed, found means to have them brought to France where he abandoned them to 'la providence de Dieu.' He himself died not long after this.

The sisters arrived in Paris with letters of recommendation from Henrietta to the Queen, Anne of Austria, and at court Madame de Longueville, the friend of Port Royal[7], heard their story and mentioned

[1] *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1623–5, p. 306.
[2] *Ib.*, cf. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1611–18, p. 193; 1619–23, p. 518.
[3] *The Apologie*, p. 142. [4] *Ib.*, p. 154. [5] *Ib.*, p. 155.
[6] *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 374.
[7] Louise de Bourbon-Soissons, the first M^me^ de Longueville.

it to la mère Angélique Arnauld, the great abbess, and to M. de St Cyran, the personal friend of Jansenius and one of the heroic figures of Port Royal. They were much interested and wrote to la mère Marie des Anges Suireau, a Port Royal nun who, on the recommendation of la mère Angélique, had become abbess of Maubuisson, the convent familiar to all readers of Port Royal literature as the scene of conflict between la mère Angélique and the worldly and adventurous abbess Gabrielle d'Estrées. La mère Marie des Anges declared herself very willing to receive the sisters at Maubuisson, but it was found that the younger Miss Maitland was too delicate for the austerities of convent life. So M. de St Cyran sent only the elder sister to Maubuisson where she was known as la sœur Elizabeth Ludgarde. For some reason she was found 'incapable de s'acquitter de l'office divin,' hence she voluntarily lowered herself to the estate of lay sister, though she had to surmount extreme disinclination for any menial work. When she arrived she had, like her sister, 'l'air fort haut,' and disliked even to approach 'les sœurs converses qui faisoient la cuisine et d'autres pareils ouvrages, parce qu'il en restait quelque mauvaise odeur dans leurs habits.' But now she toiled bravely for twenty-five years, both at Maubuisson and at Port Royal whither she accompanied la mère Marie des Anges, and there was no work however lowly that she would not accomplish with joy. M. de St Cyran esteemed her very highly, and when she died at Port Royal de Paris on February 9, 1656, she was much regretted by la mère Angélique[1].

As for the younger Miss Maitland, M. de St Cyran obtained a pension for her from the convent of Maubuisson, found a room for her which he caused to be furnished 'honnêtement' and looked after her avec une bonté toute extraordinaire.' During his imprisonment from 1638 to 1642, and after his death in 1643, la mère Angélique's sister, la sœur Anne Eugénie, to whom St Cyran had recommended his charge, took her under her special care and saw that the pension was regularly paid, even after la sœur Marie des Anges was no longer abbess at Maubuisson[2]. In 1653 la sœur Anne Eugénie died, but two days before her death she sent for la sœur Candide, the writer of the narrative, and entrusted Miss Maitland to her as a legacy from M. de St Cyran, who had never had anything 'plus à cœur que l'assistance de cette personne, ayant toujours appréhendé qu'elle ne fut exposée à souffrir.'

Some time after this, the abbess of Maubuisson, successor to la sœur

[1] *Nécrologe de l'Abbaye de Port Royal*, Amsterdam, 1723, p. 70; *Lettres de la mère Angélique*, III, p. 182.

[2] Cf. *Lettres de la mère Angélique*, I, p. 554.

Marie des Anges, died and the new abbess, Madame d'Orléans, did not wish to continue the pension. M. de Bernières, a constant and charitable friend of Port Royal, and one who had done much to help the exiled Stuart adherents, went to see her on Miss Maitland's behalf and persuaded her to reconsider her decision. On the plea of putting the affairs of the convent into order, Madame d'Orléans asked M. de Bernières to advance the pension during two years, but finally sent him a message to the effect that she could pay neither the pension nor the advances made by him. Miss Maitland found herself destitute, and, to add to her cares, her confessor, a priest of St Sulpice, persecuted her for her connections with Port Royal. In great distress she came to see la sœur Candide, who tried in vain to comfort her and saw her depart downcast. That same night, however, Miss Maitland was consoled by a dream in which she saw her friend, la sœur Anne Eugénie, and la sœur Candide marvelled at the transformation when she saw her next day. All despair had vanished. As they sat talking together, M. de Bernières asked to see la sœur Candide. 'I was unable to sleep last night,' he said, 'thinking of Miss Maitland. I will take charge of her and pay her pension, as long as God enables me to do so[1].'

M. de Bernières carried out his promise until he died in exile in 1662, after which la sœur Candide set to making little wax effigies which she sold for Miss Maitland's benefit. Anyone who has seen the wax masque mortuaire of la mère Angélique will know what experts the sisters were in this kind of work. But evil days now came upon Port Royal, persecutions and troubles closed in about the nuns, and at the time of writing, 1665, la sœur Candide says that she can no longer work for Miss Maitland as she has been deprived of all means. Miss Maitland herself has been robbed of her one consolation which was to come and see the sisters of Port Royal, the nuns having been forbidden to receive visitors. Enough money remains to support Miss Maitland till la Saint Remi, after which, if she finds no charitable friends, 'elle pourra bien mourrir de faim,' being aged and infirm.

It is pleasant to be able to quote a postscript of 1678 by la mère Angélique de St Jean, niece of the great Angélique Arnauld. 'Elle vit encore. Dieu par sa providence a toujours pourvu à ses besoins, et on continue d'ici (Port Royal des Champs) à l'assister et à lui procurer par des personnes amies de quoi la faire subsister. Elle vit toujours fort retirée et craint beaucoup Dieu.' To this the compiler of the *Vies intéressantes* adds that he has been unable to discover the date of

[1] J. Besoigne, *Histoire de Port Royal*, Cologne, 1752, 6 vols, I, p. 352.

Miss Maitland's death, but we may assume that up to the end provision was made for her, as in the past forty years.

Of Richard Maitland la sœur Candide observes that he died in or about 1661 in Brussels where he had lived unknown in a poor lodging house, devoting his time to study and prayer. In 1653, on the suggestion of his friends, he had undertaken a journey to England to see whether he could recover some of his property, but no sooner had he arrived in England than he was imprisoned. Liberated at length he was ordered to leave the country at once, and he returned to Brussels where he continued up to the time of his death.

And so the elder branch of the house of Lethington comes to an end that is melancholy enough, yet in the annals of Port Royal the brother and the two sisters stand out with a gentleness and dignity that raise their fate above the commonplace of poverty and want.

Ruth Clark.

Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.

THE ADVENTURE OF 'LE CERF AU PIED BLANC' IN SPANISH AND ELSEWHERE[1].

THE connection which exists between the Spanish ballad of 'Tres hijuelos había el rey,' on the one hand, and the *Lai de Tyolet* and the Dutch *Roman van Lancelot*, on the other, has been remarked in general terms by Menéndez Pelayo and by Baist, who adds the rider that the ballad must have foundation in a Spanish prose romance of the cycle of Sir Lancelot. But it seems possible to collect more gleanings in this field.

I.

M. Gaston Paris so admirably summarised this adventure, having in view the French and Dutch versions, that one might well follow the precedent of the greatest Spanish critic of last century, reproducing it without further remark, but that it seems desirable to give a higher relief to some features of the narrative. The incident is related in two separable stages, of which the first, which is introductory, was rejected by the original of the Dutch poem and so lies outside M. Paris' field of comparison, but appears in *Tyolet* and, in a mutilated form as I think, in the Spanish *romance*. In the second part I follow the *Lai*, noting in brackets the characteristic divergences of the Dutch poem.

Introduction. Tyolet was educated in a forest by his mother in entire ignorance of the world of men. He grew to be a successful hunter, for nature favoured him with a manner of whistling that fascinated every quarry. But one day he followed a stag which did not respond to this magic, but which, after leaping the Ravinous Water, was metamorphosed into a knight on horseback. In the astonished dialogue which followed, the Knight-Beast (Chevalier-Beste) advised the young hero to seek the honour of knighthood at Arthur's Court. The youth returned to his mother, who equipped him to do as he was bid.

[1] Cf. *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, No. 147, 'Tres hijuelos...,' No. 148, 'Nunca fuera caballero...'; G. Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX, pp. 113–8, and 'Lais Inédits' in *Romania*, VIII, pp. 40–50; Jonckbloet, *Roman van Lancelot*, II, pp. 151–7 (Derde Boek, *vv.* 22271–23126); Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, XII, pp. 473–6; G. Baist in *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, ii, pp. 432–3; Pio Rajna, 'Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia delle romanze spagnuole' in *Romanic Review*, VI (1915), note 20. I am obliged for criticism to Professor S. G. Morley and to Miss Janet H. Perry, of King's College, London. I have not had facilities for the consultation of the article by Sr. Laiglesias in *Revista Crítica Hispano-americana*, III, pp. 3–56, though I gather that his conclusions are not likely to disturb the autonomy of mine.

Narrative. A certain princess (a queen's messenger) complained at Arthur's Court of injuries received from a White-Hoofed Stag, which was guarded by seven lions, and promised herself (her mistress) to the knight who should deliver her. Lodoer (Sir Kay) boastfully accepted the challenge, and was directed by the lady's lap-dog to the Ravinous Water; not daring to cross, he returned to be the butt of the Court. All other pretendants fared likewise. Only Tyolet (Sir Lancelot) dared to cross the Water, and slew both Stag and lions; but he was severely injured, and had to entrust the White Hoof to a caitiff knight who happened on him. The latter, in virtue of the trophy, claimed the Princess (Queen) at Arthur's (her own) Court. Sir Gawain felt, however, some uneasiness, and, on sallying forth to the ford, he found Tyolet (Lancelot), whom he entrusted to a damsel (physician) who was passing by. He returned to punish the caitiff. Tyolet (Lancelot), having recovered from his wounds, married the Princess and reigned with her (laid the Queen under a promise to marry no one until his return).

The substitution for Tyolet of Lancelot caused the loss of the Introduction in the *Roman*; but an older line of cleavage is in the different status of the heroine, which modifies the disposition of the parts of the tale. According as she is Princess or Queen, she will appeal to King Arthur in her own person or by an ambassador; the poet or her messenger will describe her beauty; she will await results at King Arthur's Court or at her own; Sir Gawain will feel contempt for a false knight seen or misgivings about a hero who does not reappear; and the dénouement will be with Arthur or away from him. But the point of reunion is found in the epilogue, which has been perverted in Dutch. The hero must marry and reign forthwith. For this reason we are told that the Princess is an only child, an heiress (else what a waste of chivalry were there), whose parents in fact are not given to an unconscionable length of life. Tyolet marries and 'Rois fu et elle fu roine' (*T.* 703). The displacement of incidents is not too elaborate to have occurred at any moment of the history of the narrative.

But it seems possible to make a further reduction.

Introduction and Narrative. The hero is able to do many things by his natural power, but fails in one case. He is initiated. He succeeds, and sooner or later receives his reward. In this fashion the two separable halves of the narrative are no longer separable, and the whole takes on a generalised form akin to a folk tale. There is a balance between the two ladies—the mother who trained him, the bride who was his reward, the natural and initiate states, the *whence* and the *whither* of our hero's

career. That we may be dealing not with two stags, but with one, lies close to the surface in the *Lai de Tyolet*[1], and is the first assumption of the ballad. The beasts are described in similar terms and haunt the same river, whose name is pregnant, and both are magical existences.

II.

We need not stress this simplified analysis to conclude that the two halves of the tale of the *Cerf au Pied Blanc* are not heterogeneous nor disparate, but different movements of a single story; their disjunction has been the work of derivative romance and scholarly abstraction. We, therefore, hesitate to cut the Gordian knot of the Spanish ballad by affirming, with Rajna, that the introductory verses had originally nothing to do with Lancelot and the hunt of the Stag[2]. In its positive form this asserts, without the possibility of proof, that the Spanish tradition, like the Dutch, rejected the *whole* of the Introduction. It is true that there was not any longer room for the early life of the hero once that hero was Lancelot; but curiosity might well be directed to the other agents, who in a late and sophisticated romance would not naturally be taken for granted, and notably to the relation of the Princess to her enemy. The Spanish tradition maintains the identity of the Stags and the principle of metamorphosis: all things are on the human plane. The explanation makes a bold start by asserting that the White-Hoofed Stag was the son of a king; and then the surviving text breaks down, for the Lady is anonymous. We know by the text of her appeal that she was a Princess, and not an ambassadress; but, owing to the curious literalism of the Spanish ballad, the line preceding her speech does not give her identity. In the same place in *Tyolet* we find the word 'pucele'

[1]

Chevalier-Beste.

Un cerf qui ert et grant et gras.
T. 87.

L'eve estoit grant et ravineuse
Et lée et longue et perilleuse:
Li cers outre l'eve passa.
T. 95–7.

S'estoit com chevalier armé.
T. 112.

Cerf au Pied Blanc.

Ja nus hon n'avra m'amistié,
S'il ne me donne le blanc pié
Du cerf qui est et bel et grant,
Et qui tant a le poil luisant
Por poi qu'il ne semble doré.
De set lions est bien gardé.
T. 351–6.

Tant ont chevauchié et erré
Que andui sont venu au gué,
A la grant eve ravineuse,
Qui molt ert parfonde et hisdeuse.
T. 433–6.

[2] *Rom. Rev.*, VI, p. 7, n. 20: '...Appartiene alla classe assai povera dei "romances" di argomento brettone; ma effetivamente resulta da due elementi mal combinati. I primi quattro versi non dovevano in origine aver che fare con Lancilotto e la caccia del cervo dal piede bianco: circostanza non avvertita dal Menéndez y Pelayo nel discorrere di questo "romance."' Cf. Baist in *Grundriss*, II, ii, p. 433: 'In anderen Fällen traten interpretierende Erweiterungen hinzu, so in Pr. 114 am Ende, in Pr. 147 am Anfang.'

(*T.* 321) and in the *Roman* 'ene jonckvrouwe' (*L.* 22275); in Spanish she is simply 'la una' (sc. 'dama'). Now, in *T.* 340–2, the Princess is particularised as

> Fille de roi et de roine,
> Et de Logres est roi mon pére;
> N'ont plus enfanz li ne ma mére.

But this last line is found in the ballad in the half-line '...que no más.' By restoring this to its original owner, with or without other context, we are led to the conclusion that the original form of the Spanish version had two propositions in the Introduction: viz., 'Tres fijuelos habia el rey,...E una fija, que no más'; and this gives us an intelligible situation. A king (the King of Logres, according to *Tyolet*) had one only daughter, who was his heiress; but he also had sons who, in an age when 'Valerosos foram sempre os bastardos,' could not want precedents for attempting to exclude their half-sister from her rights. By so doing they earned their father's curse (curses are notoriously most effective when made from a death-bed), which turned them into the form of beasts or heathen[1].

The White-Hoofed Stag is equipped with two brothers, respectively a dog and a Moor. There is no evidence or probability that they entered the tale as agents. Personally, I incline to think that both words are derived literally from the French source of this variant (*can* = *chien*; *moro* = *Saisne* or *païen*), and that they have the effect of a compound epithet such as 'chien de païen' or 'perro moro.' A Stag, an animal much respected by experts in venery, when associated with dog and Moor, is classified into the category of things evil[2].

The remaining peculiarities of the ballad are capable of a less conjectural commentary. A new assonance introduces the narrative. Lancelot

[1] Two Portuguese ballads (*Dom Pedro Pequenino* and *Dom Pedro Menino*) begin

> O marquez tinha tres filhos,
> Tres filhos tinha o marquez.
> Braga, *Romanceiro Geral*, t. 1 (1906), pp. 345, 348.

But they are too late, and otherwise too different, to be helpful. There is, of course, necessarily an element of conjecture in my reconstruction of the Introduction, but it seems to me rather less than in the dogmatism of Pio Rajna. On any theory of the first quatrain, it ought to be regarded as interpretative, as Baist expressed it; yet, as it stands, it only adds obscurity. In brief, I affirm that the Spanish ballad belongs to the Princess-variant of the legend; that this variant requires that she be unique ('que no más...N'ont plus enfanz li ne ma mére'), or it is robbed of its dénouement; and thirdly, the three brothers are so far from forming a trinity that probably only one intervened in the Spanish, as in the other stories—one brother and his two adjectives.

[2] I understand that Sr. Laiglesias refers *can* and *moro* to the *petit brachet* of *Tyolet*, and *Morien* in Dutch. The latter appears somewhat arbitrary. As to the former, we note that the *petit brachet* is absent from the Spanish tradition, which is faithful to the archetype of all these stories in presenting a plurality of dogs (*los sabuesos*). The passivity of these two brothers makes their identity a matter of little consequence.

is at Court, taking his ease among the ladies. The Princess makes her appeal in a speech which popular retrenchment has impaired. Other adventurers are neglected: Lancelot sets out on the chase accompanied by hunting-dogs. This is an archaism peculiar to the Spanish tradition: both the other versions present ladies' lap-dogs in accordance with twelfth-century notions of propriety, but these retain by compensation the magical sixth sense of hostility to the Stag, which the greyhounds seem to lack. And so, on arriving where the scent failed, at the Ford of the Ravinous Water, the Spanish hero, unlike his parallels, had to ask for directions. A hermit, perhaps later destined to be Lancelot's nurse, is as ready to present himself as is the damsel in *Tyolet* or the physician in the *Roman*. *Mutatis mutandis*, he must have repeated the information already given at Court by the Princess; but the ballad makes an alteration of capital importance. Omitting all reference to danger from the Princess's appeal and reserving this for the hermit, the poet gives a new and sinister twist to the heroine's character. She is a dangerous siren: the poet laments the loss of brave lives for frivolous motives, and, to mark his reading of the episode, he closes with two lines of his own:

¡Ay dueña de Quintañones, de mal fuego seas ardida,
Que tanto buen caballero por ti ha perdido la vida!

It was the pressure of the new plebeian audience and the change of literary medium which caused and favoured this novel, bourgeois and dramatic interpretation, which is the essence of the ballad as we have it. The Stag had been classified by dog and Moor, and mediæval dualism required us to list the lady among the angels. But when by successive stages the *fille au roi* became merely *la una*, and lost all intelligible relation to the Stag, the way was open to her acquisition of a new name and character. The latter came from the shifting of significant parts of her speech to that of the hermit: the former from the neighbouring ballad of that Dueña Quintañona, whom Cervantes had the tact to describe by her accomplishments rather than her occupation.

III.

We proceed to the linear discussion of the ballad. This reveals four movements: there are three scenes distinguished by three assonances and an interpretative couplet in the third assonance.

(*a*) Introduction. Assonance á.

1. Tres hijuelos había el rey, tres hijuelos que no más
2. Por enojo que hubo de ellos todos malditos los ha.
3. El uno se tornó ciervo, el otro se tornó can,
4. El otro se tornó moro, pasó las aguas del mar.

We have dealt fully with these lines. We make these additional comparisons.

1. Cf.

O marquez tinha tres filhos,
Tres filhos tinha o marquez,

which replaces by *tinha* the unusual *había*, and

Fille de roi et de roine,
Et de Logres est roi mon pére;
N'ont plus enfanz li ne ma mére.
(*T.* 340–2.)

Diegene die mi hier heft gesant,
Si es coninginne in haer lant,
Ende van menegen riddere vrouwe.
(*L.* 22313–5.)

The Spanish, Dutch, and the archetype agree to leave the kingdom anonymous: *Tyolet* names 'Logres.'

3. For the *ciervo* cf. *T.* 87–112, *uti supra*.

4. For the equivalence *moro* = *Saisne*, cf.

Viernes era en aquel día
El rey Almanzor va a la mezquita.
a Sansueña fué a llegar.
los moros hacen solenidad:
(*Primavera* 173.)

Professor Morley reminds me that the second hemistich is traditional.

¡Conde Olinos, Conde Olinos, es niño y pasó la mar!
(Men. Pel. *Antología*, t. x, p. 172.)

(*b*) Narrative: Court Scene. Assonance a—o.

5. Andábase Lanzarote entre las damas holgando,
6. Grandes voces dió la una: —Caballero, estad parado:
7. Si fuese la mi ventura, cumplido fuese mi hado,
8. Que yo casase con vos, y vos conmigo de grado,
9. Y me diésedes en arras aquel ciervo del pie blanco.
10. Dároslo he, mi señora, de corazón y de grado,
11. Si supiese yo las tierras donde el ciervo era criado.

5. This is not the attitude of Tyolet, a new knight, nor of Lancelot, for

Ons telt vort die aventure
Dat Lancelot ter selven ure
Int hof was onlange comen. (*L.* 22407–9.)

But it is true of Gawain (Walewein) that

Hi was te Kardole binnen
Met Arturs wive der coninginnen;
Ende die coninc hine was daer niet. (*L.* 22755–7.)

And of Lancelot, when

Nunca fuera caballero de damas tan bien servido,
Como fuera Lanzarote cuando de Bretaña vino.
(*Prim.* 148.)

There is even Dutch authority for the omission of Arthur's name in this Arthurian ballad.

6. *la una* (sc. *dama*). Cf. *pucele* (*T.* 321), *jonckvrouwe* (*L.* 22272). The *grandes voces* are in *T.* 339,

Sire, je sui une meschine:

and *estad parado* in *L.* 22282–3,

Her coninc, doet horen mine sprake:
Hort nu mine aventure meest.

7, 8 and 9. Cf. *T.* 339–356, *L.* 22280–22348.

The speech is much reduced, and the description of the heroine, which is most conscientious in Dutch, is omitted. Characteristic of the ballad is the omission of all reference to danger. Cf. also

Een hert met enen witten vote ; (*L.* 22300.)

and

S'il i a de vos chevaliers
Nul qui tant soit hardiz ne fiers
Qui le blanc pié du cerf tranchast,
Biau Sire, celui me donnast:
Icelui a seignor prendroie,
De nul autre cure n'avroie. (*T.* 345–350.)

10. As Lancelot does not accept the offer of marriage, the Spanish version lends no more support than the Dutch to G. Paris' remark, 'Il est clair que dans la forme française du récit, Lancelot épousait réellement la jeune reine' (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. XXX, p. 114).

11. Cf.

En la sale n'ot chevalier
Qui de rien feist a prisier
Qui ne deist que il iroit
Querre le cerf, *s'il le savoit.* (*T.* 365–8.)

(*c*) Narrative: Lancelot at the Ford. Assonance i—a.

12. Ya cabalga Lanzarote, ya cabalga y va su vía,
13. Delante de sí llevaba los sabuesos por la traílla.
14. Llegado había a una ermita, donde un ermitaño había:
15. —Dios te salve, el hombre bueno, —Buena sea tu venida:
16. Cazador me parecéis en los sabuesos que traía.
17. —Dígasme tú, el ermitaño, tú que haces santa vida,
18. Ese ciervo del pie blanco ¿ donde hace su manida ?
19. —Quedáisos aquí, mi hijo, hasta que sea de día.
20. Contaros he lo que vi, y todo lo que sabía.
21. Por aquí pasó esta noche dos horas antes del día,
22. Siete leonescon él y una leona parida.
23. Siete condes deja muertos y mucha caballería.
24. Siempre Dios te guarde, hijo, por doquier que fuer tu ida,
25. Que quien acá te envió no te quería dar la vida.

Nebrija cites lines 17 and 18 in his *Grammatica*, lib. II, cap. viii:

Digas tu el ermitaño: que hazes la santa vida
Aquel ciervo del pie blanco donde haze su manida.

But in lib. II, cap. vi, he gives a variant with assonance a—a:

Digas tu el hermitaño que hazes la vida santa:
Aquel ciervo del pie blanco donde haze su morada
Por aqui passo esta noche un ora antes del alba,

thus omitting lines 19 and 20. I do not know what would be the effect of applying the assonance a—a to the whole scene. It is possible that time elapsed between verses 23 and 24; and it seems difficult to save the hemistich

y una leona parida

for the variant quoted.

The first halting-place of the other versions is at the Ford of the Ravinous Water, which both lap-dogs cross without hesitation.

Le brachet s'est en l'eve mist. (*T.* 437.)

Doe sach hi dat die hont sciere
Int water sprane oppenbare. (*L.* 22434–5.)

Lancelot is, however, accompanied by hunting-dogs, working by scent, so that he is under the necessity of asking his way. The same necessity creates the hermit.

12. Cf.

Et Tyolet s'est adoubé
Et de ses armes bien armé...
Tant ont chevauchié et erré. (*T.* 427–8 and 433.)

Construe: 'Lancelot now (being fully armed) mounts his horse and rides his horse, and follows his road.' The pregnant use of *caballo, cabalgar* (war-horse), as implying that the person is fully armed and ready for action, becomes clearer by the antithesis of *mula* in

Vos con gorra de fiesta, yo con un casco afinado;
Vos traéis ciento de mula, yo trescientos de caballo;
(*Prim.* 16.)

and

Descabalga de una mula, y en un caballo cabalga.
(*Prim.* 85 *a.*)

13. Cf. 'un petit brachet' (*T.*), and

Maer waer dat hondekin woude
Lopen, dien *volgede hi* mede. (*L.* 22426–7.)

'Le rôle du "petit brachet" pourrait bien être un reste presque effacé du rôle des trois chiens merveilleux dans plusieurs contes de ce genre' (G. Paris in *Romania*, t. VIII, p. 41). Owing to the closer intimacy of the ballad and the *Lai*, it is not desirable to trace the *Lai* and *Roman*

to 'une source commune, où se trouvait déjà le petit chien' (G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. XXX, p. 115).

14. Cf.

> Tant on chevauchié et erré
> Que andui sont venu au gué,
> A la grant eve ravineuse. (*T.* 433–5.)

The ford is nowhere tenantless. A 'pucele' has a house near by (*T.* 551), and,

> Daer een ersatere woende vroet. (*L.* 22820.)

22. Cf.

> De set lions est bien gardé (*T.* 356.)

and

> Seven lione waren daer doe. (*L.* 22457.)

The *leona parida* belongs to the ballad, and perhaps even to a particular variant of it. The hermit's information is transferred from the Princess's speech.

23. This masculine stroke is all that the poet gives of the misfortunes of Lodoer-Kay and his fellows.

> Querre le cerf molt i alérent,
> Et la pucele demandérent,
> N'en i ot nul qui la alast
> Q'autretel chançon ne chantast
> Que Lodoer chanté avoit,
> Qui vaillanz chevaliers estoit. (*T.* 409–414.)

And

> Ende hebbic hier sinen voet brocht,
> Dien menech riddere heft becocht. (*L.* 22725–6.)

The striking repetition of *siete* is thus, like the *leona parida*, Spanish.

24, 25. These lines have no parallel, but are likely enough from a hermit. Speaking 'in character,' he could hardly be made to commend knight-errantry. What is remarkable, however, is the emphasis given to these remarks by the poet.

(*d*) Moral. Assonance i—a.

26. ¡Ay dueña de Quintañones, de mal fuego seas ardida,
27. Que tanto buen caballero por ti ha perdido la vida!

27 repeats the matter of line 23.

26. The Lady Centenarian has strolled in from the neighbouring ballad, where she is more natural as a blend of the obliging Lady Malehault with the aged Spanish match-maker, Trotaconventos-Celestina. To insist on her name and character would throw the ballad into more confusion: here she merely suggests bad faith.

IV.

It remains to attempt some general conclusions as to the formation of the ballad, the genealogy of the legend, and its relation to the yet unpublished Spanish prose *Lancelot*. The above analysis shows that the ballad, as we have it, is only one of two variants, and has been cut down from a larger narrative to the point of obscurity. The consecrated methods of the ballad-maker have been applied—selection, truncation, retrenchment, contamination, significant repetition, traditional phrasing and interpretation. Signs of a longer rendering are the frequent changes of assonance, for it is as easy to write forty lines of Spanish assonance as four. The body of the adventure occupies 384 lines in *Tyolet* and 856 in the *Roman van Lancelot*, while the part corresponding to the action of the ballad occupies 126 and 163 lines respectively, to which we add the 321 lines of prologue in *Tyolet*. The Spanish totals only 27 lines or 54 octosyllables. All descriptions and episodes are omitted, and the poet restricts himself to rapid lines of action and dialogue. From something prolix, descriptive and luxurious, he has carved out something curt, dramatic and vigorous, with such precision of choice that one would demand one single author of genius, had not the process been carried too far. As it is, there are the marks of more than one creator.

It will have appeared, too, from our analysis, that every essential statement of the ballad, and a number of minor phrases, belong to the traditional stock of the legend, and so *a fortiori* to its own immediate original. The process of hewing ballads from prose works is so abundantly illustrated in the *Tratado de los Viejos Romances* that we can accept without hesitation Baist's assurance that this incident was found in a Spanish prose *Lancelot*, though it does not happen to appear in the manuscript *Lanzarote de Lago*[1]. The cycle, though frequently the subject of allusion in mediæval Spain, has received comparatively little attention, so that it would be well to collect its *membra disiecta*. There is no First Part in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan. We must be satisfied with a French version which has a long history in Spain, having been copied in the fifteenth century, perhaps in Catalonia, and passed through the hands of a Count of Ampurias, a Lord James Roy of Pallars, and D. Gaspar Galcerán de Gurrea y Aragón, Count of Guimerá, etc.[2]

[1] 'Es ist sicher, dass der spanische Lanzelot die Episode enthalten hat, ebenso wie der niederländische' (*Grundriss*, II, ii, p. 432).

[2] Bibl. Nac. Madrid, MS. 485 (formerly B 14). French, paper, fifteenth century. 284 fols. Initials red. No titles. On fly-leaf: 'De la libreria / impressa / de / (Coat of Arms with coronet and "Sequar et duro et dulce") / Don Gaspar Galceran de Gurrea y Aragon, / Conde de Gvimera, / Vizconde de Euol, y Alquerforadat.' Title on binding: 'Flos Mundi.' In Gallardo's *Ensayo*, t. II, Appendix, this MS. is described as 'Libros de caballerías'; by

The narrative proceeds without novelty from the beginning to the affair of the Roche aux Saisnes, and then tails off without colophon into a number of scribbles. The Second and Third Books of *Lancelot* are found in the well-known unpublished manuscript Aa 103 (No. 9611) of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, entitled *Lanzarote de Lago*. This manuscript was executed in the sixteenth century by four different hands, who were working against time, as we may judge by the deterioration of their writing. They copied an original which was dated 1414, and which had even then lost its First Book. The narrative opens after the Roche aux Saisnes with Gallehault's dream and closes with a reunion of the heroes in Camelot, corresponding to P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, t. IV, p. 87—t. V, p. 315. The account of the Two Gueneveres corresponds to P. Paris' *Variante*, and there is a blank folio at the place occupied by the papal interdict. There are a few trifling irregularities. The exploits of Mordred in laisse cxxxi and the adventure of the maître du pavillon (P. Paris, t. V, p. 123) are omitted, and the story of the Knight with the two swords is inserted[1]. After the reunion at Camelot, which ends on fol. 352 *v.*, a damsel comes on behalf of Sir Tristram. Lancelot determines to seek Sir Tristram, crosses the Bridge of Iron, occupies Merlin's Bed, and enters a bark with twelve damsels. The Third Book then abruptly terminates with the promise of a Book of Sir Tristram, which does not survive in Spanish. The various *Historias de Don Tristán* are parts of another cycle. One cannot do better than refer to the Second Book the ballad

Nunca fuera caballero de damas tan bien servido,
Como fuera Lanzarote cuando de Bretaña vino.

This paraphrases at a distance the episode of Meleagant, but with knowledge of the opening tableau of the *Mort d'Artus*. Folios 85 *r.*—

O. Klob in *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, t. XXVI, as 'Libro de Artús.' The first and last folios are much deteriorated. On the back of the last are a number of scribbles; amongst others, 'Almolt alt emolt poderos seỹor Infan ....mo bur.. comte dampuries' and 'senyor en jaĉ roy d' payllas.' Fols. 26–35 have been placed after fols. 36–48, and fol. 241 after fol. 246. Between fols. 228 and 229 is inserted a leaf dated 1536 with three lines of the Magnificat. An explicit starts on fol. 247, but is scratched out. Fol. 247: 'En tel joye sejorna li roys & sey conpaiĝon ala roch̃ tous les jours....'

[1] Cf. D. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Las leyendas de Wagner*, Madrid, 1913, who reprints fols. 119 *r.*—121 *v.*, 261 *r.*—266 *v.*, and 281 *r.*—285 *v.*, and on whose authority we learn that a complete edition is to be expected from Sr. D. Eduardo de Laiglesias. MS. in Castilian: sixteenth century; paper. 355 fols. 315 × 215 mm. approx. Numbering and binding more recent, and some margins and headings cut away. Title: DON / Lançaro/te, de / Lago. Fol. 1 *r.*: Aqui comiença el libro segundo / de Don lançarote de lago. Como el Rey artur / otorgo a lançarote que fuesse con galeote. Fol. 277 *r.*: Dexa el cuento de fablar de estor e / torna a don Galuan... Aqui se acaba el segundo libro de / Lançarote. Fol. 355 *v.*: Aqui se acaua el segundo y tercero libro de don Lan-/çarote de lago y a se de comenzar el libro de / don tristan y acabose en miercoles veinte y quatro / dias del octubre año del nasçimiento de nuestro sal-/uador Jxuxp̃o de mill e quatroçientos y catorze años. / finis. /

90 *r.* deal with the adventure of Sir Carados (P. Paris, t. IV, pp. 315 ff.) and so run parallel to the single surviving folio of a Catalan *Lancelot*[1], which may have been written before 1441. Both versions belong to the same family, but without identity. As the Catalan fragment is numbered (fol.) clxxxvij and covers fols. 88 *r.*—90 *r.* of the Castilian, it must have formed part of a complete *Lancelot* romance. The *Quest of the Holy Grail* is connected in Spanish and Portuguese with the late and dissipated version which is attributed to Robert de Boron: but the Spanish copies have reinserted in chaps. 373–390 an orthodox conclusion to the adventure. In these chapters the narrative is again parallel to a Catalan work, the manuscript completed on May 16th, 1380, by G. Rexach and published for the Institut d'Estudis Catalans by Professors Crescini and Todesco[2], but again without there being identity of phrase in the two versions. Finally, the *Mort d'Artus* is associated in both Spanish and Portuguese literature with the pseudo-Boron, and is wanting in Catalan; but an account similar to that of Sir Thomas Malory was summarised in the *Livro dos Linhagens* of D. Pedro de Barcellos[3], which may represent a lost member of the *Lancelot* cycle. The place occupied by the episode of the *Cerf au Pied Blanc* must have been the same as in Dutch, the usual place for intruders, viz. between the conclusion of the *Quest* and the opening of the *Mort*.

As other Spanish and Portuguese romances tend to fall into well-defined cycles, while the Catalan seem to follow from the personal initiative of Pedro the Ceremonious, we may tentatively reconstruct the Spanish-Portuguese prose *Lancelot* as follows:

1. First Book. Lost. Perhaps similar to MS. 485 of Bibl. Nac.

2. Second Book. Bibl. Nac. Madrid, MS. 9611, fols. 1–277 *r.*, to which the ballad, *Prim.* No. 148, is loosely attached.

3. Third Book. Bibl. Nac. Madrid, MS. 9611, fols. 280 *v.*—355 *v.*

3 *a.* A book of *Don Tristán*? Lost.

4. *Quest.* Fragment in *Merlín y Demanda*, pt. ii, cc. 373–390.

4 *a.* Episode of the White-Hoofed Stag. *Prim.* No. 147.

5. *Mort d'Artus.* Fragment summarised by D. Pedro de Barcellos.

[1] Transcribed by En Mateu Obrador in *Revista de Bibliografía Catalana*, t. III (1903).

[2] Crescini e Todesco, *La versione catalana dell' Inchiesta del Santo Grial*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1915. (Ambrosian Library, Milan, MS. I 79 sup.) For the orthodox chapters of the Spanish *Merlin y Demanda*, cf. O. Sommer, 'The Queste of the Holy Grail,' in *Romania*, t. XXXVI.

[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. XVII, No. 4 (1922), p. 388.

In Catalan we have:

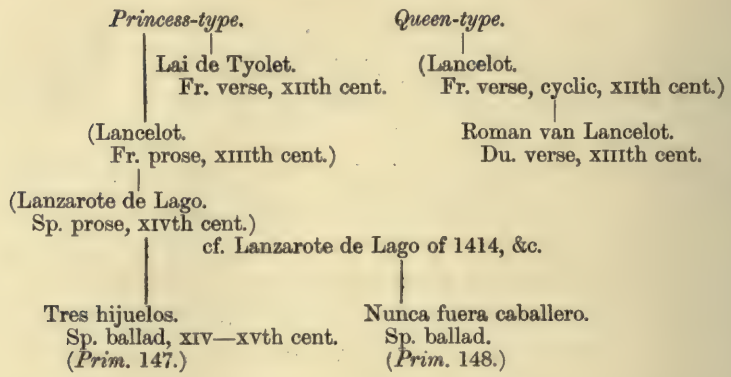
1. First Book. Lost. Probably similar to Bibl. Nac., MS. 485. This First Book is indicated by the pagination of En Mateu Obrador's fragment.

2. Second Book. Fragment, single folio, reproduced by En Mateu Obrador.

3. Ambrosian MS. I 79 sup. This is a *Quest*, and is brought to a close by its colophon. It may have been always a self-sufficient work.

The ballad *Tres hijuelos* was certified to be old (*viejo*) in its actual form by Antonio de Nebrija's *Grammatica* (1492), which carries us back at least towards the earlier years of the fifteenth century: but as the present form is one of comparative obscurity, confusion and redaction, we should almost certainly date back the original poem to the fourteenth century, when it derived from the prose *Lancelot*. Considering the fact that the *Lanzarote de Lago* had already become fragmentary by 1414, and taking into account the oft-quoted allusion of Pero López de Ayala[1], we may reasonably presume that the cycle was already translated before the middle of the fourteenth century: and, if the summary in the *Livro dos Linhagens* refers to the same series, we should have reason to prefer the first quarter of the century to the second. In this fashion the prose *Lanzarote de Lago* would be the contemporary of João Samchez's *Josep Abarimatia* (1313), the first *Tristán* (before 1343), and the *Merlín y Demanda*[2]. The source of *Lanzarote de Lago* is certainly a French prose romance, of a fully developed type, without many noticeable peculiarities, but possibly including the *Cerf au Pied Blanc* and the Malorian *Mort*, a thirteenth-century cyclic romance. On the other hand the Dutch *Roman van Lancelot*, of the thirteenth century, is immediately derived from a French cyclic poem. The Spanish ballad and the *Lai de Tyolet* present Princess-variants of the episode: the *Roman* gives a Queen-variant. But none of these narratives is the original of any other. The kingdom of Logres, the Arthurian ascription, Sir Gawain, the little dogs, and the introduction of Lancelot are all marks of distance from the archetype; yet are offered differently by the different versions. The classification of the legend which seems most probable, therefore, bracketing conjectures, is:

[1] *Rimado de Palacio*, copla 182.
[2] First alluded to as a book in the *Crónica de 1404*, but incidents are quoted in *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, No. 930, and probably *Canc. Colocci-Brancutti*, No. 2.



I prefer to keep an open mind about two other Lancelot pieces. The so-called *lai* of Don Ançaroth (*Canc. Colocci-Brancutti*, No. 5) is referred by Colocci's note to Sir Tristram. Cf. Sra. Da. C. Michaelis de Vasconcellos, 'Lais de Bretanha,' in *Revista Lusitana*, VI. The *Historia de Galván, Leonel y Lanceloto* found by Gallardo in Seville is still no more than a name.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

KARL PHILIPP MORITZ'S 'BLUNT' AND LILLO'S 'FATAL CURIOSITY.'

Up to the appearance of Minor's article on the history of the German 'Fate Tragedy[1]' it had been generally assumed that Karl Philipp Moritz's *Blunt oder der Gast*, the first German play based on the theme made famous later by Zacharias Werner's *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, had been inspired by Lillo's *The Fatal Curiosity*. Both Lillo and Moritz treat in dramatic form the story of a son who, though believed to be dead, returns home to find his parents reduced to poverty, and, posing as a stranger, is murdered for his money. Lillo's collected works had been published in London in 1775; a German translation of them in two volumes had appeared very shortly afterwards (1777, 1778); in 1780 the first version of Moritz's *Blunt* was published in the Berlin *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*, and in 1781 the second version appeared in book form[2]. Moritz's work is shorter and in every way cruder than Lillo's, and the tragedy is arbitrarily averted at the last moment; but the identity of theme, the chronological sequence of the dates of publication, and certain minor indications of indebtedness to Lillo[3] seemed to justify the assumption that *The Fatal Curiosity* was Moritz's source. Moreover, W. H. Brömel had—also in 1780—prepared a free adaptation of *The Fatal Curiosity* under the title *Stolz und Verzweiflung*, but with a happy ending, for performance at the Hamburg theatre[4]. It was therefore believed that Lillo, to whose *George Barnwell* the German 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel' owed its birth, had also provided the original stimulus which ultimately produced the gruesome 'Schicksalstragödien' of the Romanticists; and J. Fath traced the evolution of this genre from Brömel and Moritz through Tieck to Werner and his successors[5].

[1] J. Minor, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Schicksalstragödie und zu Grillparzers Ahnfrau*, in *Jahrb. der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, ix, 1899, pp. 1–85.

[2] The only copy of the book version I have been able to locate is in the Berlin University Library. Photographic reproductions of it are available in the Birmingham University Library and the Beit Library, Cambridge. I have also a photographic reproduction of the first version.

[3] The English surname Blunt (the name of Millwood's butler in Lillo's *George Barnwell*), a verbal parallel, and the introduction of some motives used by Lillo.

[4] For a description of Brömel's stage version cp. Minor, *l.c.*, pp. 47–50 and note 20, pp. 82 f.

[5] J. Fath, *Die Schicksalsidee in der deutschen Tragödie*, Leipzig Diss., Munich, 1895.

Minor, however, in his article, attacked—besides some weak points in Fath's chain of development—the accepted belief in Moritz's indebtedness to Lillo, declaring with reference to the first version of *Blunt*: 'Auf literarischem Wege hat Lillo auf Moritz gewiss nicht eingewirkt' (p. 38). He was willing to admit that Moritz might in his youth have heard the story on which *Blunt* is based from some one who knew Lillo's play, and that the second version does show traces of Lillo's influence (p. 46). But the original version he maintained to be essentially independent; and as he also advanced good reasons for considering Brömel's *Stolz und Verzweiflung* to have been inspired and influenced by *Blunt*, Lillo's share in the genesis of the 'Schicksalstragödie' now appeared to be insignificant. This view, advanced by a scholar of high reputation, who had already published two well known works on the 'Schicksalsdrama[1],' seems, very naturally, to have been generally accepted. For some years, it is true, whether from ignorance of Minor's article or from lack of conviction by his argument, the older theory reappeared from time to time in books of reference[2]. But more recent publications usually adopt Minor's view[3]; and no attempt, I believe, has yet been made to refute it. The purpose of the present article is to show that, in view of the available evidence—including some not previously taken into account—the original assumption of Moritz's indebtedness to Lillo is almost certainly correct.

Minor's case rests primarily on the preface to the second version, which reads as follows:

> Ohne zu wissen, dass Lillo den Stoff zu diesem Stück schon bearbeitet hat und ohne einmal die Ballade zu kennen, woraus dieselbe genommen ist, veranlasste mich eine dunkle Erinnerung aus den Jahren meiner Kindheit, wo ich die Geschichte hatte erzählen hören, sie dramatisch zu bearbeiten. Ich entwarf einzelne Scenen davon, welche ich im 25sten, 29sten und 33sten Stück der Berliner Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung von 1780 drucken liess, wo sie, so viel ich aus mündlichen Urtheilen von Kennern schliessen konnte, nicht ohne Beifall aufgenommen wurden. Wie mir nun die Zusammensetzung des Ganzen gelungen ist, darüber muss ich das Urtheil der Kunstrichter erwarten, wenn anders dieser Versuch ihre Aufmerksamkeit verdienen sollte.

[1] *Die Schicksals-Tragödie in ihren Hauptvertretern*, Frankfort, 1883 (in the introduction to which, p. vi, *Blunt* is referred to as 'nach englischem Muster'); *Das Schicksalsdrama*, in Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, vol. cli, Berlin [1884].

[2] E.g., A. Bartels, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 283 ('nach Lillo, erste Schicksalstragödie'); G. H. Nettleton in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, x (1913), p. 80 (based on Sir A. W. Ward's edition of *The Fatal Curiosity* in the *Belles Lettres Series*, 1906).

[3] E.g., L. M. Price, *English > German Literary Influence*, Berkeley, Cal., 1919, p. 352; M. Enzinger, *Das deutsche Schicksalsdrama*, Innsbruck, 1922, pp. 26 ff.; but P. Hankammer, *Z. Werner*, Bonn, 1920, p. 216, still accepts the older theory without, however, any reference to Minor's article.

Quoting this preface (with a few unimportant inaccuracies) Minor adds: 'Mit diesen Worten sinkt der Stammbaum unserer Schicksalstragödie zusammen'—as, indeed, it would, if Moritz's statement were reliable. As a matter of fact, there is strong reason to doubt it; while the evidence in support of it, though fully and forcibly presented by Minor, is anything but convincing when critically examined.

Minor's arguments may be summarised and commented on under three headings as follows: (i) Moritz might easily have heard the story in his childhood, since it is frequently met with in varying versions from the seventeenth century onwards—in folk-songs, chronicles, newspapers, etc. This argument certainly adds something to the plausibility of Moritz's statement, but does no more. Indeed, no real corroborative evidence—to say nothing of positive proof—that Moritz had any other source than Lillo seems to exist. Even in *Anton Reiser*[1], that fascinating, if at times prolix account of the first nineteen years of his life (i.e., to 1776), with its wealth of detail about his literary efforts, aspirations and projects—among them, dramatic projects—there is not the slightest suggestion of his ever having heard such a story. (ii) The correspondences between *The Fatal Curiosity* and the first version of *Blunt* are not sufficiently numerous and striking to warrant disbelief of Moritz's statement. As they will be examined in some detail below, it may suffice to remark in passing that Minor failed to notice some of them; that four of those he mentions are rather summarily dismissed; and that in any case this argument again does no more than show Moritz's disclaimer to be reasonably plausible. (iii) There are important differences between *The Fatal Curiosity* and *Blunt*. But this merely proves that, if Moritz did receive his stimulus from Lillo, he was no slavish imitator. We shall see that when he undoubtedly did borrow, as is admitted by Minor for one striking instance in the second version, he deliberately disguised the borrowed motive.

Probably no author has left a more detailed and truer picture of himself than Moritz in his *Anton Reiser* and *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre* 1782[2]; and from these works we may reasonably infer that he was not above deliberately misrepresenting facts in proclaiming the independence and originality of his drama. He pictures himself throughout as always ready to dissemble and tell untruths when it suited his

[1] *Anton Reiser. Ein psychologischer Roman*, Four Parts, Berlin, 1785–90; reprinted, *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des* 18. *und* 19. *Jahrh.*, xxiii, Heilbronn, 1886. Moritz had begun to write this autobiography at least as early as 1783, only two years later than the preface to the second edition of *Blunt*. Cp. Geiger's Introduction, pp. vii ff.

[2] Reprinted, *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des* 18. *und* 19. *Jahrh.*, cxxvi, 1903.

purpose or ministered to his vanity. Of Reiser in his early teens Moritz says (Reprint, p. 41): 'Er ward ein Heuchler gegen Gott, gegen andre, und gegen sich selbst'; while as a youth of nineteen (p. 309): 'Ruhm und Beifall zu erwerben, das war von jeher sein höchster Wunsch gewesen;—aber der Beifall musste ihm damals nicht zu weit liegen—er wollte ihn gleichsam aus der ersten Hand haben.' His often morbid desire to win or keep the good opinion of others is repeatedly emphasised as a dominant trait in *Anton Reiser* and reappears in the *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*; and many striking, and sometimes amusing, examples of the untruths into which this vanity betrayed him might be quoted[1].

In *Anton Reiser* there occurs also an interesting account of his procedure when selected from among his school-fellows to compose an address in celebration of the birthday of the Queen of England. That he should turn to previous addresses for ideas is natural enough; but Moritz continues:

> Diese las er durch, und abstrahirte sich daraus sein Ideal, ohne sonst aus einer einzigen, sich auch nur eines Ausdrucks zu bedienen—diess vermied er so sorgfältig, als er nur immer konnte; denn vor dem Plagiat hatte er die entsetzlichste Scheu—so dass er sich sogar des Ausdrucks am Schluss seiner Rede, dass Wald und Gebürg' es wiederhallen, schämte, weil einmal in Werthers Leiden der Ausdruck steht: dass Wald und Gebürg erklang—ihm entschlüpften zwar oft Reminiszenzen, aber er schämte sich ihrer, sobald er sie bemerkte (p. 286).

This passage throws light on the rather peculiar character of a borrowing from Lillo—as Minor admits (p. 46)—in the second version of *Blunt*. In *The Fatal Curiosity* Charlot, the betrothed of Young Wilmot, the returned son, asks her friend Maria to sing to her:

> The song compos'd by that unhappy maid,
> Whose faithful lover 'scaped a thousand perils
> From rocks, and sands, and the devouring deep;
> And after all, being arriv'd at home,
> Passing a narrow brook, was drowned there,
> And perished in her sight[2].

Moritz inserts as a topic of conversation between Mariane, the betrothed of the returned son, and her father the frequency with which great dangers are escaped and small ones bring destruction, and causes the father to say:

> Da erhielt ich gestern erst noch eine traurige Nachricht, von einem würdigen Officier, meinem sehr guten Freunde, der sechs Bataillen mitgemacht hat, und nun an einem Stückchen Glase gestorben ist, das er sich in den Finger gestossen hat (pp. 23 f.).

[1] E.g. *Anton Reiser* (Reprint), pp. 297, 333, 362, 385 f., 391, 393; and *Reisen eines Deutschen in England* (Reprint), pp. 11 f.

[2] George Lillo, *Works*, ii, London, 1775, p. 10.

The general idea is borrowed, but the setting and the details are changed.

Moritz was a zealous student of English and English literature from his school-days onward. By the age of nineteen, as *Anton Reiser* shows, he knew in the original, in translation and in German stage versions, works by Shakespeare, Defoe, Sterne, Young, Richardson, Pope and Fielding; and that he retained this interest in subsequent years is clear from his *Reisen* and from K. F. Klischnig's *Erinnerungen aus den zehn letzten Lebensjahren meines Freundes Anton Reiser* (Berlin, 1794). Only a couple of years before his *Blunt* first appeared, he was supplementing his scanty income by translating from English, and was praised by Basedow, at whose school in Dessau he taught for a time, for 'seinen Eifer für die englische Litteratur[1].' This was precisely the time when the anonymous German translation of Lillo's works was being published in Leipzig; and though it might seem far-fetched to suggest that Moritz himself was the translator—he was actually in Leipzig during part of the winter of 1776–77—one would at any rate expect him to notice its appearance and to read it.

We come now to the similarities between *The Fatal Curiosity* and the first version of *Blunt*, published in the *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*[2]. If for the present we still regard the identity of theme as a pure coincidence, we must accept some of the minor resemblances as almost inevitable, e.g., the extreme poverty of the parents and the consequent deterioration of character (in Lillo's play of both, but especially of the mother; in *Blunt* of the father only); perhaps also, though not without some hesitation, the fatalistic element common to both plays, the insistence on the father's false pride, the reference to his former comfort and high standing, the fact that in both plays the parents have not a morsel of food in the house and have been selling their possessions for food, the

[1] Cp. O. zur Linde in his Introduction to the *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*, p. xii. Later on Moritz published translations of English novels. Cp. Goedeke, v, p. 491.

[2] A short description of this unique production may be welcome. The first instalment (pp. 385–99) carries the action to the moment before the murder. Bl. (lässt noch einmal das Messer sinken—schnell aber zückt er es zum drittenmale—seine Hand zittert noch—) (Der Vorhang fällt zu).' The second (pp. 449–56) virtually opens with Blunt's 'Ja, ich hab's gethan,' introducing a scene between him and his wife (she reproaches him and urges him to help in disposing of the corpse); Mariane and her father pay an early morning surprise visit; the truth comes out, whereupon Blunt, stricken with remorse, demands to be condemned. As a touching finale, his wife wishes to die with him, while Mariane faints. In the third instalment (pp. 513–27) would-be harrowing scenes depict Mariane's stupefied grief and Blunt's repentance; he exclaims: 'O dass doch dies alles ein Traum wäre' (p. 518). Then follow a few verses (assigned to no one) appealing to 'holde Phantasie' to recall the moment before the murder. The action is resumed at the point reached by the first instalment; the son wakes and is saved; Mariane and her father arrive and proclaim his identity; Blunt is remorseful, his son nobly forgiving, and a general reconciliation concludes the piece. For a fuller description see Minor's article.

son's thoughts of former happy days at home, his difficulty in restraining himself from revealing his identity, and the detail that in both plays it is a valuable casket belonging to the son which suggests the thought of murder. But the four further resemblances dismissed by Minor as of no account are less easy to accept as mere coincidences. Lillo's play opens with a shipwreck from which Young Wilmot is saved; and his mother, not recognising him, says: 'Alas! who knows, But we were render'd childless by some storm' (p. 36). Moritz introduces false news of the son's death by shipwreck to account for the belief that he is no longer alive, and later on represents him as the only survivor of the wreck. In both plays the son has left behind him a fiancée who has remained true to him, whom he visits before going to his parents' house, to whom he tells his intention of passing himself off as a stranger at home, whose arrival on the scene immediately after the murder brings out the horrible truth, and who faints on learning what has happened. In both plays the son intends to give a banquet to celebrate his return. And lastly, in both there occurs a rather curious epithet applied by the mother to the father. Lillo makes Agnes exclaim: 'Barbarous man!' when Old Wilmot reproves her for her murderous suggestion (p. 45); in *Blunt* Gertrud calls her husband a 'stolzer, barbarischer Mann' when he says he is too proud to accept help from his brother (p. 387). Minor's comments on these are:

> Das Motiv des Schiffbruches bot sich von selber da [rather an arbitrary assumption] und ist auch in den beiden Stücken ganz verschieden benützt [as might be expected of Moritz]...Auch dass er in der Heimath eine Braut zurückgelassen hat, die ihm treu bleibt, ist sehr nahe gelegen; und dass diese Braut ihm das Hinausschieben auszureden sucht (was bei Lillo übrigens nur ganz schwach angedeutet ist), dass sie zuletzt an der Bahre des Geliebten in Ohnmacht fällt, sind gewiss keine weit hergeholten Züge. Dass der heimgekehrte Sohn endlich ein Gastmahl bei den Eltern geben will, kommt auch in den Volksliedern vor, denen Moritz ja auch die Figur der Schwester verdankt (pp. 37 f.).

The other two motives connected with the fiancée's rôle are not mentioned, and there is no comment on the verbal parallel; but 'Alle diese Übereinstimmungen können Moritz' Vorrede nicht widerlegen.' If they stood alone, perhaps not; though in the light of what we have seen to be Moritz's character, they certainly cast very serious doubt upon it.

As a matter of fact, there are half a dozen further instances, apparently overlooked by Minor, in which it seems legitimate to suspect Lillo's influence. (i) The mother accuses the father of having driven their son from home. Lillo makes Agnes say:

> Barbarous man!
> Whose wasteful riots ruin'd our estate,
> And drove our son,...
> To seek his bread 'mongst strangers and to perish
> In some remote, inhospitable land (p. 45).

And when Blunt asks Gertrud: 'Wo liegt er begraben, Weib?' she replies: 'In den Wellen des Meeres, Bösewicht, du verstiessest ihn—weil du arm wurdest—Armuth und Noth hätte er gerne mit uns getragen, und du hast ihn verstossen!' (p. 387)[1].

(ii) The son rejoices over his present complete happiness after all his wanderings and troubles, for his betrothed has remained true and his parents are still alive. Young Wilmot says to Charlot:

> My joy's compleat!
> My parents living, and possess'd of thee!—
> From this blest hour, the happiest of my life,
> I'll date my rest. My anxious hopes and fears,
> My weary travels, and my dangers past,
> Are now rewarded all: now I rejoice
> In my success, and count my riches gain...
> No more shall cruel want, or proud contempt,
> Oppress the sinking spirits, or insult
> The hoary heads of those who gave me being (p. 30).

And 'Der Fremde' soliloquises:

> Schlaft wohl, gute Eltern, noch diese Nacht, auf euren harten Betten, und in eurer schlechten Wohnung! bald sollt ihr besser schlafen, und besser wohnen—Sind nun nicht alle, alle die Wünsche meines Herzens erfüllt?—Mariane! du willst die Gefährtin meines Lebens werden, und meine Eltern leben beide noch, das war ia alles, was ich während meiner langen Wanderschaft wünschte und hoffte—O es giebt doch noch frohe Tag' im Leben, und nun fängt es erst an, mir wieder lieb zu werden —Wie manchen Kummer, wie manche ängstliche Besorgniss wird mir der morgende Tag belohnen? (p. 392).

(iii) The son, about to rest, regrets his deception and considers how the fact that he is their son may be broken gently to his parents. Young Wilmot says aside:

> How has my curiosity betray'd me
> Into superfluous pain! I faint with fondness;
> And shall, if I stay longer, rush upon 'em
> Till their souls, transported with the excess
> Of pleasure and surprise, quit their frail mansions,
> And leave 'em breathless in my longing arms.
> By circumstances then and slow degrees,
> They must be let into a happiness
> Too great for them to bear at once and live.
> That Charlot will perform: I need not feign
> To ask an hour for rest (p. 39).

'Der Fremde' soliloquises:

> Mein Vater!—wie mir das Wort auf der Zunge erstarb, als ich es aussprechen wollte—Mein Vater!.... Itzt hätte ich mich ihm entdecken sollen—aber warum denn itzt?— — Ich will nun mit den frölichen Gedanken einschlafen, wie ich mich morgen meinen Eltern nach und nach zu erkennen geben werde—erstlich will ich ihnen den Irrthum zu benehmen suchen, als ob ihr Sohn todt wäre...bis sie endlich fragen, wo

[1] It will be noticed that this page contains three suggestions of indebtedness to Lillo, two of them being reminiscent of Agnes's speech beginning on p. 45. Similarly *Blunt*, p. 397, reminds us of Lillo in almost every line.

ist unser Sohn, wo ist unser Wilhelm ?[1] und ich ihnen dann um den Hals falle, und sage : ich bins ! ich bins ! (p. 397).

(iv) The son believes that Heaven has blessed him with wealth on purpose that he may rescue his parents from their poverty. When Randal, the dismissed servant, begins to tell Young Wilmot of their sad state, the latter says :

> I've heard it all, and hasten to relieve 'em :
> Sure heaven hath bless'd me to that very end :
> I've wealth enough ; nor shalt thou want a part (p. 33).

And 'Der Fremde' prays: 'Vernimm meinen Dank, dass du mich so reichlich gesegnet hast, damit ich dieienigen glücklich machen kann, die meinem Herzen so nahe sind' (p. 397).

(v) After the discovery that the murdered stranger is his son, the father feels his crime to be one that should forfeit even God's mercy. Old Wilmot, who has stabbed himself, replies to Randal's 'May all your woes end here !' with

> O would they end
> A thousand ages hence, I then would suffer
> Much less than I deserve (pp. 52 f.).

Blunt :

> Erbarme dich meiner nicht, du gerechter Gott im Himmel, in meiner letzten Todesstunde, und sende keinen Tropfen Lindrung in meine Seele, wenn der Angstschweiss vor meiner Stirne steht. Schleudre mich in den tiefsten Abgrund der Hölle hinunter, und vergieb mir die Menge meiner Sünden nicht ! (pp. 455 f.).

(vi) Lillo causes Agnes, the mother, who had instigated the crime, to say with her last breath :

> To give thee life for life, and blood for blood,
> Is not enough. Had I ten thousand lives,
> I'd give them all to speak my penitence (p. 51).

In Moritz's play the whole responsibility for the crime is the father's, and he says: 'Ach könnt' ich mein fliessendes Blut in deine Adern giessen—und wenn ich zehn Leben hätte, mit Freuden wollt' ich sie hingeben' (p. 517).

There is still one more parallel worth noting, which Minor mentions in connection with the 'vage Vermuthung' that Moritz may have had his attention drawn to *The Fatal Curiosity* and its lack of success on the

[1] This is the first mention of the son's name. The only other passage in which he is named is a short speech by Mariane near the end of the play (p. 514), where she twice refers to him as Carl. In his account of the alterations made by Moritz in the second version of his play, Minor says : 'Wilhelm (so heisst der verschollene Liebhaber jetzt wie in Bürgers "Leonore" und mit Anklang an den englischen Namen Wilmot).' Presumably he had not noticed the occurrence of this name in the first version. Similarity of names is of comparatively little importance ; but it may be observed that in addition to the use of the name Blunt (from *George Barnwell*) and this resemblance of Wilhelm to Wilmot, the name Mariane might have been suggested by Lillo, with whom the similar name Maria seems to have been a favourite. He uses it also in *George Barnwell* and *Arden of Feversham*.

English stage, before the third instalment of the first version of *Blunt* appeared in print. In both plays the son awakens at the last moment. Young Wilmot, on receiving the fatal blow, cries out: 'O father! father!' (p. 48); while 'Der Fremde,' opening his eyes to find his father standing over him with uplifted knife, says with trembling voice: 'Mein Vater!' (p. 519), and thus causes the moment's hesitation in which Blunt abandons his intention of murder. In view of the parallels noticed before, the majority of which occur in the *first* instalment, i.e., in just over fourteen small pages, it is more likely that we have here one more borrowed plume, trimmed to the borrower's taste.

The cumulative weight of all this evidence, against which there is only Moritz's own statement to be set, justifies the conclusion that Minor's view must be abandoned and the older theory of Lillo's influence on Moritz once more accepted.

FRANCIS E. SANDBACH.

BIRMINGHAM.

THE GENESIS OF WAGNER'S DRAMA 'TANNHÄUSER.'

In his *Mein Leben* Wagner describes the origins of *Tannhäuser* in a passage which is largely a reproduction of what he had already said in *Eine Mittheilung an meine Freunde*[1]:

> Diesen Stoff hatte mir ein zufällig mir in die Hand gerathenes Volksbuch vom *Venusberg* eingegeben. Hatte ich im unwillkürlichen Drange dem, was ich als *deutsch* mit immer innigerer Wärme sehnsüchtig zu erfassen suchte, mich immer mehr zugewandt, so ging mir diess hier plötzlich in der einfachen, auf das bekannte alte Lied vom *Tannhäuser* begründeten Darstellung dieser Sage auf. Zwar kannte ich alle zu ihr gehörigen Elemente bereits durch *Tieck's* Erzählung in seinem Phantasus; doch hatte mich diese Fassung des Gegenstandes mehr auf das phantastische, früher durch *Hoffmann* in mir begründete Gebiet zurückgeführt, und keineswegs hätte ich dieser vollständig ausgebildeten Erzählung den Stoff zu einer dramatischen Arbeit zu entnehmen mich verleitet fühlen können. Was allerdings dem Volksbuch sogleich nach dieser Seite hin ein grosses Übergewicht bei mir gab, war, dass *Tannhäuser* hier, wenn auch nur durch sehr flüchtige Bezeichnung, mit dem *Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg* in Verbindung gesetzt war. Auch diesen kannte ich bereits durch eine *Hoffmann*'sche Erzählung in dessen 'Serapionsbrüdern'; nur fühlte ich, dass der alte Stoff hier sehr entstellt dem Dichter aufgegangen war, und suchte nun mir näheren Aufschluss über die ächte Gestalt dieser anziehenden Sage zu verschaffen. Da brachte mir *Lehrs* ein Jahresheft der Königsberger deutschen Gesellschaft, in welchem *Lukas* den 'Wartburgkrieg' kritisch näher behandelte, namentlich auch den Text davon in der Ursprache gab. Trotzdem ich von dieser ächten Fassung für meine Absicht materiell so gut wie gar nichts benutzen konnte, zeigte er mir doch das deutsche Mittelalter in einer prägnanten Farbe, von welcher ich bis dahin keine Ahnung erhalten hatte.

One difficulty in accepting this statement has always been recognised: no Volksbuch of *Der Venusberg* or *Tannhäuser* is known to exist[2]. But it will, I think, be seen that in other respects Wagner's words bear witness to the fallibility of his memory, even in 1851, when the *Mittheilung* was written.

The sources of Wagner's drama are, in the first instance, the story entitled *Der Kampf der Sänger* in the second volume of Hoffmann's *Serapionsbrüder* (1819), and an indifferent 'Dichterspiel,' *Der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg*, published by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué in 1828. A consideration of his use of these two works shows that the first conception of Wagner's drama was not a *Tannhäuser* at all, but a *Sänger-*

[1] R. Wagner, *Mein Leben*, Munich, 1911, i, pp. 254 f.; *Eine Mittheilung*, in *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1887, iv, p. 269. The present paper is an elaboration of views expressed in a course of public lectures on *Wagner as Poet and Thinker*, which I held at Bedford College, University of London, in the spring of the present year.

[2] P. Riesenfeld (*Heinrich von Ofterdingen in der deutschen Literatur*, Berlin, 1912, p. 85) suggests that Wagner was thinking of Ludwig Bechstein's *Der Sagenschatz und die Sagenkreise des Thüringer Landes*, Hildburghausen, 1835. But Bechstein merely mentions (i, p. 137) the fact that Tannhäuser had been invited to the Wartburg by the Landgraf.

krieg auf Wartburg, the hero of which was Heinrich von Ofterdingen. I deal first with Hoffmann's story[1].

One spring night, when the wind is howling round the house, the narrator, Cyprian, poring at his fire over Wagenseil's old book on the art of the Mastersingers, has a dream. He sees himself in a forest.

> Der Morgenwind erhob sich, und bahnte, das Gewölk vor sich her aufrollend, dem hellen lieblichen Sonnenschein den Weg, der bald auf allen grünen Blättern flimmerte und die schlafenden Vögelein weckte, die in fröhlichem Trilleriren von Zweig zu Zweig flatterten und hüpften. Da erschallte von ferne her lustiges Hörnergetön.... Die Hörner schwiegen, aber nun erhoben sich Harfenklänge und Stimmen so herrlich zusammentönend, wie die Musik des Himmels. Immer näher und näher kam der liebliche Gesang, Jäger, die Jagdspiesse in den Händen, die blanken Jagdhörner um die Schulter gehängt, ritten hervor aus der Tiefe des Waldes[2].

Wagenseil now appears to the dreamer in person and explains to him who the gay company is. The stately gentleman in the princely mantle is the Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen; the lady is the Gräfin Mathilde von Falkenstein, a young widow at his court; their companions are the joyous Minnesinger Walther von der Vogelweid, Reinhard von Zwekhstein, Heinrich Schreiber, Johannes Bitterolff, and, a courtly knight with blue eyes on a milk-white steed at Mathilde's side, Wolfframb von Eschinbach. But there is another in the company, a pale youth with flaming eyes and a face distorted as if by pain, Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Round Ofterdingen is a mystery which even the Landgraf fails to solve; he is melancholy and unhappy; his songs are of unsatisfied longing and death; his brother singers are filled with pity for him. To none of these is Ofterdingen drawn as to Wolfframb, and Wolfframb 'erwiederte dies aus dem tiefsten Grunde seines Gemüths' (p. 30). Wolfframb succeeds in discovering Heinrich's secret: he is eating out his heart for the Gräfin Mathilde[3], the Mathilde whom Wolfframb himself loves. He suggests, by way of consolation, that Heinrich might just as easily win Mathilde's favour by his songs, as he himself had won it (p. 33).

One evening, when wandering in the neighbourhood of the Wartburg, Ofterdingen is suddenly confronted by a devil, who tells him that he and his fellow-singers have no idea of the deeper sources of their art; he bids Ofterdingen seek out the magician Meister Klingsohr in Siebenbürgen, who will teach him how to win honour, riches, women's favour,

[1] There is a comparison of *Tannhäuser* with *Der Kampf der Sänger* in W. Golther, *Zur deutschen Sage und Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 49 ff. Some points where I am indebted to Golther are noted below.

[2] In the edition of Hoffmann's *Sämtliche Werke* by C. G. von Maasen, vi, Munich, 1912, p. 23. Cp. *Tannhäuser*, Act I, sc. iv.

[3] In his confession to Wolfframb Heinrich says (p. 32): 'Da fuhr ein funkelnder Blitz durch die Finsterniss, und ich schrie laut auf: Mathilde!—Ich war erwacht, der Traum verrauscht.' Golther (p. 50) compares *Tannhäuser*, 259: 'Bleib' bei Elisabeth!'

Mathilde herself. Ofterdingen suddenly disappears, and he is mourned for as dead; 'nun erst zeigte sich recht, wie sie ihn alle geliebt trotz seines zerrissenen oft bis zur höhnenden Bitterkeit mürrischen Wesens' (p. 42). In the following spring he returns from Siebenbürgen[1] as unexpectedly as he had disappeared. He is welcomed by his brother singers. 'Mit freudigem Erschrecken erkannten alle in ihm den verloren geglaubten Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Die Meister gingen auf ihn zu mit freundlichen, herzlichen Grüssen' (p. 42)[2]. He is entirely changed; his melancholy has disappeared. He takes part in a singing contest:

Er würdigte die Meister keines Wortes, sondern setzte sich schweigend auf seinen Platz. Während die andern sangen, sah er in die Wolken[3], schob sich auf dem Sitz hin und her, zählte an den Fingern, gähnte, kurz bezeigte auf alle nur mögliche Weise Unmuth und Langeweile. Wolfframb von Eschinbach sang ein Lied zum Lobe des Landgrafen, und kam dann auf die Rückkehr des verloren geglaubten Freundes, die er so recht aus dem tiefsten Gemüth schilderte, dass sich alle innig gerührt fühlten. Heinrich von Ofterdingen runzelte aber die Stirn und nahm, sich von Wolfframb abwendend, die Laute, auf ihr einige wunderbare Akkorde anschlagend. Er stellte sich in die Mitte des Kreises, und begann ein Lied, dessen Weise so ganz anders als alles, was die andern gesungen, so unerhört war, dass alle in die grösste Verwunderung, ja zuletzt in das höchste Erstaunen geriethen. Es war, als schlüge er mit seinen gewaltigen Tönen an die dunklen Pforten eines fremden verhängnissvollen Reichs, und beschwöre die Geheimnisse der unbekannten dort hausenden Macht herauf. Dann rief er die Gestirne an, und indem seine Lautentöne leiser lispelten, glaubte man der Sphären klingenden Reigen zu vernehmen. Nun rauschten die Akkorde stärker, und glühende Düfte wehten daher, und Bilder üppigen Liebesglücks flammten in dem aufgegangenen Eden aller Lust. Jeder fühlte sein Inneres erbeben in seltsamen Schauern. Als Ofterdingen geendet, war alles in tiefem Schweigen verstummt, aber dann brach der jubelnde Beifall stürmisch hervor. Die Dame Mathilde erhob sich schnell von ihrem Sitz, trat auf Ofterdingen zu, und drückte ihm den Kranz auf die Stirne, den sie als Preis des Gesanges in der Hand getragen (pp. 43 f.)[4].

It is needless to point out how much all this has meant for the final scene of Wagner's first act and for his second act. He has modified the situation, in so far as he implies that Heinrich had won Mathilde's affection before his departure, and that his arrogant outburst, after his offensive praise of the Duke of Austria, described by Hoffmann later, also preceded that event[5]. But several singing contests are described in Hoffmann's confused tale, and in planning his second act, Wagner combined that which I have quoted with the more elaborate final contest, which takes place before 'thousands of spectators.' Here lots are

[1] *Tannhäuser*, 244: 'Ich wanderte in weiter, weiter Ferne.' Also 346: 'Fern von hier, in weiten, weiten Landen.'

[2] *Ibid.*, 237 ff.

[3] In Wagner he 'scheint sich in Träumereien zu verlieren' (461).

[4] One might say that it was of this song Elisabeth is thinking when she says (*Tannhäuser*, 366 ff.): 'Doch welch' ein seltsam neues Leben rief euer Lied mir in die Brust!' etc. Cp. also Wolfram (268 ff.): 'Als du in kühnem Sange,' etc. In his treatment of the singing contest Wagner has probably, as will be seen, been influenced by Raupach.

[5] *Tannhäuser*, 231 f.: 'den Kreis, den du in Hochmuth stolz verliessest.'

drawn, and it falls to Wolfframb to open the contest[1]. To heighten the colour of the scene, Wagner borrowed from a later episode in Hoffmann's tale, where the devil Nasias is sent to Wolfframb by Klingsohr. Nasias sings to him 'ein Lied von der schönen Helena und von den überschwenglichen Freuden des Venusbergs.' But Wolfframb, remembering Mathilde, 'hatte nichts vernommen von dem Gesang des Bösen; als dieser aber nun schwieg, begann Wolfframb ein Lied, das in den herrlichsten, gewaltigsten Tönen die Himmelsseligkeit der reinen Liebe des frommen Sängers pries' (p. 62). In the final contest Wolfframb, to his horror, hears Heinrich repeat the song which Nasias had sung to him; again, however, the vision of Mathilde presents itself to him, and he wins the prize. Heinrich disappears in a cloud of smoke.

The end of *Der Kampf der Sänger* is that Wolfframb receives a letter from Heinrich, who subsequently rises to high honour at the Austrian court, thanking him for having saved him. 'An dem Rande des Abgrundes stand ich, und Du hieltst mich fest, als schon verderbliche Schwindel mich betäubten. Dein schöner Sieg ist es, der, indem er Deinen Gegner vernichtete, mich dem frohen Leben wiedergab' (p. 72). Thus the ultimate motive of Hoffmann's story is one that was particularly dear to Wagner's heart, 'Erlösung'; but the 'Erlöser' is here, not the woman Heinrich loves, but Wolfframb.

Before leaving *Der Kampf der Sänger*, it is worth noting that the opening of Wagner's third act may have been suggested by Hoffmann's scene where Mathilde returns to Wolfframb:

> Die Gräfin Mathilde hatte sich indessen nach dem Garten der Wartburg begeben, und Wolfframb von Eschinbach war ihr dahin nachgefolgt. Als er sie nun fand, wie sie unter schönen blühenden Bäumen auf einer blumigen Rasenbank sass, die Hände auf dem Schooss gefaltet, das schöne Haupt in Schwermuth niedergesenkt zur Erde, da warf er sich der holden Frau zu Füssen, keines Wortes mächtig (p. 70).

She believes that she has been the victim of an evil dream, and seeks his forgiveness. Lastly, Wolfram's song to the evening star in *Tannhäuser* was also suggested by more than one passage in Hoffmann[2].

[1] 'Darauf trat der Marschall vor die Meister hin mit einem silbernen Gefäss, aus dem jeder ein Los ziehen musste' (p. 68); Wagner, 460: 'Vier Edelknaben...sammeln in einem goldenen Becher von jedem der Sänger seinen auf ein Blättchen geschriebenen Namen ein.' Cp. W. Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 51; he also points out that Wolfram's song (462 ff.): 'Blick' ich umher' has been suggested by Hoffmann's words (pp. 39 f.): 'Gewiss, vielgeliebter Leser! befandest du dich einmal in einem Kreise, der, von holden Frauen, sinnvollen Männern gebildet, ein schöner, von den verschiedensten in Duft und Farbenglanz miteinander wetteifernden Blumen geflochtener Kranz zu nennen.'

[2] Hoffmann, pp. 26 f.: 'Da stieg ein in milchweissem Licht herrlich funkelnder Stern empor aus der Tiefe und wandelte daher auf der Himmelsbahn, und ihm nach zogen die Meister auf glänzenden Wolken, singend und ihr Saitenspiel rührend.' Also p. 28. Cp. *Tannhäuser*, 759 ff.; also 470, 564.

The value of Wagner's second source, Fouqué's 'Dichterspiel,'[1] for his purposes was twofold. It suggested the structure of his second act, and, more particularly, the part which Elisabeth plays in it. Fouqué's 'erste Abentheure'—it is preceded by a 'Vorspiel'—opens with a scene in the Wartburg garden between Heinrich and Sophia Biterolf with whom he is in love. There is, however, little love story in the play, which keeps closely to its source; and the character of Sophia Biterolf is without significance. In the subsequent singing contest Heinrich falls into disfavour by his praise of the Duke of Austria, and in his anger draws his sword[2]. The company adjourns to the hall of the castle, where the Landgräfin Sophia interposes: like Elisabeth, she takes Heinrich under her protection: 'Derweil bleibt Ihr in meinem Schutz' (p. 96)[3]. As a consequence of her pleading, the Landgraf grants Ofterdingen a respite, banishing him from the Wartburg for a year:

> Für eines Jahreswechsels Frist
> Gönn' ich zu seinem schwier'gen Werk dem Pilgrim Raum.
> Kehrt er zum Wartburgschlosse bis dahin nicht heim,
> So ächt' ihn der Altsassen furchtbar Sangesrecht.
> Bis dahin ruh's, und schweig' davon auch das Gerücht[4]. (pp. 106 f.)

The reference to Heinrich as a 'pilgrim' may have provided Wagner with a hint. Heinrich, however, does not pilgrimage here to Rome, but to Klingsohr in Siebenbürgen. The scene continues as follows, clearly suggesting the end of Wagner's second act:

> *Heinrich.* Gern will ich in die Fremde wallen[5]!
> Doch wallt zum Heil der Pilgrim nicht,
> Auf welchen Zornesstrahlen fallen
> Von edlem Stern, sonst lieb und licht.
> Lasst, hohe Herrin, Euern Seegen
> Mit mir....
> *Landgräfin.* Vorhin schon hab' ich's Euch gesprochen,
> Bedrängter Sangmann: geht mit Gott!...
> Gott mit Euch! Demuth Euerm Muth[6]!
> *Heinrich.* Hold sprach und ernst mein Engelsrichter[7].
> Getrost beginn' ich fernen Lauf.
> *Landgraf.* Mit Gott, Bedrängt'ster aller Dichter!

Wagner has also taken over traits from the final singing contest, which is represented in Fouqué's second 'Abentheure.' The formal preparations for the 'Turnier' were of use to him:

[1] The drama is described at length by P. Riesenfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that Wagner was influenced by Fouqué, by Koch and others; but the nature of his indebtedness has not been defined. A memory of this play in Wagner may be traced, I think, as late as *Parsifal*.

[2] Cp. *Tannhäuser*, 542 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, 600 ff. [4] *Ibid.*, 640 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, 683: 'Doch will ich büssend wallen.'

[6] *Ibid.*, 692: 'in Demuth sühnet eure Schuld!'

[7] *Ibid.*, 687 f.: 'O, dass nur er versöhnet, der Engel meiner Noth.' Cp. 621 and below, p. 463, note 3.

Trompetenstoss. Landgraf Hermann und Landgräfin Sophia treten auf im feierlichen Zuge, vor ihnen her Edelknaben und Hoffräulein; desgleichen in ihrem Gefolg. Sie nehmen Platz auf einem erhöheten Sitz. Bald nach ihnen treten ein die Sangesmeister Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walter von der Vogelweide, Reimar von Zweter, Heinrich der Schreiber, Biterolf von Eisenach und Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Sie grüssen die Herrschaften mit Kniebeugung. Dann nehmen sie auf niedern Sesseln Platz, dem Hochsitz gegenüber (p. 227)[1].

The Landgraf opens the proceedings by addressing the singers:

> Dieweil noch nicht der Kampfesrichter hier erschien,
> Dem jener Purpursessel auf erhöhtem Stand
> Zum feierlichen Sitze ward bestimmt,—wohlauf,
> Ihr Meister des Gesanges, hebt inzwischen noch,
> Wenn's Euch gefällt, ein heitres Räthselvorspiel an[2]. (p. 228.)

Here, too, as before, the Landgräfin interposes on Heinrich's behalf:

> O, haltet ein mit ungrossmüth'gem Kampf!
> Seht Ihr denn nicht, wie im verzerrten Krampf
> Sich des erschreckten Knappen Glieder strecken?...
> Getrost, Du Zagender! Dich schützt mein Bitten.
> Niemand hat Hohn vor mir noch je erlitten[3]. (p. 235.)

Finally, Heinrich's words to the Landgräfin (p. 296) would seem to have been in Wagner's mind when he wrote the last scene of his *Tannhäuser*:

> Ihr scheint und seid ein wunderseel'ger Engel mir[4],
> Ein Bild, wie's sünd'gen Menschen selten nur erscheint,
> Wohl Manchem an des Sterbelagers Bettung erst.
> Ich Glücklicher! Im heitern Leben sah ich Euch!
> Ich Seeliger! Mit letztem Hauch wohl ahn' ich Euch.
> Bete für Euch; Vertretet mich Euch im Gebet.
> Wollt ihr?

Another literary source which comes into question for the middle act of *Tannhäuser* is Raupach's drama, *König Enzio*, for the first Leipzig performance of which (February 2, 1832) Wagner composed incidental music. In the Prologue to that drama King Enzio proposes to the young Bolognese noblemen assembled at his table, love as the theme of their songs:

> Die Wahl ist schon getroffen:
> Die nächsten Lieder sollen uns belehren,
> Was Liebe sey. Wir lieben allzumal,
> Und Keiner weiss, was Liebe ist.

[1] *Ibid.*, 426 ff.: 'Trompeten.—Grafen, Ritter und Edelfrauen in reichem Schmucke werden durch Edelknaben eingeführt.... Die Ritter und Frauen haben die von den Edelknaben ihnen angewiesenen, in einem weiten Halbkreise erhöhten Platze eingenommen. Der Landgraf und Elisabeth nehmen im Vordergrunde unter einem Baldachin Ehrensitze ein.—Trompeten.—Die Sänger treten auf und verneigen sich feierlich mit ritterlichem Grusse gegen die Versammlung; darauf nehmen sie...die für sie bestimmten Plätze ein.' See also below, p. 469. Wagner, it will be seen, substituted Fouqué's spelling of the proper names—except 'Walter'—for Hoffmann's, even 'Reimar,' which is the form in the early editions of the opera.

[2] Cp. *Tannhäuser*, 433: 'In weisen Räthseln wie in heit'ren Liedern.'

[3] *Ibid.*, 600 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, 893: 'Ein Engel bat für dich auf Erden'; also 898, 901.

Rainero maintains the standpoint of Wolfram:

> So beten wir noch jetzt die Frauen an;
> Und dieser Gottesdienst ist nun die Liebe.

While Matteo, like Tannhäuser, proclaims love to be 'Sinnlichkeit und weiter nichts[1].'

All this, it seems to me, points convincingly to Wagner's original conception being a *Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg* with Ofterdingen as hero. Subsequent to the spring of 1842, when he found Ofterdingen identified with Tannhäuser in Lucas's treatise, *Über den Krieg von Wartburg*[2], Wagner superimposed the story of Tannhäuser on an original *Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg*, a process which is indicated by the double title the drama still bears[3]. Internal evidence of the change is not wanting; for Wagner, as is to be seen in his *Ring des Nibelungen*, was often careless in the final revision of his texts. When, for instance, in answer to Elisabeth's question (352): 'Was war es dann, das euch zurückgeführt?' Tannhäuser—and he still retains the original name 'Heinrich'—answers: 'Ein Wunder war's, ein unbegreiflich hohes Wunder,' he was not originally thinking of 'die Wunder deiner Gnade' (218) whereby he escapes from Frau Venus's thrall, but the love that had drawn him back from 'weiten, weiten Landen' to Elisabeth.

> Den Gott der Liebe sollst du preisen,
> er hat die Saiten mir berührt,
> er sprach zu dir aus meinen Weisen,
> zu dir hat er mich hergeführt. (342 ff.)

And it is inconceivable that Wagner, had he already written his Venusberg scene, could have let his Tannhäuser address Elisabeth in words so tactlessly reminiscent of what he had not long before said to Venus[4].

It has been seen that the introduction of the Venusberg into Wagner's drama was not necessarily dependent on the substitution of Tannhäuser for Heinrich von Ofterdingen; it had already been suggested by Hoffmann's *Kampf der Sänger*. The temptation to substitute Venus for Hoffmann's Klingsohr might have been further prompted by another

[1] *Tannhäuser*, 529: 'Im Genuss nur kenn' ich Liebe.'

[2] *Historische und litterarische Abhandlungen der königlichen deutschen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg*, iv, 2, Königsberg, 1838, p. 270. Beyond this identification, Wagner owes very little to Lucas's treatise. This in itself seems to support my contention that *Tannhäuser* belongs essentially to Wagner's pre-Parisian period. Lucas is, however, one of the main sources for *Lohengrin*.

[3] As late as April 7, 1843 (Letter to Lehrs, published in the *Bayreuther Blätter*, xxv, 1902, p. 181), however, Wagner still referred to his work as *Der Venusberg*. Of minor importance is the question, at what stage did Wagner's heroine become Elisabeth? The temptation to replace 'Mathilde' or 'Sophia' may have been present from the first; for (the historically later) Saint Elisabeth is referred to in both sources, in Hoffmann and Fouqué, as well as in Lucas.

[4] Notably *Tannhäuser*, 55: 'Gepriesen sei dein Lieben!'

story of that writer's in which we know Wagner to have been interested, *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*. It is the first volume of the *Serapionsbrüder*, and provided Wagner, I believe, with the first suggestion for what ultimately became *Der fliegende Holländer*[1]. In the bowels of the earth the hero of this tale has an experience not dissimilar to Tannhäuser's:

> Er blickte in die paradiesische Gefilde der herrlichsten Metallbäume und Pflanzen, an denen wie Früchte, Blüthen und Blumen feuerstrahlende Steine hingen. Er sah die Jungfrauen, er schaute das hohe Antlitz der mächtigen Königin. Sie erfasste ihn, zog ihn hinab, drückte ihn an ihre Brust, da durchzuckte ein glühender Strahl sein Inneres und sein Bewusstseyn war nur das Gefühl als schwämme er in den Wogen eines blauen durchsichtig funkelnden Nebels[2].

It is, however, difficult to see how the present Venusberg scene could have been conceived before the change from Ofterdingen to Tannhäuser had been decided upon. At most, the three strophes which Tannhäuser sings in praise of Venus, might have originally had their place in the Singing Contest, and given more substantial ground there for the offence Ofterdingen causes. The ballad of *Tannhäuser* Wagner knew from Heine's *Elementargeister*, published in the third volume of the *Salon* (1837). It is quoted here from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, and Heine appends his own *Tannhäuser* ballad. From his characteristic comment I quote the following:

> Eine Weile lang geht's gut. Aber der Mensch ist nicht immer aufgelegt zum Lachen, er wird manchmal still und ernst und denkt zurück in die Vergangenheit; denn die Vergangenheit ist die eigentliche Heimath seiner Seele, und es erfasst ihn ein Heimweh nach den Gefühlen, die er einst empfunden hat, und seien es auch Gefühle des Schmerzes[3].

It has, however, been pointed out[4] that Tannhäuser's motive for returning to the world in Wagner is not the repentance of the ballad; and it is more than Heine's: 'Ich schmachte nach Bitternissen.' His yearning is to see the sky and the stars, meadow and cornfield, to smell the forest and hear the nightingale. This motive—if it is necessary to seek a suggestion for it—is to be found in another story of the Romantic age, which must be regarded as the main source of Wagner's Venusberg, Ludwig Tieck's *Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhäuser*, published in his *Romantische Dichtungen* (1799) and subsequently in *Phantasus* (1812). Tannenhäuser's friend, Friedrich von Wolfsburg, meets him as a pilgrim after his long disappearance, and learns that he has been in Rome. He is induced to tell his story.

[1] It is interesting to note Wagner's indebtedness in the case of both operas to Heine.

[2] *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Berlin, 1827, i, p. 257. Cp. Wagner's own description of this scene in his sketch, *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*, *Schriften*, xi, 1911, p. 131.

[3] *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. E. Elster, iv, p. 429. Cp. *Tannhäuser*, 46: 'Aus Freuden sehn' ich mich nach Schmerzen.'

[4] E. Elster, *Tannhäuser in Geschichte, Sage und Dichtung*, Bromberg, 1908, p. 20.

Der Tannenhäuser verbarg sein Haupt im grünen Grase, und reichte unter lautem Schluchzen seinem Freunde abgewandt die rechte Hand, die dieser zärtlich drückte. Der trübselige Pilgrim richtete sich wieder auf, und begann seine Erzählung[1].

He describes at great length his unhappy love[2] and how the devil shows him the way to the Venusberg. He pushes past the warning Eckart and makes his way into the mountain.

Alsbald vernahm ich Musik, aber eine ganz andre, als bis dahin zu meinem Gehör gedrungen war, meine Geister in mir arbeiteten den Tönen entgegen.... So kam mir das Gewimmel der frohen heidnischen Götter entgegen, Frau Venus an ihrer Spitze, alle begrüssten mich.... Alle Freuden, die die Erde beut, genoss und schmeckte ich hier in ihrer vollsten Blüthe, unersättlich war mein Busen und unendlich der Genuss. Die berühmten Schönheiten der alten Welt waren zugegen, was mein Gedanke wünschte war in meinem Besitz, eine Trunkenheit folgte der andren, mit jedem Tage schien um mich her die Welt in bunteren Farben zu brennen. Ströme des köstlichsten Weines löschten den grimmen Durst, und die holdseligsten Gestalten gaukelten dann in der Luft.... Wie viele Jahre so verschwunden sind, weiss ich nicht zu sagen: denn hier gab es keine Zeit und keine Unterschiede[3], in den Blumen brannte der Mädchen und der Lüste Reiz....

Doch wie es geschah, kann ich so wenig sagen wie fassen, dass mich nun in aller Sünderherrlichkeit der Trieb nach der Ruhe, der Wunsch zur alten unschuldigen Erde mit ihren dürftigen Freuden eben so ergriff, wie mich vormals die Sehnsucht hieher gedrängt hatte. Es zog mich an, wieder jenes Leben zu leben, das die Menschen in aller Bewusstlosigkeit führen, mit Leiden und abwechselnden Freuden; ich war von dem Glanz gesättigt und suchte gern die vorige Heimath wieder. Eine unbegreifliche Gnade des Allmächtigen verschaffte mir die Rückkehr, ich befand mich plötzlich wieder in der Welt, und denke nun meinen sündigen Busen vor den Stuhl unsers allerheiligsten Vaters in Rom auszuschütten, dass er mir vergebe und ich den übrigen Menschen wieder zugezählt werde. (pp. 210 f.)

Tieck is content to say that Venus meets Tannenhäuser with a 'Gewimmel der frohen heidnischer Götter'; Wagner definitely peoples his Venusberg with naiads, sirens and bacchantes. Subsequently, he was to elaborate the scene with still more classical mythology, a feature which the uninitiated beholder, who feels that a Germanic Frau Holda would have been more in harmony with the work than a classical Venus, finds not a little incongruous. Wagner found Holda identified with Venus in Lucas (p. 160), and further support for this identification in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835, pp. 887 ff.); he prefaced the 1845 edition of the opera with a brief note—omitted in 1851—explaining the matter on the basis of these authorities. But opera tradition was, no doubt, largely responsible for Wagner's classical treatment of the scene.

In the ballad—not in Heine's version—when Venus's temptations fail, and Tannhäuser has called her 'eine Teufelinne,' she says:

[1] *Schriften*, Berlin, 1828–46, iv, p. 201. Cp. *Tannhäuser*, Act III, sc. iii. But the motive might also have been suggested by Marschner's *Hans Heiling*. See below, p. 468.

[2] Even this has left its traces on Wagner's version. Cp. 27 f.: 'Hast du so bald vergessen, wie du einst gelitten?' words which have no particular meaning applied to Wagner's hero.

[3] *Tannhäuser*, 25 f.: 'Die Zeit, die hier ich weil', ich kann sie nicht ermessen.'

Tannhäuser, ach, wie sprecht Ihr so,
Bestehet Ihr mich zu schelten?
Sollt't Ihr noch länger bei uns sein,
Des Worts müsst Ihr entgelten.

Tannhäuser, wollt Ihr Urlaub han,
Nehmt Urlaub von den Greisen,
Und wo Ihr in dem Land umfahren,
Mein Lob, das sollt Ihr preisen.

Here Wagner introduces the definite motive of a curse pronounced by Venus on Tannhäuser (125): 'Suche dein Heil—und find' es nie,' which is a repetition of that which lies on his Flying Dutchman (43 f.): 'Das Heil, das auf dem Land' ich suche, nimmer werd' ich es finden.'

Tannhäuser's admirable description of his pilgrimage to Rome is elaborated from the narrative of the ballad, again with occasional touches from Heine[1]. In Tieck there is no description of the scene with the pope; but after months Tannenhäuser comes again to Friedrich, 'bleich und abgezehrt, in zerrissenen Wallfahrtskleidern[2].' 'Der heilige Vater,' he says, 'will und kann mir nicht vergeben, ich muss in meinen alten Wohnsitz zurück.' He returns to the Venusberg. It is hardly likely that at any time Wagner was prepared to accept this simple tragic close: in any case, it was foreign to the original Ofterdingen plan.

Another and necessarily potent source of Wagner's inspiration was the operatic literature—I am not, of course, concerned with the music—of his time. This has not, so far, been adequately brought into connection with his work. The Venusberg scene had, in particular, a long operatic tradition behind it. Wagner could not but have thought of the Elysian fields in Gluck's *Orfeo*[3]; he might have remembered the opening scene in fairy-land of Weber's *Oberon*. The plan of beginning an opera dealing with supernatural motives with a scene in the underworld was an heritage from the 'Wiener Posse' and much in favour with the fabricators of romantic dramas and operas. It is a feature of both Marschner's *Vampyr* (first Leipzig performance 1828) and *Hans Heiling* (1833), works that had very considerable influence on *Der fliegende*

[1] It has been suggested that Tannhäuser's appeal in the ballad to 'Maria Mutter, reine Magd' inspired Wagner's 'Mein Heil ruht in Maria!' (193); but Lucas had spoken of Tannhäuser 'sich von Frau Venus zur Jungfrau Maria wendend' (p. 272). More reminiscent of the ballad is 873 ff.: 'Willkommen, ungetreuer Mann!' etc. In the first form of the opera (Dresden, C. F. Meser, 1845) Venus did not reappear in the last act. Cp. also Wagner, *Über die Aufführung des Tannhäuser*, *Schriften*, v, p. 140.

[2] *Tannhäuser*, 764: 'Tannhäuser trägt zerrissene Pilgerkleidung, sein Antlitz ist bleich und entstellt.' M. Koch, *Richard Wagner*, ii, Berlin, 1913, p. 110, compares the words of Wagner's Tannhäuser to Wolfram (who assumes here the rôle of the 'trusty Eckart'): 'Hör' an! Du, Wolfram, du sollst es erfahren' (790), with those of Tieck's Tannenhäuser to his friend: 'Nun, so mag dein Wille erfüllt werden, du sollst alles erfahren,' etc. (p. 201).

[3] Tannhäuser in the Venusberg suggests, too, Rinaldo in Armida's magic palace in the last act of Gluck's later work.

Holländer. The second of these operas—its text was by Philipp Eduard Devrient—indeed, particularly foreshadows Wagner's *Venusberg*. Hans Heiling has resolved to leave his underground kingdom and betake himself to the earth, there to become a man among men. The scene is described as follows:

> Weitgewölbte Höhle im tiefsten Grund der Erde, welche Eingänge zu mehreren Seitenhöhlen zeigt, von röthlich-trübem Licht erhellt. Scharfgeklüftete Wände von Bergkrystall starren bis an die Decke der Wölbung: aus ihrem Grunde sprudeln silberne Bergwässer hervor.

Dwarfs, gnomes and earth-spirits form a 'lebhaftes Bild.' They beseech him to stay: but Heiling descends from his throne:

> Genug, beendet euer emsig Treiben!
> Es treibt mich fort, ich kann nicht länger bleiben,
> Hinauf zur liebeblühnden Erde wieder!

'So willst du,' says his mother, the queen of the earth-spirits, 'heut' auf immer von uns scheiden?' She warns him, as Venus Tannhäuser:

> Fremd wirst du den Menschen bleiben
> Und ihr enges Treiben
> Scheint dir widrig bald und leer.
> Bald wird dich die Reue finden
> Und du sehnest dich zurück[1].

And the scene culminates similarly to the first version of Wagner's Venusberg; with the queen's passionate pleading: 'Mein Sohn, mein Sohn! Kehrst du mir niemals wieder, nie?'

It has not, I think, been observed—in spite of the fact that Wagner himself suggests the comparison[2]—that the basic idea of *Tannhäuser* is similar to that of the opera which loomed largest on the musical horizon of the thirties and forties, Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, the text of which was written by Scribe and Delavigne. The first performance in Leipzig took place on August 30, 1833. That work—if we penetrate beneath its dazzling, bewildering and absurd phantasmagory—has practically the same ethical kernel as Wagner's. Like Tannhäuser, Duke Robert of Normandy is ensnared by evil powers, and saved by the pure love of a woman, his foster-sister Alice, his 'Erlösung' being celebrated with solemn choruses of monks in the cathedral of Palermo. Isabelle, it is true, the princess whom he loves, is no Venus; but he, the victim of evil passions, has deeply injured her. The bacchanalian scene on the *lido* of Palermo, with which Meyerbeer's opera opens, might be compared

[1] Cp. *Tannhäuser*, first version (after 25):
> Bald weicht der Stolz aus deiner Seel'—
> Demüthig seh' ich dich mir nahn,—
> Zerknirscht, zertreten suchst du mich auf,
> Flehst um die Wunder meiner Macht.

[2] *Über die Aufführung des Tannhäuser*, *Schriften*, v, p. 137.

with the Venusberg, were it not that the grotesque orgy at the close of the third act, where nuns are converted into houris to assist the dark powers in retaining their hold on Robert, provides a closer parallel. Technically the Wagner of *Tannhäuser* learned much from Meyerbeer: the contrast of religious and bacchanalian effects is a motive which Meyerbeer rides to death in this opera; and Wagner's use of processional scenes, so effective in both *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*, was modelled on works like *Robert le Diable* and Halévy's *La Juive*[1].

Modern writers on Wagner, not looking back beyond 1841, find in *Tannhäuser* a personal confession of the disgust with which he turned away from the frivolity of Paris to the German fatherland. Considerations like the above show, I think, that this view requires modification; they tend to minimise this particular subjective basis. I believe that *Tannhäuser*, like *Der fliegende Holländer*, belongs in its essential plan to the years before Wagner visited Paris at all. Like the earlier opera, it was, in the first instance, inspired by Hoffmann; Fouqué's play, Wagner's use of which almost certainly pre-dated his substitution of Tannhäuser for Ofterdingen, would hardly have been accessible to him in Paris; and other works, the influence of which comes into question, Wagner had already seen on the Leipzig stage in the early thirties. The ties of *Tannhäuser* with the literature of the theatre—French as well as German—of its day are closer than has hitherto been suspected. As poetry, it is essentially a work of the Young German era, embodying the conflict which was uppermost in the literature of the time, between the flesh and the spirit; and in that conflict which was, at bottom, Young Germany's struggle of life and death with the old Romanticism, it is significant for Wagner's place in the movement of his time that his sympathies were on the Romantic side.

None of Wagner's works shows such inequality in its poetic diction as *Tannhäuser*. In itself this is a testimony to the time that must have elapsed between its earlier and later parts. Particularly tawdry 'libretto' verses disfigure some of what I have called the Ofterdingen scenes, more especially where the poet is faced with the task of writing verses adapted for concerted composition; here the poet disappears and the opera librettist takes his place. The second act stands on a higher level than the latter part at least of the first; but there is again a relapse when the Elisabeth-Tannhäuser dialogue becomes a duet. The Landgraf's address to the singers is poetry, but again not sustained, notably in the

[1] It might be added that the scene with the crucifix in Act III of *Robert* was probably in Wagner's memory when he conceived his Thuringian valley.

lines given to Walther and Biterolf. Very much higher stands the third act. The song of the pilgrims (716 ff.) marks a quite extraordinary advance; the Wolfram-Tannhäuser dialogue is excellent, and Tannhäuser's account of his pilgrimage reaches a very high level indeed; it forms unquestionably the poetic apex of the work.

Whatever may be said of the music, it is not possible to regard the verses which Wagner added to *Tannhäuser* for Paris in 1860 as advantageous to the work. The elaboration of the spectacular element of the Venusberg was—however Wagner may have tried to justify it on higher grounds—merely a concession to the French craving for such things which had been fostered by the 'grand opera'; it was an attempt to bring *Tannhäuser* into line with that species of composition[1]. As the new verses of this scene had to be grafted on to what was poetically a weak part of the old drama, the contrast is the more glaring. In the new conception Venus is no longer merely the 'Teufelinne' of the saga who holds the hero in her thrall; she becomes a tragic personality, an Isolde of passion, who has been 'bekämpft und besiegt,' 'verhöhnt mit jubelndem Stolz.' The curse she pronounces on Tannhäuser is elaborated in the poet's later style: scorn shall pursue him; crushed and trampled upon, his dishonoured head covered with dust, he will be obliged to return to her. Venus, who, like a Brünnhilde, opens her kingdom only to heroes, pictures Tannhäuser coming back, not in search of the happiness he has renounced, but seeking sympathy from the woman he has so lightly abandoned. The words of the old version: 'so sei verfluchet von mir das ganze menschliche Geschlecht!'—words probably inserted without much thought of what they might mean on Venus's lips—become transformed into a kind of Nibelung's curse (70 f.): 'Ach kehrest du nicht wieder, dann träfe Fluch der Welt.' Like Freya, she, the goddess of love, will withdraw her light from the world: 'für ewig läg' sie öde, aus der die Göttin schwand!' While Tannhäuser, another Tristan, seeks, not happiness, but death: 'mich drängt es hin zum Tod!'

The *Tannhäuser* legend is, no doubt, raised by this new conception of Venus to a higher poetic plane; but the change was too radical to be effected otherwise than by a fundamental remodelling of the whole. As it is, the new scene is disastrous to the harmony of the old naïve *Tannhäuser* of 1845.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

[1] See especially *Der vollständige poetische Entwurf zum Ballet im Tannhäuser in der Pariser Bearbeitung*, *Die Musik*, iv, 2, 19, pp. 250 ff., now in the *Sämtliche Schriften*, xi, pp. 414 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Old English Notes.

I.

In the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle *sub anno* 1086 there occurs a passage in irregular verse containing 12 rhyming pairs. Of these pairs 3 end in strongly stressed monosyllables: *swearc, marc*; *stið, nið*; *wa, swa*; the remaining 9 pairs of rhymes (or assonances) end in dissyllables stressed /×, viz. *wihte, rihte*; *leode, neode*; *feallan, ealle*; *deorfrið, þærwið*; *hinde, blendian*; *headeor, fæder*; *haran, faran*; *libban, habban*; *eahta, sehta*. Of these pairs 6 have the first syllable long by position; of the other 3, two, viz. *leode, neode* and *deorfrið, þærwið*, have stem-vowels long by nature. There remains the pair *haran, faran*; the evidence of all the other rhyming 'trochees' strongly inclines us to regard the stem-vowel of these two words as long. If this be the case, we have an instance of the lengthening of O.E. short vowels in an open syllable much earlier than any hitherto noted. Further, if the pair *deorfrið, þærwið* represents a perfect rhyme [dērwiþ : þērwiþ] concealed by the traditional spelling, and if the same holds good of the pair *headeor, fæder* [hēder : fēder], then we have evidence of very early 'smoothing' of O.E. diphthongs. The assumed pronunciation of *fæder* [fēder] would be another early example of the lengthening of a short vowel in an open syllable. These rhyming lines and others of the kind met with in the later part of the A.S. Chronicle were clearly of a popular character and the rhymes in all probability represent the actual popular pronunciation of the period.

II.

The well-known 'crux' of *Beowulf*, ll. 223, 224, *þa wæs sund liden eoletes æt ende*, involves two difficulties: (1) the word *eoletes*, which occurs nowhere else, and (2) *liden*, which is apparently the past participle of *līðan*, 'to travel,' especially on the sea. Scholars have seen that the sense of the passage seems to require 'sea' as the meaning of *eoletes*, and various emendations have been suggested. Thorpe, realising that *līðan* does not admit of a passive meaning, proposed to read *sundlida*, 'sea-traverser,' i.e. boat, for *sund liden*, and he further suggested *ēa-lāde æt ende*, 'at the end of its water-way.' But *ēa-lāde* is metrically inadmissible. Professor R. W. Chambers in his note on this passage

suggests that the *eo-* of *eoletes* may be due to the Anglian confusion of *eo* and *ea*. In this I think he is correct; the same idea occurred to me independently, but I carry it further. The original reading I consider to have been *eotoles* or *eoteles*, Anglian, or probably Northumbrian, forms of *eatoles* or *eateles*. The word *atol* or *eatol* occurs fairly often in O.E. poetry with the meaning 'horrible,' 'repulsive,' 'terrible.' In *Beowulf* it is chiefly but not exclusively used as an epithet for Grendel; in l. 848 occurs the expression *atol yðа geswing*, 'the horrible heaving or surging of the waves,' with which we may compare *Exodus*, line 455, *atol yðа gewealc*. The transposition of *l* and *t* is due to the scribe's ignorance of the meaning of the form *eoteles*. Reading *eatoles* and *sundlida* we translate 'then was the sea-crosser at the end of the terrible sea.' For this absolute use of the adjective to denote 'sea' we may compare *Fates of Men*, l. 15, *sumne sceal hreoh fordrifan*, 'another man the savage (sea) must shipwreck.'

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

Milton, James I, and Purgatory.

Milton's third Latin epigram in the group entitled *In Proditionem Bombardicam* begins with the line 'Purgatorem animae derisit Iacobus ignem'—'James scoffed at the fire the purger of the soul[1]'. It has been supposed that Milton merely assumed that King James as a Protestant would naturally scoff at the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory. His positive statement, however, is justified, as will now appear.

In 1609 James republished his *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, an oath which offended his Roman Catholic subjects. The first edition had provoked a reply from Bellarmine, the great Roman Catholic controversialist; together the two books had aroused the interest of Europe, and hence this second edition of the *Apologie*. To it was prefixed 'A Premonition To All Most Mightie Monarches Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendome,' which aimed at revealing to the nations of Europe the menace of the Papacy to their sovereign rights[2]. Many matters of Roman faith are there subjected to the royal criticism, and among them Purgatory, of which James says:

> As for Purgatorie and all the trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; *Bellarmine* cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; If that faire greene Meadow that is in Purgatorie have

[1] *Oxford Milton*, p. 140.
[2] C. H. McIlwain, *The Political Works of James I*, 1918, pp. lx–lxi.

a brooke running thorow it; that in case I come there, I may have hawking upon it. But as for me; I am sure there is a Heaven and a Hell, *præmium et pœna*, for the Elect and reprobate; How many other roomes there be, I am not on God his counsell. *Multæ sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei*, saith Christ, who is the trew Purgatorie for our sinnes: But how many chambers and anti-chambers the divell hath, they can best tell that goe to him: But in case there were more places for soules to go to then we know of, yet let us content us with that which in his Word he hath revealed unto us, and not inquire further into his secrets. Heaven and Hell are there revealed to be the eternall home of all mankinde; let us indeavour to winne the one and eschew the other; and there is an end[1].

WALTER MACKELLAR.

ITHACA, N. Y., U.S.A.

THE MID FRONT VOWEL IN 'STEAK,' 'GREAT,' 'BREAK.'

It is clear that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century words which had the vowel [ɛ:] in Middle English, e.g., *sea, beat, teach,* were pronounced by good society in two different ways. The [e:] pronunciation regular in the sixteenth century still survived, but was challenged by a newer [i:] pronunciation, which seems to have originated in some class or regional dialect round about 1600. Before the end of the century the [i:] pronunciation had prevailed, and hence modern [si:], [bi·t], [ti·tʃ]. In *steak, great,* and *break* we have three notable exceptions. Yet there is evidence that the [i:] pronunciation of *great* and *break* was well in vogue in the eighteenth century, and it is still heard in some regional dialects. Why not also in standard English?

None of the explanations that have been suggested, e.g., the influence of the regional dialects of the South West, or (in the case of *great* and *break*) the influence of the preceding *r*, appears to be satisfactory. See Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 212.

1. *Steak.* I would suggest that the retention of the mid vowel is connected with the fact that the word was more often than not the second part of a compound. *Beefsteak* was especially common—one may call to mind the Beefsteak Club of the time of Addison—and there were also *rump-steak, veal-steak,* etc. In these, and especially in *beefsteak,* the main accent fell on the first part of the compound, and the vowel of the second part was consequently shortened, i.e. [bi·fstek]. This short [e], remaining unchanged, may have prevented, in the uncompounded word, the newer pronunciation [sti·k] from obtaining any hold.

2. *Great.* The survival of the older pronunciation is probably connected with sound-symbolism. Jespersen (*Language,* p. 402) has pointed

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 125–6.

out that in several languages, including English, the [i:] sound is considered especially appropriate to express what is small, weak, or insignificant. So in the eighteenth century there may have been at least a sub-conscious feeling that [gri·t] was a pronunciation unsuitable to the meaning of the word. The phonetician Walker, in his *Dictionary* of 1775, actually says so. Had it been a matter of a gradual sound-change from [e:] to [i:] I do not believe that this feeling would have had a retarding effect, but it may quite well have been sufficient to turn the scale in favour of one of two possible pronunciations that were current at the same time.

3. *Break.* Walker again attributes the anomalous pronunciation to a kind of sound-symbolism: '*Break* is more expressive of the action when pronounced *brake* than *breek*, as it is sometimes affectedly pronounced.' Certainly the crack of a broken stick or the crash of falling china would not be well expressed by the thin [i:] sound. But the survival of the older pronunciation may be partly due to the analogy of those verbs ending in *-r* which were conjugated in the same way as *break*, and in which a mid vowel was also preserved, i.e., *tear*, *bear*, *wear*, and *swear*. *Break* and *tear* are associated in meaning as well as in conjugation. I admit that this analogy has not prevented us from preferring the [i:] pronunciation in the case of *steal*.

W. S. Mackie.

Capetown.

Romanic Etymologies.

Portuguese *abanar*, Spanish *abanar*.

Meyer-Lübke's dictionary gives Portuguese *abanar* as the source of Spanish *abanar* (because of *n* < *nn* instead of normal *ñ*) and refers it to *euannere*, but fails to explain how **evaner* became *abanar*. The Portuguese *b* indicates borrowing from the speech of northern Portugal, which (like Galician) does not distinguish *b* and *v*. Probably the Spanish word came from Galician *abanar*, representing *euannere* modified by *abentar* <**aduentare* 'fan' (based on *ad uentum*). Meyer-Lübke mentions Spanish *aventarse* 'flee,' but ignores *aventar* 'air, fan, winnow.'

Portuguese *achacar*, Spanish *achacar*.

Meyer-Lübke refers these words to an Arabic verb, translated 'klagen' and transcribed *schakar*. Arabic verbs were not, however, adopted as such in Hispanic. An infinitive was adopted as a noun, from which a verb could be formed. Arabic *šakir-* 'be full,' with the infinitive

šakar, and the variant *šakar-* 'be grateful,' with the infinitive *šukr*, might have given **axacarar*, **axocrar*, in early Hispanic. They could not have made *achacar*. Neither could *šakāh*, from the root *š-k-w-* 'complain'; for the sound *š* (written *x*) was kept unchanged between vowels in early Spanish and Portuguese. Arabic *š* (derived from Spanish reverted *s*) made *tš* in Spanish *albérchiga* 'peach': evidently because *rtš* existed in Hispanic, while *rš* did not, except in word-groups. But Arabic lacks the affricate *tš*, so we must seek elsewhere the source of *achacar*.

Its source is mentioned by Körting, though he does not give it serious consideration: **afflaccare*. The presumably original sense 'make weak' has become 'ascribe (something to a person) as a fault or weakness' in Spanish. Portuguese *achacar*, meaning 'get ill,' shows the old sense with little or no change. As Spanish normally has *ll* for *fl* and medial *ffl*, the Spanish form seems to imply borrowing from Galician or Portuguese. Spanish *achaque* and Portuguese *achaque*, meaning 'illness,' are based on the verb-stem, parallel with *toque* beside *tocar*. There are several similar words in Arabic: *šaqq* 'distress' (root *š-q-q-*); *šáqā* and *šaqwah* 'distress' (root *š-q-w-*); *šákwā* 'illness, grief, complaint' (root *š-k-w-*), and other forms with stress on the second vowel, such as *šakāh*, mentioned above. We might suppose that some of these affected or helped to preserve the sense of the Hispanic nouns. But they cannot represent the formal source. Galician has the noun *achacía*, which according to the dictionary of Valladares 'dícese de un animal flaco, delgado o seco,' showing palatalization of the *k*-sound and therefore a Latin stem.

Portuguese *adrede*, Spanish *adrede*.

These adverbs, meaning 'purposely,' are based on *iter* in the sense 'plan': *ad de iter* or *ad de itere*. The Spanish final *e*, contrary to *bondad* and *merced*, indicates an older form **adedre*.

Portuguese *amarelo*, Spanish *amarillo*.

The Hispanic words for 'yellow' may be explained as coming from Arabic *al-'armāl* 'the sands' (plural of *ar-raml*). Arabic *ā* often became *e*, as in Spanish *alfiler* < *al-χilāl*, so that *al-'armāl* would readily make **almarel* and by dissimilation **amarel*. The ending was adapted to the derivative of Latin *-ellum*, found in many Hispanic adjectives, whence early Spanish *-iello* and later *-illo*.

Rumanian *toamnă*.

In the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1914 (vol. IX, p. 496),

I discussed the Rumanian words apparently containing an *o* derived from stressed *u*, and showed that they did not belong in the same class as Italian and western *gola* < *gula*. With regard to the derivative of *autumna* I said: 'The *o* that made *oa* in *toamnă*, where *u* would be expected, was due to some external influence.' At that time I was not acquainted with the corresponding verb *tomnà*, recorded in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary. It seems clear that the *o* of the verb-stem changed *u* to *o* in the noun. Early verb-forms were **atumno* < *autumno*, **atumna* < *autumnat*, beside the infinitive **atomnare* and numerous other forms with regular stressless *o* < *u*. By analogy the general *o*-stem was extended to all forms, producing **atomno*, **atomna*, and the noun **atomna*. With a normal development **atomnare* should have become **tumnare* and **tumnà*; but the influence of the forms with stressed *o* prevented the change, so that now the noun and all the verb-forms have analogic vowels.

Edwin H. Tuttle.

North Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

Notes on the Critical Text of Dante's Epistles.

The very thorough edition of Dante's Epistles by Dr Paget Toynbee, followed by that of A. Monti, and the *testo critico* edited by Ermenegildo Pistelli for the Società Dantesca Italiana still leave room for some rectification of the text from the standpoint of scholastic philosophy.

In Epistle V, line 93 (§ 8, 23), all editions print the word *innotiora*. Dr Toynbee reads: 'et si ex notioribus nobis *innotiora*; simpliciter interest humanae apprehensioni, etc.[1]' Here the accepted text introduces a monstrous word *innotiora* (for *ignotiora*), misuses the word *simpliciter*, and misreads Aristotle's *Physics*, I, 1.

The text should be: 'et si ex notioribus nobis *in notiora* simpliciter; interest humanae apprehensioni, etc.,' which means: 'if we pass from things better known *to us*, on to things better known *absolutely*, etc.'; the things better known to us being the 'sensibilia,' the things better known absolutely being 'substantiae separatae quae sunt magis nota secundum naturam.' So St Thomas' commentary on the quoted passage of Aristotle. The old translation of Aristotle reads: 'et si ex notioribus nobis in notiora *naturâ*.' Dante replaces *naturâ* by its equivalent, *simpliciter*. That it is an equivalent, if we did not otherwise know, we

[1] The *testo critico* similarly, but 'si simpliciter.'

could discover from St Thomas' commentary on *Post. Anal.* Book I (lectio 3), where he says: 'ea ex quibus procedit demonstratio sunt priora et notiora *simpliciter* et *secundum naturam*, et non quo *ad nos*.' And, in the commentary to the quoted text of the *Physics*, he says: 'Notandum autem est quod non eadem dicit nota esse nobis et nota *simpliciter*. *Simpliciter* autem notiora sunt quae secundum se sunt notiora; sunt autem secundum se notiora quae plus habent de entitate: magis autem entia sunt quae sunt magis in actu unde ista maxime sunt cognoscibilia naturâ.'

In Epistle III (IV), line 4 (§ 1, 2), the text: 'de passione in passionem, dico, secundum eandem potentiam et obiecta diversa numero sed non specie,' is translated by Signor Monti, with no improvement on his predecessors, as follows: 'di passione in passione, dico, rimanendo medesima la potenza ed essendo gli oggetti diversi di numero (!) ma non di qualità (!),' with a footnote that 'secundum eandem potentiam' means 'di modo che la passione successiva abbia la stessa *forza* (!) della precedente,' which is fantastical! For, in the first place, 'secundum eandem potentiam' has nothing to do with 'forza,' *potentia* being here, as regularly, used to indicate a psychological faculty or power. And, secondly, the question here raised is whether this same psychological power can be affected by successive passions for *different* individuals of the same species: *numero* is the word always used to denote *individual* differentiation; so that man differs from a stone, *genere*; a lion from a horse, *specie*; and John from James, *numero*. The passage should, then, be translated as follows: 'whether the same faculty of the soul can have more than one passion, so as to be successively affected by different individuals of the same species.'

In line 40 (§ 5, 8) of the same Epistle, if *potentiam* (rather than *prudentiam*) is read, the word must be taken in the same sense. Dante would then urge us to take refuge out of the *potentia sensitiva* to the *potentia intellectiva*, 'by means of which (reading *qua*) the thrusts of fortune may be endured.' (Cf. *Convivio* IV, 11, 83: 'Quanto più l'uomo soggiace allo *intelletto* tanto meno soggiace alla *Fortuna*.')

Epistle II, line 20 (§ 2, 4): 'sed quamquam, sensualibus amissis, doloris amaritudo incumbat, si considerentur intellectualia quae supersunt, sane mentis oculis lux dulcis consolationis exoritur.' Dante here strives to console the Counts of Romena by reminding them that their uncle's *body* and its acts (*sensualia*) surely are dead and gone, yet *his mind* and its activities (*intellectualia*) still live. Dr Toynbee's translation runs: 'But although the bitterness of grief weigh upon us for

the loss of corporeal things, yet, when we consider the intellectual things which remain, surely before the eyes of the mind must arise the light of sweet consolation.' And Signor Monti, like Giuliani, etc., interprets 'sensualibus' as '*oggetti* percettibili coi nostri sensi,' and 'intellectualia' as '*cose* pertinenti allo spirito.' What the translators here have done is to take *sensualia* as though it were *sensibilia*; and *intellectualia* as though it were *intelligibilia*, confusing the words for inner faculties with those for external objects, and thereby stripping the passage of its pertinence.

The same considerations apply to line 29 (§ 2, 6). There 'sensualia postergare, nisi prout vobis exemplaria esse possunt' is translated by Dr Toynbee 'to put behind you bodily concerns, save in so far as they may serve you for examples'; and by Signor Monti 'sensualia postergare' is interpreted as 'dare la precedenza alle *cose* dell' intelletto sulle *cose* tangibili.' But how can 'cose tangibili' serve as examples? And if they could, what of it in this connection? The phrase then, expanded, clearly means: 'not to think too much of the dead uncle's bodily attributes (of the acts he performed while yet in the flesh), except in so far as these acts may serve as examples to them.'

In Epistle X, line 40 (§ 2, 7), Moore and Dr Toynbee for the unanimous manuscript reading 'intellectu ac ratione *degentes*' (retained by Pistelli) would substitute 'intellectu ac ratione vigentes,' for the reason that the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Politics* has 'intellectu vigentes' and Dante in *Monarchia* I, 3, 91, says: 'intellectu scilicet vigentes'; the assumption being that, if two thoughts are similar, one must be expressed as an exact quotation of the other. But, if this were so, further change should be introduced in this Epistle, for Aristotle has merely 'intellectu' instead of 'intellectu ac ratione.' Should we not, then, rather—remembering, for example, that in the commentary on Boethius' *De Scholarium Disciplina* (Fretté's St Thomas, *Opera*, XXVII, p. 571) we do find 'arte ac ratione *degentes*,' and that St Thomas also says (vol. XXXII, p. 440) 'genus humanum *vivit* arte et ratione' and Dante's *Convivio* II, 1, has: 'Hanno *vita* di scienza e d'arte'—say that thoughts and their expressions may be similar without necessarily having to be identical and conclude that the author of this Epistle may well have used *degentes*?

In this same Epistle, line 273 et seq. (§ 20, 54), we read: 'Sed constat, quod habere esse a se non convenit nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio, qui Deus est, quum habere esse *non* arguat per se necesse esse, et per se necesse esse non competat nisi uni, scilicet primo seu

principio, quod est causa omnium' (Paget Toynbee, Pistelli). This text does violence to logic; for the argument, developed, is as follows:

Everything which is, has being either from Self or from Another. (1)
But it is manifest that Being-from-Self pertains to One only, (2)
For: having being does not argue necessary Being-from-Self; (3)
(That is: there are *some* beings which do not have necessary Being-from-Self); (4)
And necessary Being-from-Self pertains only to One; (5)
Ergo: All but One have being from Another. (6)

There is absolutely no sequential pertinence in (3) as it will appear if we restate it as (4). Besides, after having divided being into *being-from-Self* and *being-from-Another*, how is the argument going to be advanced by falling back on *being* as yet undivided?

Local remedy might be applied to this passage so as to render it tolerably logical, by leaving out *non* in line 275 (with the Codice Mediceo) and replacing it by *a se* (slipped out, as it is wont to, after *esse*), reading therefore: 'Quum habere esse *a se* arguat per se necesse esse,' and reasoning thus:

Everything that is has being either from self, or from another. (1)
But only one thing has being-from-self, (2)
For: being-from-self argues necessary self-existence; (3)
Necessary self-existence pertains only to one; (4)
Ergo: being-from-self pertains only to one, (5) and
Everything else has being from another. (6)

For the proof of (4), viz. that necessary self-existence pertains only to one, see, among many others, *Contra Gentiles* II, 15, 5: 'quod est per se necesse esse...non potest esse nisi unum.' The proof of (3), i.e. that Being-from-self argues necessary self-existence, is the commonplace 'ex se necesse esse idem quod non habere esse ab alio.'

Dino Bigongiari.

New York.

Two Charms in Low German Verse.

I.

Ene segenyn*g*e vor dat helsche vůr.

O Leue her*re* Jhe*s*u Crist,
Du alles dy*n*ges mechtich bist:
giff hůte dyne mylde crafft,
dat desse mynsche beholde syne macht,
also he is dyn creatur:
he sy gesegent vor dat helsche vůr.
In no*mine* *patris* et filii et sp*iritus* *sancti*. Amen.

II.

Wedder den ram segge aldus:

Unse herre got vnde sente Peter de gingen
ouer enen dam.
Sente Peter den wart de ram.
Sente Peter sik do nedder settede,
vnse leue herre got em dat bøtede
Myt synen vorderen dumen:
'Ram du most desse stede rumen.'
In godes namen. amen.
dat scrifft sente Lucas nicht.

The above charms are taken from MS. Sloane 3002 of the British Museum, a fifteenth-century MS. written by a Low German scribe, fol. 44^{v} and 68^{r}. For a detailed description of it I refer to vol. II (1901), p. 31 of my *Deutsche Handschriften in England.* The principal contents of the MS. consist in an extensive treatise attributed to 'meester Albrecht van Borgumen in Vlandernlande,' which is of special interest as apparently forming the chief source of the Low German *Düdesche Arstedie,* published by Sven Norrbom, Hamburg, 1921 (cp. *Mod. Lang. Review,* XVIII, pp. 232 ff.). Albrecht therefore must have enjoyed considerable authority, and the presence of these charms in his work, side by side with empiric prescriptions for the same diseases, proves that superstitious, sympathetic cures were still in vogue in serious medical works; the scribal remark[1] at the end of the second charm shows that this one, at any rate, cannot be merely an addition by the copyist of a late date.

For the names of the diseases cp. M. Höfler, *Deutsches Krankheitsnamenbuch,* 1899, pp. 136 and 149. *Helsch vur* ('hell fire'), a corruption for *helich vur* = 'ignis sacer,' is accordingly 'jede roseähnliche oder rotlaufartige Entzündung der Haut mit Neigung zu brandigem oder geschwürigem Zerfall des Gewebes'; and *ram* (cp. Anglo-Saxon *hramma*) = 'spasm,' 'cramp[2].' While the first charm takes the form of a simple invocation to the helper, Christ, the second preserves the old narrative form, ending with the direct appeal to the disease (demon '*Ram*') to leave forthwith the person attacked.

R. Priebsch.

London.

[1] Proverbial; cp. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-lexicon,* iii, p. 281. The meaning is: 'this is not so' or 'this is mere folly.'

[2] Low German *ramme, ram,* which, I think, should be kept apart from (*a*) *ramp,* (*b*) *krampe.* Cp. Grimm, *D.Wb.,* viii, 76; v, 2011–13.

REVIEWS.

König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus. Herausgegeben von W. ENDTER. (*Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, XI. Band.) Hamburg, Henri Grand, 1922. 98 pp.

Professor Hecht and the publisher of the *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa* are to be congratulated on the fortitude which has enabled them amid almost unexampled difficulties to continue the publication of this justly famous series of Anglo-Saxon texts. Their indefatigable zeal and faith in the future of Old English studies in Germany merit the gratitude and support of scholars all over the world.

The *Soliloquies of Alfred the Great*, or *Alfred's Blooms*, as it is familiarly called in England, is a welcome addition to the series. Hargrove's, the last edition of the *Soliloquies*, was published over twenty years ago, and more recent research has made a new edition desirable. It has been the peculiar good fortune of Herr Endter (a pupil of Professor Holthausen) to have had the very generous assistance of Dr Jost of Basel, who has become a recognised authority on the *Soliloquies*. Dr Jost not only placed his collections of material at the disposal of Herr Endter, but also submitted his text to a careful revision, the value of which is apparent, and which receives due acknowledgment from the editor. Full account has also been taken of the work of other scholars. The only important omission I have noticed is Mr K. Sisam's article on 'The Beowulf Manuscript' (*Modern Language Review*, XI, pp. 335–7), an omission probably due to war conditions.

The fact that the *Soliloquies* exists only in a very careless manuscript belonging to the second quarter of the twelfth century (it is now bound up with the *Beowulf* manuscript) makes it almost hopeless to attain a completely satisfactory text, except in the unlikely event of the discovery of a better manuscript. Herr Endter's edition has the great merit of adhering closely to the manuscript, noting all divergences, and discussing difficulties and emendations in a scholarly commentary and footnotes. Considerations of cost have unfortunately required the excision of his grammatical introduction.

Herr Endter is conservative on the question of authorship. 'The author of the *Soliloquies* was Alfred the Great.' He groups the *Soliloquies* with the *Boethius*, and places it at the close of the king's life. As regards the sources, he is content to quote Brandl (*Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, I, p. 1066), but refers to the suggestion of Professor Förster (and Dr Jost) that a single Latin source may yet be discovered for Book III, which has hitherto been regarded as a selection of 'blooms' collected from various Fathers of the Church. The Latin text of the *Soliloquies of S. Augustine* is reproduced wherever it is relevant, untranslated portions being distinguished by difference of type.

In a new edition the following points might be worthy of reconsideration:

(*a*) Herr Endter explains in his preface and on p. xiii of his introduction that he has adhered strictly to the text of the manuscript except that here and there he has inserted a dot under letters that are to be deleted ('Tilgungspunkte') etc., in order to make the meaning clearer. This seems to be a proceeding of very dubious value, especially with a twelfth century MS. Herr Endter's correction in a great many cases amounts to no more than the substitution of an earlier O.E. form for a perfectly well authenticated twelfth century form (e.g. þinȩg, 25[19], eahgan, 11[10], soðfæstnesṣe, *nom.* 5[19], heafst, 23[15], etc., etc.). Since there can be no question in the extremely corrupt state of the manuscript of restoring the original text of Alfred, it would surely have been better to have corrected obvious scribal errors, giving the MS. reading in the foot-notes, but leaving well-attested transition or late spellings in the text.

The assimilation of *t*+*s*, *d*+*s* to *s* appears to be a feature of the scribe's dialect and should be left unchanged. E.g. forlest 13[1], ondrest 25[11], byst (=bydst) 5[17], ongyst 60[26], gelæst 48[2], etc.

(*b*) P. 1[13]. '*7 þara 7 þær murge 7 softe mid mæge on eardian.*' Possibly we may retain the MS. reading and translate, 'and there and therewith may very pleasantly.' Still, *þær...on* would perhaps be more natural.

P. 2[6]. Read *to þere læne* parallel with 2[3].

P. 3[21]. Cf. *stod seo dygle stow dryhtne in gemyndum | idel 7 æmen, Guðlac* II, ll. 215–6 (Gollancz, p. 116).

P. 4[1]. *æmenne* should not be changed to *æmettan* with Jost, if it is left in 3[21] where it seems to be a noun. The three things enumerated in 3[21–22] are then repeated in a different order in 4[1–2].

P. 5[17]. Why change the MS. ? *wrehð*=*wrecð* is common enough.

P. 6[1]. Read *Ic þe bidde, Drihten, þu þe*, etc.

P. 8[2]. Read *gehwurfest*, not gehwurfast with Jost.

P. 9[8]. Delete dot under the ṣ of *gesceaftaṣ*: the pl. in *-as* is correct for this text.

P. 9[10]. *bê þînre hêse hê hweorfð seo heofene.* Delete *hê* which is possibly dittography for *hêse* or *he*ofene.

P. 17[3–4]. Delete dots under *-ṣṣe* of *gescea*[*d*]*wisneṣṣe* and translate, 'and the desire to make his reason more profitable.' [Cf. however *B-T. Supp.* s.v. *nytt.*]

P. 20[2]. Holthausen's emendation is not attractive. Keep the MS. *nat ic hu nyt þu me þiþar tæce*, where *þiþar*=*þider.*

P. 21[14]. In view of the Latin *Illi enim sapientem errare noluerunt*, I think we must read *forðam hi sædon þæt næfre nan wis man mærre*, in spite of the editor's plea that *nære* will give a suitable sense.

P. 23[20]. In *buton ge be gesegenum, ge* is possibly an anticipation of *gesegenum.*

P. 30[9]. *hlaford* of course gives good sense, but it is difficult to see why such a common word should have been transmuted into *hofent* or *hofeut. Hofding* might have been transformed, but I have Dr Craigie's authority for stating that he is quite certain Alfred did not write *hofding*, which is a late Scandinavian word, and not used of a ship's captain.

P. 31[6]. Something has been omitted between *máran* and *þe þæne creft*, etc.

P. 36[18]. For *ûnþeod*, which E. explains as 3 sg. ind. of *onþeod*(*d*)*an*, read *underþeod* with Holthausen. Even were E.'s explanation of the form probable, it is impossible here as the construction requires the subjunctive, not the indicative.

P. 40[1] (note). Holthausen is right. Both sense and gender require *graf*='grove.' The grove is cut down, but the roots are not yet removed.

P. 40[23–24]. The assumption of a lacuna seems hardly necessary. 'Then said she: But how if they hinder and impede you, [I mean] the infirmities of the body. Then said I, True [They probably will], but, etc.' [For the construction cf. *he wot self—se wisdom* 48[17].]

P. 48[2]. The emendation in the text and Jost's suggestion are both unnecessary. *þonne ic nat þeah me licie seo to ðam wel þæt*, etc. = 'then perhaps it will please me so much that.' For *nât þêah*, cf. *uncûð þêah* 50[9].

p. 49[8]. Read *ahebbe* in the text.

P. 50[13] (note). There is no doubt at all that *secgen*, = *secgan* or *secan* (Jost), is dependent on *uton*.

P. 67[22]. Bracket *gæþ* and translate, 'But it has been promised us beyond a doubt when we leave this world and the soul is released from the prison-house of the body'—reading *ac us hys gehaten butan ælcum tweon swa swa we of þisse weorulde weorðaþ, 7 seo sawle of þære carcerne* [*gæð*] *þæs lichaman aletan byð*, etc.

The annotations as a rule are scholarly and to the point, but some space might have been saved by the omission of a number of notes of the type of '*Augustinus* (354–430), Bischof von Hippo Regius, Vertreter der strengen Prädestinationslehre, Verfasser zahlreicher Schriften' (p. 72), '*Platon* (427–347), griechischer Philosoph, Begründer der Ideenlehre.' Remarks like these savour too much of glimpses into the obvious, and are surely not required even by the modern specialist in English.

S. J. Crawford.

Southampton.

An Enterlude of Welth and Helth. Eine englische Moralität des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Herausg. von F. Holthausen. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. (*Englische Textbibliothek*, xvii.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1922. 8vo. xix + 50 pp.

The first edition of this little book appeared in 1908 as a 'Festschrift' of the University of Kiel. In its present form, it has been considerably altered and improved. Professor Holthausen with justice draws attention to his success in interpreting the Flemish and Spanish passages, which Mr Farmer had been content to dismiss as hopeless jargon. Some additional light has been thrown on the local and historical allusions in the play. It is almost superfluous to remark that the editing has been done in a thoroughly scholarly manner. It calls for little comment except perhaps in the following passages:

(1) Ye know that we twayne [go] afore any other:
Lyberty must nedes haue styll.
Lybertie on vs is glade to wayte. (259–61.)

Professor Holthausen inserts *go* after *twayne*, and translates *haue* (260) as, 'betake oneself to,' 'go.' He adds that he regards his emendation as an improvement upon Farmer who takes *we twayne* (i.e. Welth and Helth) as subject, *Lyberty* as object and *haue* as predicate. Farmer's way strikes us as much more natural than Dr Holthausen's.

(2) Ic ben de manikin van de koining(s)-daughter,
De grot keyser(s) kind; ic bene sin musketer. (391–2.)

England must have been almost too familiar with people like Hance, towards the end of the 15th century. In 1487 Margaret of Burgundy sent over 2000 mercenaries from the Low Countries to the assistance of Lambert Simnel. Martin Schwartz, their captain, was killed in the Battle of Stoke (1487). He afterwards became a hero in his way, and was

honoured with mention by Skelton and in an interlude called, 'The Longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art.' After Stoke there must have been a plethora of Dutch bombardiers and musketeers in England.

(3) And to these many charges come now-a-dayes. (569.)

Professor Holthausen notes: '*charges*: der Sinn dieses vieldeutigen Wortes ist mir nicht klar.' The sense will be quite good, if we take it to mean 'burdens,' and refer it to the heavy burdens of taxation imposed upon the wealthy by Henry VII and his ministers Empson, Dudley, and Cardinal Morton.

(4) Yet be of good chere, and show how you were infect!
To remedy you and succour you I wold be very glad,
For God wyl punish the people, when they be detelt. (784–6.)

Professor Holthausen reads *defect* for *detelt*. *Detect* would suit the context. Remedy is urging Helth to tell him who had mishandled him, and proposes to have them punished when he finds out their names.

(5) Whan man is wel punished then he wyl beware.
Who that knoweth what nede is, wil after drede care. (895–6.)

'*after drede*: nach dem Schrecken, wenn der Schrecken vorüber ist?' (Holthausen). But this seems to be going out of the way to create a difficulty. Why not translate—'When a man has been severely punished, he will beware. He who knows what need is (i.e. he who has once experienced it) will afterwards dread sorrow'?

S. J. Crawford.

Southampton.

The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text. By A. W. Pollard (British Academy). London: H. Milford. 1923. 8vo. 18 pp. 1*s*.

Professor Pollard's British Academy Lecture sets out in pleasant and luminous form speculations as to the nature of the copy for the First Folio and the way in which it was dealt with by the printers, which he and others have already made familiar in more technical detail. The conclusion is one of qualified optimism and decent gratitude. One rather new point attracts my attention. Professor Pollard thinks that it would be natural to send a prompt copy to the printers, on the ground that the production of the manuscript on which the censor's licence was inscribed 'would carry all before it,' as a means of persuading the wardens of the Stationers' Company that a play might be printed without special 'authority' being obtained for it. It is no doubt the case that from the end of 1606 onwards the register entries of nearly all London plays record the 'hand' upon the copy of Edmund Tilney or Sir George Buck or a deputy, and I understand Professor Pollard to suppose this 'hand' to be merely the authority of the Master of the Revels for performance and not a fresh authority for printing. I had myself supposed that separate authority was required for printing, and that an arrangement was made in 1606 whereby the Master of the

Revels acted as an ecclesiastical licenser for this purpose. Professor Pollard's theory has its attractions. I should however like him to reflect upon two points, which at least require some elaboration of the theory. One is that two of the plays thus printed with Buck's hand to them, *Histriomastix* and *What you Will*, are generally, and I think rightly, taken to have been produced upon the stage before we have any reason to suppose that Buck was acting as Master. The other is that George Chapman wrote a letter (*Athenaeum*, April 6, 1901), almost certainly to the Master of the Revels about *Byron* in 1608, in which he complains that the play, although it had 'the thrice allowance of the Counsaile for the presentment,' had been further revised by the Master for the press, and also refers to 'both the copies' in a way which suggests that the copy offered for a printing licence was not the same as that licensed for acting. Of course I should admit that *Byron* may have been a special case. It had led to diplomatic trouble, and had apparently been subsequently licensed for continued performance, presumably in a revised form, not by the Master but by the Privy Council itself.

E. K. Chambers.

London.

The Stagery of Shakespeare. By R. Crompton Rhodes. Birmingham: Cornish Brothers. 1922. xi + 102 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Shakespeare's First Folio. A Study. By R. Crompton Rhodes. Oxford: Blackwell. 1923. 147 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The first of these tractates deals with the nature of the stage-directions in Shakespearian texts, with the use of doors and balconies on the stage, with the 'assembling' of texts, and with the problems of continuous performance and change of locality. Mr Rhodes has the advantage of practical acquaintance with theatrical productions as a dramatic critic of experience, and perhaps the habit of composing in the *foyer* shortly before midnight helps to explain a certain want of lucidity in his exposition which has occasionally puzzled me. He has some sensible things to say, but I do not feel that he grapples fully with such matters as the difficulty of working with a three-door stage or the comparative disuse of the after-stage recess in the seventeenth century. And I am sure that he fetters himself unduly by deliberately concentrating his attention upon the Shakespearian texts. That is far too narrow a basis for induction, as his own observations upon the practical absence in Shakespearian stage-directions of references to curtains, discoveries, or balconies should have shown him. After all, Shakespeare did not write for stages of which he had the monopoly. The second tractate is a 'tercentenary' publication. It covers a good deal of ground already well trodden by bibliographical students of the Folios and Quartos, and is liberal in conjectures which I find it difficult to discuss in the absence of any evidence by which to control them. Mr Rhodes is a believer in the 'assembling' of texts, and shares credit with Mr Dover

Wilson for the formulation of the doctrine. He suggests that the copy derived from parts proved particularly legible and intelligible, and that this may have been 'due to the Roman script in the players' parts instead of old English, as in the older prompt-books.' And he suggests that, while the prompt-books of certain plays may have been burnt at the Globe, the parts 'had been taken to the Blackfriars.' This is an arrangement which is more likely to have occurred to the players after the fire, when, as Ben Jonson points out, the loss of their thatched roof left them with 'wit since to cover it with tiles.' But of course the conjecture is the mere superfluity of naughtiness, for Mr Rhodes calls attention elsewhere to the want of proof that any books at all were burnt. I am more interested in Mr Rhodes's theory that a protection against the printers given to the King's men by William Earl of Pembroke as Lord Chamberlain may have been motived by Jaggard and Pavier's reprints of 1619. Perhaps the document in which this protection is mentioned has not passed quite so completely into oblivion as Mr Rhodes thinks. It was cited in the *Collections* of the Malone Society for 1911, where a similar protection by Lord Essex is printed. I may add that the Earl of Pembroke ceased to be Lord Chamberlain, not in 1625 as Mr Rhodes says, but in 1626, and that, as the protection is said in 1637 to have been given to 'his majesties servants' and not to 'his late majesties servants,' there is some *prima facie* probability that it was given in 1625–6, rather than in 1619. Unfamiliarity with general history has perhaps led Mr Rhodes into writing 'Lord Harrison' (p. 68), instead of 'Lord Stanhope of Harrington,' and 'Lord Robert Cecil' (p. 94), instead of 'Lord Cecil' or 'Sir Robert Cecil.' But something else must explain the appearance of 'Perowne' (p. 139), instead of 'Berowne,' as a character in *Love's Labour's Lost.*

E. K. Chambers.

London.

Der Weg zu Shakespeare und das Hamletdrama. Eine Umkehr. Von L. Morsbach. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1922. 8vo. viii + 111 pp.

Every student of *Hamlet* has his own way out of its difficulties, and has to confess that difficulties still remain. Professor Morsbach is as confident that he has found a solution as any of the rest of us, but we doubt if his solution will gain much acceptance. He considers that Shakespeare subordinates character to plot. He had further found in Belleforest that Hamlet is a man of determination and that if he is slow in acting, his slowness is due to his prudence, the hindrances in his way being very formidable. Shakespeare in the first Act of the tragedy therefore represents Hamlet as a determined character (this perhaps may be disputed) and it is not his way to undo in later Acts the impression he has produced in the first. Hamlet has not merely to avenge his father, but to set the world right, and the task needs much thought and caution. His delay does not spring from any internal

weakness or reluctance, but from circumstances without. Professor Morsbach apparently holds that Hamlet intended to achieve his end in the Play-scene, but somehow missed his opportunity (this is not made very clear). But he keeps his character throughout as a resolute man.

The obvious answer to this theory is found first in the confessions and self-upbraidings of Hamlet's soliloquies, and secondly in the ease with which Laertes in a similar situation to Hamlet roused the people on his side. Surely for Hamlet, with his claims to the kingdom, the task would have been a much easier one.

Professor Morsbach discounts evidence drawn from the soliloquies on the ground that they were uttered in moments of passion, and do not really reflect Hamlet's character. Laertes, he thinks, is not set in contrast to Hamlet. Laertes had less to consider and could naturally act with more promptitude.

In minor points Professor Morsbach is conservative. He makes no doubt that *Hamlet* was written in the winter of 1601–2 and that Kyd was the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*. He makes the ingenious suggestion that the reference to Claudius's drinking-habits in Act I gives point to his being forced to drink the poisoned cup at the end.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Shakespeare and the Universities and other Studies in Elizabethan Drama. By Frederick S. Boas. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1923. viii + 272 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The delightful and instructive papers here collected are some of them new, some of them reprinted from *The Contemporary*, *The Fortnightly* and *The Times Literary Supplement*. But readers of those journals will be glad to possess Professor Boas's studies in their new setting and in the beautiful type of the Shakespeare Head Press.

The author claims that the collection has a unity of interest:

> The individual chapters...are intended to have a general inter-relation. They illustrate for the most part the influence on the presentation by professional actors of stage plays in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of two external bodies—the Universities and the Office of the Revels.

After an introductory chapter, we have in Chapter II a discussion of the claim made in the First Quarto of *Hamlet* that the play had been acted 'in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford.' The claim is a puzzling one, but our general knowledge of University life at this time and of the attitude of the Universities to professional actors—an attitude on which Dr Boas here and elsewhere has himself thrown so much new light—seems to me to compel us to accept his conclusion that *Hamlet* had not been acted in any University or college hall either by members of the University or by professional actors. To explain the claim Dr Boas makes a rather bold suggestion. There is no evidence, he says, that the Lord Chamberlain's company travelled—as has so frequently been assumed—in 1601. On the other hand, the company

(then Lord Strange's men) was at Oxford (no doubt acting in an inn yard) in October 1593 and at Cambridge in 1594–5.

Why should not *Hamlet*, as it appears in the first quarto, have been written between 1592 and 1594?

The objection that, if it had been acted before 1598, it must have been mentioned by Meres is a serious one. But it is pointed out that Meres did not mention *Henry VI*, so that his list need not be considered exhaustive. In support of his theory that *Hamlet* had been handled by Shakespeare years earlier than is generally believed, Dr Boas appeals to the famous testimony of Gabriel Harvey written in Speght's *Chaucer*, and brings forward fresh grounds for considering that entry to have been made in 1598. In spite of the difficulties in the way, I have myself always been of that opinion. Even so, however, we seem to require further evidence that Shakespeare's play goes back as far as 1593.

Chapter III gives us an interesting synopsis of the different ways in which Shakespeare touched the two Universities during three centuries: Chapter IV, while it hardly bears on any influence exerted on players by the Universities or the Master of the Revels, ably defends against impugners the truth of a delightful story of the acting of *Hamlet* on 4 Sept. and of *Richard II* on 30 Sept. 1607 on board a merchant-ship off Sierra Leone in honour of a negro visitor of high standing.

The remaining chapters deal mainly with some of the fifteen plays contained in Egerton MS. 1994, and show in two cases the character of the alterations demanded by the official Censor. The fact that the very manuscript which had been submitted to the Master of the Revels was afterwards used in the theatre has an important bearing on some present-day controversies in regard to Shakespeare's text:

The manuscript of *The Lanchinge of the Mary* is of exceptional interest. Written on shipboard, censored by the Master of the Revels, revised by the author, annotated by the playhouse manager, it exhibits all the stages through which the 'copy' of a play passed before (if ever) it was sent to the printer's... The manuscript in the condition in which it has come down to us is a document that lends support to the view that in the case of Shakespeare and the other great Elizabethan dramatists the author's autograph copy was used and annotated in the theatre, and that it was from this copy that the printer set up his text.

But the various chapters given to *The Lanchinge of the Mary* have far more than this bibliographical interest. The discovery of the authorship of the play, the detection of its source, the romantic life-history of the dramatist, who wrote the play in 1632 on a long twelve-months' voyage back from India in order to ingratiate himself with his masters, the Directors of the East India Company,—all are the fruits of a brilliant piece of literary research. The play itself, with its defence of foreign trade and the insight it gives us into the methods of the East India Company and the life led by its agents abroad and their forsaken wives at home, is a vivid historical document, and shows, if not, as Dr Boas laments, actual poetical quality, at any rate, some literary power.

Of the three other plays of which Dr Boas treats, two are from the

same Egerton MS., the third (John Wilson's play, *The Cheats*) from a Worcester College MS. The text of the last differs much from the printed text, chiefly because it is in the form in which it was submitted to the Master of the Revels about 1662 and contains passages which he ordered to be excised. Herbert's censorial principles, as Dr Boas shows, remained the same to the end.

In the case of the other two plays, *Edmond Ironside* and *Thomas of Woodstock* (called by Keller *Richard II, Erster Teil*), Dr Boas gives many cogent reasons for dating them both about 1590 in spite of the fact that in the Egerton MS. they bear the names of actors of the middle of the seventeenth century and are associated with plays of that period. Dr Boas's reasons do not apparently quite convince himself, but I believe that many of his readers will think them hard to get over.

The volume contains perhaps more misprints than one would expect, and on p. 156 the line at the top should be transferred to the bottom. And there are, of course, here and there statements to which one may take exception.

P. 23, note[1]. Dr Boas claims that no commentator before him took 'innovation' ('by means of the late innovation') in the sense of 'insurrection.' But Mr E. K. Chambers in his edition of *Hamlet* ('Warwick Shakespeare') of 1894, p. 196, interprets 'innovation' as 'political innovation or conspiracy.'

P. 49. Dr Boas speaks of *Wily Beguil'd* as 'almost certainly a Cambridge play.'

In the *Studies in Philology* of the University of North Carolina, vol. XIX, p. 206, Mr Baldwin Maxwell argues that it is a recast made for the London stage about 1601 of the old play *Wylie Beguylie* performed at Merton College, Oxford, in 156$\frac{6}{7}$. The name 'Will Cricket' suggests however some connexion with Nicholas Cricket of *Club Law* (1599).

P. 51. 'Richard Burton' should be 'Robert Burton.'

P. 88, note[1]: 'a play entitled *Corus*.' Is it not likely that the play has no title and that 'Corus' ('Chorus') is merely the heading to the opening passage? There is no other reason for the title of the Cambridge play *Hymenæus*.

P. 103. Anth[ony] Brew. This actor in *The Two Noble Ladies* is taken by Dr Boas to be the Antony Bray who was with the King's Revels Company at Norwich in 1635. Might he not however be Anthony Brewer, author of *The Lovesick King* (of uncertain date)? Nothing else seems to be known of Brewer.

P. 106. 'Nathaniel Richard's' should be 'Nathanael Richards'.'

Pp. 196 and 230. What is Mountford's word 'Carolique'? Is it for 'Catolique'? Some explanation seems to be required.

P. 231. 'Ile drowne myselfe in Amwell or in Thames.' Dr Boas strangely suggests some reference here to *Hamlet* and Ophelia's death by drowning in a river. Surely Trunnell means by 'Amwell' the New River: 'Waters of Sir Hugh Middleton!' Elia cries,...'was it for this, that...I paced the vale of Amwell to explore your tributary springs?'

But if there are motes that here and there intrude into the sunbeam, no review can do justice to the varied interest of this volume of papers, so gracefully written and testifying to so much happily-rewarded investigation.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen. Vorträge und Skizzen von Heinrich Morf. Dritte Reihe, herausgegeben von Eva Seifert. Berlin: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger. 1922. 8vo. viii + 422 pp.

It is not without sadness that we turn the leaves of this volume which contains the last contributions of the great scholar and humanist. Fourteen essays have been united, three of which had never been published before: *Molières Hoffestspiel vom 'Tartuffe,' Lessings Urteil über Voltaire,* and *Fénelon.* Nine others are reprinted from periodicals not easily accessible outside of Switzerland and Germany. Two are reprinted from the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy: *Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache* and *Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse.* But no one will regret to find them in this handy volume instead of having to consult the ponderous tomes of the Academy publications.

The selection of the essays reprinted testifies to the good judgment of the editor; some of them, especially those on Cervantes and his work, are among the most charming and most humane Morf ever wrote. It is also to be approved that at least two of his pedagogical essays, *Vom linguistischen Denken* and *Über Aufgabe und Methode der Volksvorlesungen,* were included; for Morf's views on pedagogical questions were remarkably advanced over those of most of his contemporaries. We should perhaps have liked to find again his essay on *Voltaires Jugend,* published in the *Sonntagsblatt* of the *Berner Bund,* that on *Voltaires Weltanschauung,* from the *Neue Züricher Zeitung,* or those on *Voltaire und der Gottesglaube,* in *Die Nation,* and on *Friedrich der Grosse als Aufklärer,* published in *Wissen und Leben.*

Here it will be necessary only to give some discussion to the studies on the *Tartuffe* and on the affair Voltaire-Lessing.

Misinterpreting a statement of Lagrange's register that the troop performed, in the spring of 1664, three acts of *Tartuffe* 'qui étaient les trois premiers,' scholars have assumed that the *Ur-Tartuffe* ended with Act III of the extant play and that Acts IV and V were added later. Morf points out that this theory rests upon a dramatic impossibility, as in that case the play would have ended with the triumph of Tartuffe ('La volonté du Ciel soit faite en toute chose'). Moreover, Act V is distinctly a flattery addressed to the king and would agree most appropriately with the character of the drama as a festival play acted at Versailles. The existence of Act V makes necessary that of Act IV in which Tartuffe's hypocrisy is revealed. From other evidence we know that Molière added two more acts in the autumn of the same year 1664.

Still, the work was not done, as the poet continued remodelling the fourth act which was above all responsible for the war waged against him by the bigots of the capital. When finally the royal privilege for publication is obtained, in 1669, Molière states that he had done his best to distinguish, in his play, the hypocrite from the true devotee. 'J'ai employé pour cela deux actes entiers à préparer la venue de mon scélérat.' From this statement only one conclusion can be drawn, viz., that the two acts added were Acts I and II. If the poet had added the last two acts to the *Ur-Tartuffe* he would thereby have made the play still more dangerous, while all his statements tend to assure us of the contrary. With Acts I and II the love plot of Marianne and Valère was added which did not form a part of the action of the original three-act play. Finally Morf adduces evidence to show that the statement of the Lagrange register cannot be held to be sure evidence, as it was composed a long time after the events; 'premier' in the statement in question must be considered as the synonym of 'original.' The result of this study, based on a masterly analysis of the play and its technique, throws an entirely new light on the genesis of *Tartuffe*. It may be brought out here that this genesis does not appear to have been known even to the playwrights of the following century; for the remarkable and rare instance of the hero appearing on the stage not earlier than the third act seems to have made a lasting impression on all those interested in stage craft. As is well known, Voltaire tried the same experiment in his tragedy *Hérode et Mariamne*—and failed.

The study on the relations of Voltaire and Lessing presents facts which are in general known in England and America, more so, it would appear, than in Germany, where the historians of German literature and the Lessing biographers have insisted upon seeing in Voltaire just the *bête noire* and in the twenty-two-year-old student Lessing the author of *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Nathan*. Morf rightly points out the unfairness of such an attitude, and shows that in the affair Voltaire was clearly in the right and Lessing in the wrong. Furthermore, it is rash to state that Voltaire slandered Lessing by reporting the matter to the king and that Lessing from that time on bore Voltaire an implacable hatred. There is no evidence that Voltaire mentioned the affair to Frederick at all, and enough reasons are given to explain Lessing's unfavourable opinion of the French. But Morf admits that it is not clear why Frederick later appeared decidedly prejudiced against Lessing.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

FLAT RIVER, MO., U.S.A.

La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr par Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence. Poème historique du XIIe siècle, publié par E. WALBERG. (*Skrifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*, V.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1922. 8vo. clxxx + 385 pp.

This interesting poem has till now been available only in the inadequate editions published by Bekker in 1838 and by Hippeau in 1859.

M. Walberg's edition is a great advance upon these in completeness, and will be welcomed by students of Old French and Anglo-Norman. His text is based on the MS. of Wolfenbüttel, published by Bekker, with the variants of the Paris MS., and of the British Museum MS. Harley 270, supplemented, where necessary, by those of the three other MSS. at Welbeck Abbey, Cheltenham, and the British Museum Cotton, Domitian XI. The text is accompanied by a useful glossary, very full notes and an introduction, all in French, the whole making up a volume, whose bulk and consequent price appear somewhat excessive.

The introduction contains a chapter on the classification of the six MSS., where M. Walberg shows himself a disciple of M. Bédier in his wary refusal to postulate convergence between his groups on this side of infinity. There are also chapters on the language and versification of the poem. The main preoccupation of the introduction is the determination of the sources utilised by the poet, and the wider question, which M. Walberg introduces with an apology for the excursion, of the relations between the principal literary works inspired by the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury on December 29, 1170. In adventuring into these troubled regions M. Walberg shows commendable courage, but hardly sufficient caution, given the perils of the enterprise, perils by this and by that, but, above all, perils by air, by atmosphere. For these Becket lives, prose and verse, Latin and French, which we now see as so many individual productions, are merely the remains of a great collective creation, the legend of Becket, the vibrations that stirred the air of Canterbury and England and Christendom, pulsing out from the central horror of the murder on the steps of the sanctuary. In that atmosphere, echoing with the crime and the struggle that preceded it, among the friends and followers of the martyr, oral transmission, discussion, exchange of anecdotes, sermons, miracles attested, must have bulked as large as—possibly larger than—the written word, more permanent, but less pliant. To estimate with precision the actions and reactions of the manifold elements of this 'ambiance' is no easy task: one may indeed ask whether it is a possible one. In the circumstances nothing short of textual resemblances, so striking as to exclude the possibility of any other hypothesis than that of direct borrowing, can be accepted as proof positive of dependence of one author upon another: even textual resemblances which elsewhere would be convincing may here become suspect. One has but to think of the stereotyped recitative which guides the modern pilgrim-tourist over the scene of the saint's murder, to imagine the similar repetitions in unvarying words which must have edified all but the very earliest pilgrims to the spot. Two writers utilising a tale known to both in its conventional oral form might well show coincidences in expression, such as to suggest plagiarism where there is none. This caution may appear excessive, but lack of it leads M. Walberg to draw his conclusions with a rigour unwarranted by the nature of his material. He notes in passing (pp. xiii and xiv) the widespread interest and activity aroused by Becket's murder, but without sufficient regard to their implications.

The possible sources of Guernes, which M. Walberg is mainly concerned to investigate, are the Latin lives by Edward Grim, Roger of Pontigny, so-called, and William of Canterbury. The parallelism of these stories, especially the first two, with that of Guernes had already been noted, in particular by E. Étienne in a thesis of the University of Paris, 1883, and by L. Halphen (*Revue historique*, CII). M. Walberg, in a detailed table of the sources of the poem, indicates with scrupulous attention the resemblances between Guernes and these Latin authors. His meticulous comparison does reveal a certain parallelism between the three writers, Guernes, Grim and Roger, and this parallelism is not constant; now we find Grim and Roger against Guernes, now Guernes and Roger against Grim, now Guernes and Grim against Roger, now all three are different. We find, that is, all the combinations which are theoretically possible, and further we find that Roger and Grim sometimes agree respectively with the different readings of the two groups of MSS. of the poem. In general, Grim is less precise than the two others. The resemblances between Guernes and William of Canterbury are less frequent and as a rule have no parallel in Grim and Roger.

This detailed analysis of the contents of the poem is M. Walberg's instrument of precision. At times it seems to slip in his hands. Testing its efficiency at random, we may take a passage where M. Walberg finds a parallel between Guernes and Grim. 'Les vers 277–80,' he says, 'sont une traduction peu heureuse des lignes suivantes de Grim: Vir autem liberalis animi, secundum monita Sapientis, melius esse arbitrans nomen bonum quam thesauros plurimos, ad augmentum famae et nominis ampliationem studuit detorquere, ne quando pecuniae parcens parcitatis naevo splendorem nominis obfuscaret.' Here is the so-called translation: 'Mult fu larges e proz, de vif sen e de cler; / Mes pas ne refusa, s'um li voleit doner, / Cum li autre qui poent nuire e amender, / E ki volent al mund par lur aveir munter.' As a translation it is indeed so infelicitous as to arouse a doubt as to its being one at all. Elsewhere, ll. 739–40, M. Walberg indicates once more that a sentence of Grim's is the original. The French is as follows, beginning at line 737 to make the context clear: 'De la parole Deu se fist [Thomas] preecheür, / E del tut entendi al suverain seignur. / Ne sai se pur ceo l'a li reis pris en haür. / Mes d'iloec en avant l'esluina de s'amur.' The Latin of Grim is: 'Crescente paulatim amaritudine et subintrante odio a cordis illum secretario et consiliis suis efficit alienum.' This is not one of the passages where M. Walberg adds, as he does elsewhere, 'ressemblance assez éloignée,' yet one must admit that the resemblance is not particularly striking. Again lines 161–5, which M. Walberg compares to a passage from Grim, are seen at once, even without comparison with the Latin, to be the merest commonplace. When Guernes says: 'Tut cil autre romanz ke unt fait del martyr / Clerc u lai, muine u dame, mult les oï mentir, / Ne le veir ne le plain nes i oï furnir. / Mes ci purrez le veir e tut le plain oïr; / N'istrai de verité pur perdre u pur murir,' he is, in spite of his real scrupulousness, which is attested by the facts of his method of composition, simply repeating the self-laudatory preamble with which every mediaeval poet

and poetaster prefaced his work. These few examples, culled more or less at random, make the reader a little inclined to question the parallelism which M. Walberg sets out to demonstrate. He does not produce the striking textual resemblances between his authors which his demonstration requires. His case must therefore rest on the much weaker basis of a general agreement in the disposal of their material by Grim, Roger and Guernes, on errors of fact common to the different authors (though under this head there can be placed, I think, only the misdating by Grim and Guernes of the coronation of the 'young king'), on the presence in Guernes and another, William of Canterbury, for instance, of anecdotes not found elsewhere, or found elsewhere in a different version.

It is with a certain reserve, then, that one admits M. Walberg's parallels. His interpretation of them is also open to criticism. What is likely to have been the relationship of these various supposedly related authors? M. Halphen, in the article already referred to, reasonably presuming that Grim, who had been an eye-witness of the murder, was unlikely to borrow from the story of Guernes, who had his facts about Becket's life at second-hand, and observing the coincidences between Guernes and William of Canterbury against Roger and Grim, suggests that Guernes utilised both Grim and Roger: 'Qu'il se rapproche,' says M. Halphen, 'tantôt de l'un, tantôt de l'autre, rien de plus simple, s'il les a l'un et l'autre sous les yeux; qu'il soit plus complet, plus précis qu'eux, qu'il les contredise même tous deux sur des points de détail, rien de plus naturel, puisqu'il vient après eux et est en mesure par suite de compléter et de rectifier leurs erreurs.' M. Walberg, on the contrary, supposes the series Grim, Guernes, Roger, the last having also borrowed directly from Grim. 'Que le texte du poète français se rapproche tantôt de l'un, tantôt de l'autre, que ce soit quelquefois difficile de dire s'il ressemble davantage à Grim ou à Roger, rien de plus compréhensible, puisqu'il copie l'un et est copié par l'autre.' *A priori*, there is nothing to choose between the reasoning of M. Halphen and that of M. Walberg. Each is valid, until the logical series becomes a chronological one. M. Halphen's attempts to prop his argument on dates were unsuccessful. M. Walberg, in his turn attacking the question of chronology, demonstrates to his own satisfaction that the dates of these three authors are such as to make the series Grim, Guernes, Roger a chronological one. M. Halphen's position becomes consequently untenable, and M. Walberg, stepping firmly from his dates, strides across the plank 'post hoc, ergo propter hoc,' rather an unsuitable medium for the airy progress whose perils have already been charted.

Now to see where the dates come from. That of Guernes' poem is the central point of M. Walberg's demonstration. Roger's dating by an allusion to Benedict, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, from July 1175 to May 1177 already noted by M. Halphen, is narrowed down for its 'terminus a quo' by M. Walberg, who calls attention to the Latin author's mention of John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres from July 1176. Grim's date is less securely fixed. He wrote certainly after May 1172, as he mentions the innocence of Henry II, but the 'terminus ad quem'

remains uncertain, even after M. Walberg's discussion. The crux of the discussion is the relation of Grim's chapters 89–95 to the rest of his 'Vita.' Chapters 89–93, relating the king's penance in July 1174, and 94–5, telling of a vision of King Henry's while Benedict was prior of Christchurch, are apparently added in appendix to the original work, which ends in chapter 88 with a peroration, exhorting the devout to consider the life and example of the saint, ending with the words: 'Explicit passio sancti Thomae martyris.' Walberg supposes that chapters 89–95 form two supplements, added at different times, and that only the first of these, chapters 89–93, was known to Guernes. The assumption that an allusion to Benedict as prior of Canterbury precludes the possibility of Guernes having known this passage, is founded upon an allusion of Guernes, to which M. Walberg attributes undue significance in dating the poem. Apart from the necessity thus imposed on M. Walberg of assuming that there are these two supplements to Grim, there seems no other reason for supposing that this is the case. Chapter 93 ends, it is true, with the finality of an 'Amen,' but this merely because, after the account of the king's penance, and the signal benefits which God, moved by the intercession of St Thomas, had then shown to Henry, the writer himself seeks the intercession of this powerful mediator, and ends his prayer with an 'Amen.' Grim is thus left floating in a period of some five years from 1172 to 1177. The dates assigned to William of Canterbury by M. Walberg himself are also fairly wide: it can only be said with certainty that he must have written between the end of 1172 and August 1176.

The interesting feature of the dating of Guernes' poem is that the poet is kind enough to tell us himself when he wrote it—at first sight an unusual piece of luck for the scholar, but, alas, only relative, since his indications have been capable of no fewer than seven differing interpretations. The poet tells us, ll. 6166–70: 'L'an secund que li sainz fu en s'iglise ocis, / Comenchai cest romanz e mult m'en entremis. / Des privez saint Thomas la verité apris: / Mainte feiz en ostai ço que jo ainz escris, / Pur oster la mençonge. Al quart an fin i mis.' Elsewhere he says, ll. 141–4: 'Si volez esculter la vie al saint martyr, / Ci la purrez par mei plenierement oïr; / N'i voil rien trespasser, ne rien n'i voil mentir. / Quatre anz i ai pres mis al feire e al furnir.' If we had only the first of these two indications, we should suppose quite naturally that the poet wrote from 1172, i.e. from the second year after the murder in December 1170, to 1174, the fourth year after the event, especially as elsewhere he speaks of 1174 as being 'le quart an.' But we have to reconcile this passage with the other in which the poet says he took four years to compose his work: 'le quart an' would then, in spite of the parallelism in expression to 'l'an secund,' mean the fourth year of work. Three of the MSS. of the poem give an alternative reading, 'al quint' for 'al quart.' M. Walberg regards this reading as being an alteration due to two different copyists, confronted with the anomalous 'quart'—the same emendation thus having been made on two separate occasions, since it occurs in MSS. belonging, according to the editor,

to different groups. He rejects the reading 'quint,' on the ground that the authority of H + W C is not sufficient to counterbalance that of B + P. But, according to his classification of the MSS., each reading has the authority of two sources belonging each to one of the two families into which he groups the MSS. This, surely, if not sufficient to rehabilitate 'quint,' makes the reading 'quart' more than a little doubtful. M. Walberg, however, adopts and defends 'quart.' He gives it the sense of the fourth year after the death of the saint, and he proceeds to reconcile his interpretation with the four years of work mentioned in the other passage. He refers again to the preamble, where the author, after telling us that he has taken four years 'al feire et al furnir,' goes on to relate how he had written a former 'roman' on the same subject from hearsay, and. recognising its imperfections, had then journeyed to Canterbury to obtain first-hand information from the friends of the martyr. The four years of which he speaks must therefore refer, says M. Walberg, not only to the time during which he had been working at the 'roman' as we know it, that is, the second version upon which he embarked after the first had been stolen from him, but to the whole time during which the story of Becket had occupied him. This view of M. Walberg's is borne out by a further consideration which he does not himself adduce in support of it, the fact that in l. 141 the poet speaks of 'la vie' of the holy martyr which has occupied him for four years, whereas elsewhere he talks of the 'roman'; l. 151 'cel premier romanz,' l. 160 'Mes cestui ai del tut amendé et finé,' l. 6161 'ainc mais si bons romanz ne fu faiz ne trovez.' At the end of the poem, on the contrary, says M. Walberg, the second version only, begun in 'l'an secund,' is meant. He is content to say that this interpretation is obvious; in support of it, he might have noted ll. 6161–2: 'Ainc mais si bons romanz ne fu faiz ne trovez. / A Canterbire fu faiz e amendez.' Line 6162 cannot be misunderstood: this 'roman' which was begun in 'l'an secund' was entirely composed at Canterbury, whereas the first 'roman' had been begun before the author was on the spot.

M. Walberg is thus left with the dates 1172 and 1174 for the poem as we know it. We have seen that he arrived at these dates by taking into account the first, lost version of the poem. This first version having thus served its turn, M. Walberg gives it no further consideration, surely a serious flaw in his study of sources and influences. Certainly one can hardly set out to estimate the precise influence exerted by a work which we do not possess, but nevertheless the second version of the poem can hardly differ in every particular from the first, since Guernes tells us himself, l. 6162, that number two also was 'amendez.' Nor was the first version entirely without value, ll. 156–7: 'Par lius est mençungiers e senz pleneireté; / E nepurquant i a le plus de verité'; and, again according to the poet himself, it had enjoyed a certain popularity: l. 158, 'E meint riche umme l'unt cunquis e achaté.' The reproach of neglecting the possible importance of this last work, in attempting to estimate the relations between Guernes and the other biographers, must be addressed to M. Walberg, as it was to M. Étienne by Morf (*Deutsche*

Literaturzeitung, 1884, col. 1049). It is a simplification of the known facts which distorts their significance. In any case, without knowing the date when this first poem was begun, the conjectures of M. Walberg, 'sans doute...aux tout premiers mois qui suivirent le meurtre' (p. xxiv), and of Abbot, 'immediately after the Martyrdom' (*St Thomas of Canterbury, his Death and Miracles*, London, 1898, vol. I, pp. 25–6), have no foundation in fact. We can merely say that, since the second version was begun in 1172, the first must have been written before 1173, and, if we reject the reading 'quart an,' the four years of work cease to cover any precise period.

But M. Walberg brings forward other evidences of date. He maintains that the poem must have been completed before 1175, for two reasons. In the Paris MS. the poem is followed by an epilogue, where the poet celebrates the welcome he had received during his stay in England from the sister of Becket, abbess of Barking from 1173, and from Odo, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, from 1167 to July 1175. According to M. Walberg, the epilogue, and, *a fortiori*, the poem itself, cannot be later than July 1175, or the poet would not have called Odo, as he does, 'li buens priors de Seinte Terneté' (Christchurch). This reasoning does not appear decisive. In the first place, Guernes speaks in the past tense: Odo was prior of Christchurch at that time in the past when Guernes was received at the Priory: Guernes knew him only as prior of Christchurch and therefore did not give him his later title of Abbot of Battle, as he was after July 1175. One may say that, writing after July 1175, Guernes would have added some phrase like 'alors, à cette époque': but he was in nowise obliged to be so explanatory, especially when this information would have had to be conveyed in the somewhat restrictive medium of an alexandrine. Lastly, it is by no means necessary to suppose that this epilogue was composed after the entire poem was finished. At most, this passage proves that it was while Odo was prior, before July 1175, that Guernes visited Canterbury.

Further, M. Walberg, noticing the absence from Guernes' poem of any mention of the pilgrimage made by Henry II and his son, the young king, in May 1175, to the tomb of Becket, whereas the earlier pilgrimage made by the older Henry in July 1174 is related by the poet in great detail and with visible satisfaction, considers that this silence is evidence that the poet wrote before the date of the second pilgrimage. The argument 'ex silentio' is always a dangerous one, and in this case there is a good deal to be said on the other side. It appears more than probable that the poet, who follows up his account of the king's penitential pilgrimage in 1174 by a series of stanzas in which he aims at showing forth the happy results of this royal expiation—the defeat of the king of Scots at Alnwick, the submission of Henry's sons to their father, the conclusion of peace with the king of France and the Count of Flanders—would be loath to spoil the artistic and edifying effect of these relations between the penance and its results, by adding the account of a later pilgrimage, the results of which were no doubt less easy to identify. M. Walberg, however, considers that the poem can only be said to be

posterior to October 1174, which was the date of the treaty of Falaise, by which Henry was reconciled with his sons. An attentive examination of the passage immediately following the account of Henry's penance seems to give ground for a later 'terminus ad quem' than M. Walberg, anxious to place Guernes before Roger of Pontigny, i.e. before July 1176, is willing to admit. The passage 6078–85 agrees admirably with the events of the year 1175. (See J. H. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 180 and *passim*.) In spite of the reconciliation at Falaise in October 1174, it was only from the spring of the following year that Henry and his eldest son, the young king, were on terms which would justify the poet's words in l. 6078: 'Père et fiz sunt tut un' ('fiz' evidently in the singular, as is shown by the context and the two following verses where 'le fiz' occurs twice). Henry, the young king, had been excused from the act of homage accomplished by his brothers at Falaise, but, recognising that the act involved reciprocal obligations, he insisted on performing it also, which he did on April 1, 1175, at Bure. A month later, the two kings returned together to England, where, during the remainder of the year, they lived in the greatest intimacy, sleeping in the same room. They went on a grand progress together throughout the kingdom, beginning with the visit to Canterbury, and, during this progress, the severity and injustice with which the forest laws were applied excited widespread discontent, especially among the clergy, an interesting sidelight on line 6084, where Guernes alludes to these laws. Young Henry left his father and England only in April 1176. Two stanzas especially in this portion of the poem, 1211, 1212, seem to support the view that the poet is concluding his work later than the date assumed by M. Walberg. The notes to the edition give no clue to the interpretation which M. Walberg puts upon these lines, which certainly demand an explanation. Guernes tells the story of the king's penance, then adds: 'Par quaranteines sunt li pechié espeldri. / Après quarante meis li reis suratendi. / Se quarante semaines oüst suraconpli / E puis après i fussent creü quarante di, / Pris' en fust la vengeance; tut pur veir le vus di. / E quant la quaranteine des meis fu trespassee, / E des semaines fu la quaranteine entree, / Lués fu de tutes parz Engleterre troblee. / Se saint Thomas n'eüst la face Deu muee, / En l'une de ces treis fust l'ire Deu trovee.' The edifying intention of the poet appears to be to exemplify from events known to his hearers the mystic significance of the number forty as a measure of repentance. He tells his audience that Henry did well, after letting pass the term of forty months from the crime, April 1174, to repent, as he did in July, before forty weeks were added to the months. If these forty weeks had elapsed without penance and if forty days had been added besides, then God would have taken vengeance. That is to say that vengeance would have been due somewhere about the end of March 1175. How can the poet call his hearers to witness that the king has escaped this vengeance, unless the fatal term is already past? Further, in the second stanza, in spite of a certain obscurity of expression in the mention of three things in the last line, when only the months and weeks have been enumerated in the foregoing, it seems

clear that days are also implicitly referred to, and the poet is then testifying to the power of the saint's intercession at each of the three fatal terms, forty months, forty weeks and forty days, counting, probably, as in stanza 1211, each term from the end of the preceding one, and not reckoning each back to the murder, though, apart from stanza 1211, this would be a possible interpretation. Forty months after the murder, in April 1174, we find young Henry attacking Sées in concert with the Counts of Blois, Perche and Alençon; the attack is repelled, and on April 30 Henry II starts on a triumphant progress through Maine, Anjou and Poitou. Some forty weeks later, in February 1175, Richard and Geoffrey are doing homage to their father at Le Mans, while some forty days later, on April 1, comes the homage of the young king to his father at Bure. Henry II's reign was in point of fact such a troublous one that few dates were without events, and the poet had only the embarrassment of choice: some forty weeks after the murder, for instance, in October 1171, Henry was over in Ireland, receiving the submission of the Irish rebels. Thus Guernes had child's play with his forties. But one thing does seem clear, and that is that all these forties are past, and, if they are, then M. Walberg may well be wrong in supposing that Guernes necessarily wrote before May 1175, since he must have written in any case after March of that year, and probably, from his apparent references to the later movements of the two Henries, later even than that.

Thus M. Walberg's chronological series is hardly so securely established as might seem on a first reading of his introduction. The four years which Guernes took to write his poem appear to date back at least from late in 1175, conceivably from 1176. Roger of Pontigny must be after July 1176, and is thus only possibly, but by no means certainly, after Guernes, Grim remains in the uncertainty of his appendices, William of Canterbury waits between the extremes of 1172 and August 1176. Do not these approximations, this giving of a month here and taking another away there, bring us back to the collective legend-making with which we started? And the literary value of Guernes, whatever his indebtedness to others for his facts, remains so absolutely unimpaired that it will always be to him, rather than to the more sober Latin biographers, that one will turn for a living portrayal of the dramatic conflict between Henry and Becket. Not only in picturesqueness, either, is Guernes supreme, but, as Gaston Paris says, he 'se fait l'interprète de l'idéal catholique du moyen âge dans ce qu'il a de plus haut et aussi de plus étroit.' M. Walberg, a philologist first, leaves those passages, long and numerous, where Guernes sets out his views on the principles involved in the struggle, with the cursory comment, 'réflexions personnelles de l'auteur.' But we must be grateful to him for at any rate rendering them accessible to us, and they speak for themselves.

CLAUDINE I. WILSON.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

The Poems of Manuel de Cabanyes. Edited by E. ALLISON PEERS. (Spanish Texts and Studies.) Manchester: University Press. 1923. 8vo. vii + 152 pp. 6*s.*

In a pleasantly individual edition by the Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool the poems of Manuel de Cabanyes, to whom Menéndez y Pelayo addressed an enthusiastic ode forty-five years ago and whose *Preludios de mi lira*, in the opinion of the same great critic, contain 'like gold, great riches in a small space,' are now presented for the first time to English readers. Foreign critics have hitherto given him but little attention, but in Spain Menéndez y Pelayo, who in his *Horacio en España* strangely neglected Lorenzo Villanueva's translations from Horace, gave a warm and deserved welcome to the Horatian poems of the poet of Vilanova de Geltrú. Cabanyes, as Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly remarks, is a poets' poet, that is to say, like Horace he requires to be read frequently if he is to be appreciated fully. In the case of Cabanyes this is not a difficult task, since the *Preludios*, the only work published during his life, contains only twelve poems, and the whole of his poetry published here by Professor Allison Peers fills but sixty pages. The volume is completed by fifty pages of introduction and forty pages of notes, appendix and detailed bibliography. Both notes and introduction contain matter of great interest. Probably English readers would have been grateful for a note on the line 'Y del dulce León y el buen Carranza,' referring to the imprisonment of Fray Luis de León in the cells of the Inquisition at Valladolid from 1572 to 1576 and the imprisonment of Fray Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, at Valladolid and Rome from 1559 to 1576. The epithet *dulce* here is a lapse from Cabanyes' usual *curiosa felicitas*, for to the Inquisitors and witnesses in his trial the great Salamanca Professor proved anything but 'dulce.' Albuquerque is of course Afonso de Albuquerque, who both succeeded and preceded Vasco da Gama in India, since he became Governor eleven years after Gama had first landed there, and Gama died as Viceroy of India in 1524, nine years after Albuquerque's death as Governor. A reader who comes upon the hyphenated epithets *sangri-salpicados*, *fúlgido-cándida*, *santo-olientes* coined by Cabanyes may feel inclined to agree with the strictures of the Condesa Pardo Bazán. And if we compare passages in Cabanyes' poems with corresponding passages in Fray Luis de León, it may seem much like comparing Lucan with Virgil, or a crow with a nightingale. But it must be remembered that Cabanyes died in 1833 at the age of twenty-five. Probably, as he grew older, his work would have lost its rhetorical flavour, and the love of inversion and neologisms, while retaining its admirable precision and vigour:

> Sobre las alas del viento lóbregas
> Volará el Justo contra los réprobos
> Y so sus plantas truenos horrísonos
> Rebramarán.

Here, in Cabanyes' most original poem, *La Misa Nueva*, we have Horace, but Horace enriched with a new fervour of Christian faith and hope.

Cabanyes followed the example of Luis de León in seeking his inspiration in the Bible as well as in the classics. Menéndez y Pelayo gives as his models:

> De Ofanto el cisne y el cantor del Tormes,
> Robusto Alfieri, Fóscolo indomado,
> Lusitano Filinto.

The influence of the Portuguese poets Corrêa Garção and Filinto Elysio is obvious. He shares their love of the indigenous, even in imitations, their national flavour and ardent patriotism, a patriotism which Cabanyes was of too generous a nature to limit to any one province of Spain. The influence of Luis de León is also clear, and that of Horace is everywhere present. The fourth of the *Preludios* is an original poem which reads like a translation of Horace. Professor Allison Peers in his introduction gives an interesting list of books that belonged to the poet. It contains, as he notes with surprise, neither a Horace nor any work by Luis de León, a fact which proves how misleading it may be to deduce a writer's tastes or character from his library. Let it not be thought that Cabanyes is a mosaic of echoes; he is Cabanyes. In his rebellion against rhyme he sometimes sinks into prose, sometimes rises to genuine eloquence; always he shows that he was a scholar and here and there that he possessed a true vein of lyrical inspiration. 'To the ordinary reader,' says Professor Allison Peers in his introduction, 'he makes but small appeal. Not only does he lack the peculiar qualities which strike the average man, but he has most of the qualities which repel him: simplicity, earnestness, purity of form, disdain of tradition.' One can only recommend the reader not to judge from a first hasty perusal: each successive reading will surely increase his gratitude to the English editor of these remarkable poems.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

Portuguese Bibliography. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. 381 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Benito Arias Montano. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. 96 pp. 5*s.*

In his essay on *Fernam Lopes* Mr Bell justly deplored the dearth of British names in foreign bibliographies, and he has applied himself in a series of recent publications to remedy in some part this defect. Possessor of a pliant and agreeable style, keenly sensitive to impressions both of letters and of life, he has shown himself equally at his ease as a translator of early lyrics and interpreter of the intense localism of Gil Vicente, as mediator between the general reader and the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, being as quick to catch the candid glow and naïve patriotism of Fernam Lopes as to appreciate the modern revival of the 'conceited' and didactic Gracián. But the *Portuguese Bibliography*, together with the *Portuguese Literature* (Oxford, 1922) which it accompanies and completes, is Mr Bell's

most substantial and novel, if not most characteristic, contribution to our knowledge of, and affection for, Peninsular literatures.

The plan followed is that of Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's cardinal *Bibliographie de l'histoire de la littérature espagnole* (Paris, 1913, and Spanish editions), not that of the English or first Spanish editions, in which the alphabetic order was not preferred to the chronological. In omitting chronological and explanatory matter Mr Bell has paid his readers a compliment which we might do well to merit. Like its model, the *Portuguese Bibliography* professes to address the general student rather than the specialist, but, in this country at least, the differentiation has not proceeded far. Common headings in both bibliographies are those of General Works, Texts, Anthologies and Authors; and Portuguese does not require a special caption for the Theatre. A section entitled Folklore, Popular Poetry, etc., takes the place of Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's antiquarian information. New headings are opened for Portuguese Language and for Dictionaries. Portuguese History will be found in a note to Herculano (p. 271); but we regret that a special chapter was not allotted to this subject, which is amply covered by the title of the work. It might have been possible to incorporate, for example, J. P. Oliveira Martins' *Notas sobre a historiographia em Portugal* and the fundamentals of the historical competence of Mr Edgar Prestage. The author follows both his model and sound principles in confining his entries almost entirely to printed works, yet even a general reader might welcome some indication of the most significant manuscripts. Thus in the notorious instance of Fernam Lopes, where the printed choice lies between three editions, respectively inaccessible, inaccurate and incomplete, can even a novice afford to be ignorant of the manuscript? Or is it really any easier to sift for truth the Augean works of Dr Theophilo Braga?

We suggest the addition of R. Beer's *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* among General Works. O. Klob's article in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xxvi, belongs to Joseph de Arimathia (p. 280) rather than to the Demanda do Santo Grial (p. 226–7), to which add O. Sommer, *The Queste of the Holy Grail*, in *Romania*, xxxvi. Perhaps Oliveira Martins' *Vida de Nun' Alvares* and *Filhos de D. João I* might have been mentioned under Fernam Lopes, forming as they do a natural line of approach to that author.

In *Benito Arias Montano*, Mr Bell gives a lucid and sympathetic account of a distinguished Spanish humanist and book-lover, who is to be valued not merely for his Biblical scholarship and contributions to the library at the Escorial, but for his singularly equable and unenvenomed disposition in a difficult and contentious age. This monograph takes place beside Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Fray Luis de León* as a neat and convincing demonstration of the profit to be gained by the intelligent reading of the *Documentos Inéditos*.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. *Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik.* Von PAUL KLUCKHOHN. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1922. 8vo. xiv + 640 pp.

This volume was begun as a contribution to the study of romanticism, but in his search for sources, the author has been led back as far as the Greek philosophers; and with such fulness has he traced the conception of love through the ages, that he does not reach the Romantic period until he is more than half through his book. The problem necessarily broadens out into that of the general relations of the sexes and the position of women in society. Professor Kluckhohn's book is thus not merely a criticism of literary motives, but also a contribution to social history.

In the section of his work dealing with the eighteenth century, he would see in Germany the mediator between the French contempt for marriage and the English exaltation of it. He deals with the deepening of spiritual life as it manifests itself in pietism and sentimentalism, and traces its effects on the relation of the sexes. He shows how the vague objectless 'longing for love,' which is to be met with in the sentimental novel and lyric, is akin to the moonlight melancholy and graveyard meditations of the period. He is inclined to draw a pretty sharp dividing line between 'Empfindsamkeit' and 'Sturm und Drang,' and to emphasise the difference between the 'burning passion' of Werther and the 'smouldering melancholy' of Siegwart. But the one is merely a more advanced stage of the malady than the other. The 'Weltschmerz' of hopeless love, which appears in so intense a form in Goethe's Tasso, culminates in the sadistic frenzy of Müller's Golo and Klinger's Guelfo. *Werther* represents a definite stage in the evolution of both sentimentality and Sturm und Drang. Kluckhohn throws light on the motive of the three-cornered marriage which appeared not only in the literature, but also in the real life of the eighteenth century, and on the interesting figure of the 'Machtweib'—an inheritance from the Renaissance—which plays so large a part in German literature from Lessing and Goethe (*Götz von Berlichingen*) onwards.

It is to be regretted that Kluckhohn has not called the new psychology of the unconscious more to his aid in elucidating his problems. He shows the development of movements and tendencies; but without an attempt to analyse the underlying psychological causes, this is apt to be merely dry bones. The interesting problem of the connection between eroticism and religion could with particular advantage have been dealt with on these lines. His minute analysis of the interpretation of love in the Romantic period seems superficial without an understanding of its psychological foundations. But the volume remains a most valuable work of reference for the student of literature. It is based on enormously wide reading, and its usefulness is enhanced by an excellent bibliography.

W. ROSE.

LONDON.

MINOR NOTICES.

Robert Greene's *Notable Discovery of Coosnage*, 1591; *The Second Part of Conny-Catching*, 1592, and Gabriel Harvey's *Foure Letters and certeine Sonnets*, 1592 (edited by G. B. Harrison; London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; cloth 3*s.* net each; paper covers 2*s.* 6*d.* net), are the first two volumes of 'The Bodley Head Quartos,' a series of reprints of Elizabethan and Jacobean pamphlets which, if the scheme is carried out in full, will be of great use to students. They are intended to be, so far as possible, exact reprints of the originals save for the substitution of roman type for black letter and short for long *s*, the original spelling and punctuation being preserved except for a few obvious errors which are corrected and duly noted. There are collotypes of the original titles and the books are of pleasant form and well printed at the Curwen Press (though why does the print of the Harvey all slope to the right?). There are no notes or introductions. Collation of a few pages with the originals shows that the text has been very carefully prepared, the few mistakes which I have found being of minor importance. Such as they are, they seem mostly to have been taken over from the earlier reprints which were evidently used as 'copy.' Unfortunately also these earlier reprints have been allowed to influence the present editions in a number of minor typographical details where in a close reprint of this kind the style of the original should certainly have been followed. Indeed I cannot help feeling how much better it would have been if the editor had gone one step further and followed the originals line for line and page for page. This would of course have meant a larger format, but the gain would have been from many points of view very great. If this was impossible—and it would undoubtedly have added to the cost—the ends of the pages might have been marked and the signatures of the originals added in the margin. It is a pity to multiply possible ways of referring to these early texts, especially now that the method of reference by signatures has been so largely used in the *N.E.D.*

Since the above was written, further texts included in the series are Chettle's *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, Kemp's *Nine Daies' Wonder*, and Greene's *Thirde Part of Conny-catching* and *A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher*. It is to be hoped that all who can do so will accord to these reprints their practical support.

R. B. McK.

Professor Kastner announced in the *Athenæum* of 22 Oct. 1904 that a poem in Lodge's *Scilla's Metamorphosis* beginning 'Most happie blest the man' was a servile translation in exactly the same number of lines (90) of the opening chanson of Desportes' *Bergeries* ('O bien-heureux qui peut passer sa vie'). Sir Sidney Lee printed both texts in his *French Renaissance in England* (1910), p. 458. M. Hugues Vaganay has

now issued a pamphlet, *Lodge and Desportes*, 1922 (in a limited edition of 100 copies), in which he shows that Lodge used an earlier edition of Desportes than that of 1585 known to Professors Kastner and Lee, an edition which gave the poem in 16 strophes instead of 15, of which the second and third strophes were translated by only one in English. The two poems now correspond, whereas in Sir Sidney Lee's text, Lodge's fourth stanza has no counterpart in the French. M. Vaganay adds a Sonnet of Desportes which Lodge translated ('If so I seek...') from a text earlier than that known to Sir Sidney.

G. C. M. S.

A delightful introduction to Shakespeare, full of information, pleasantly written, and copiously illustrated, is *Shakespeare: The Man and his Stage*, by Messrs E. A. G. Lamborn and G. B. Harrison (London: H. Milford, 1923, 128 pp., 2*s.* 6*d.*). The book has four chapters: 1. The Life; 2. Shakespeare's Age; 3. The Theatre; 4. The Plays (a quite general treatment which does not deal with each play separately). The writers have drawn illustrative matter from far and wide. The quotation they give (p. 64) from Camden's *Remaines* agrees with some (perhaps all) of the early editions. But the context seems to show that Camden wrote, not 'For the air is most temperate,' but 'For the air, it (sc. Britain) is most temperate.' The passage quoted from Wright's *Historia Histrionica* (1699) informs the reader that the Elizabethan stages were unprovided with 'machines.' The latter however seem demanded by some of the stage-directions in Greene's plays. The worst slip in the book is perhaps the statement (p. 99): 'Nashe, who had seen German players at Wittenberg, compares them very unfavourably with English actors.' Surely Nashe had not seen all that Jack Wilton saw.

G. C. M. S.

In his work *Le Goût Public et le Théâtre Élisabéthain jusqu'à la mort de Shakespeare* (Dijon: Imprimerie Darantière, *n.d.*) Professor C. J. Sisson attempts to trace the influence exerted on the Elizabethan drama by the tastes of the London audiences for whom the dramatists catered. In reply to the objection that, our knowledge of the tastes of the audiences being itself derived from the plays in question, he is arguing in a circle, Dr Sisson shows that in the character impressed by the people on the Miracles and Moralities we have an indication of its tastes, and that these are further seen very clearly in the Grocer and his Wife in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*. (These characters are here analysed brilliantly.) One may therefore frame some conception of the motives which took middle-class Elizabethans to the theatre, and may then trace how far the greater dramatists accommodated their art to their audience, and how far lifted their audience to their own higher plane. Dr Sisson's attempt to do this will be found stimulating and suggestive.

Some inaccuracies in detail are due to a too great reliance on second-hand authorities. Like Professor Schelling in the first edition

of his *History of the Elizabethan Drama*, Dr Sisson represents *Gammer Gurton's Needle* to have been played at 'Christ's Church,' and assumes that *Byrsa Basilica* dates from 1570, because its title records the date of Queen Elizabeth's visit and naming of the Royal Exchange on 23 Jan. 1570 (= 1571). As has been pointed out (see Dr Boas' *University Drama*, p. 132 *n.*), the play contains a document dated 'di: 20 Aug. 1633,' and its characters 'Mercurius Gallo-belgicus' and 'Mercurius Britannicus' suffice to prove its seventeenth century origin. Its author seems to have been John Rickitts, B.A., Jesus Coll., Cambridge, 162$\frac{5}{6}$, M.A. 1629. Dr Sisson seems more directly responsible for postulating (p. 64) a 1613 edition of Beaumont's *Œuvres* (instead of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*), and for representing Laertes as being Hamlet's cousin (p. 143), as though he were a son of Claudius. One can hardly agree with Dr Sisson that the speeches in *Henry V*, I, Sc. 2 have no dramatic or poetic quality (p. 158).

G. C. M. S.

Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century, by Marjory A. Bald (Cambridge University Press), is a series of studies of Jane Austen, the Brontës, Mrs Gaskell, George Eliot, Mrs Browning and Christina Rossetti, which show careful reading, power of entering into the minds of their subjects, and sound criticism. It was perhaps unnecessary for the author and publishers to disclaim any object of producing a feminist treatise. This at once set us hunting for signs of feminism; but the only token which is conspicuously apparent is the title and head-line 'Mrs E. C. Gaskell.' Mrs Browning, on the other hand, is allowed to rest without her own or her husband's initials; so that we may conclude that there is nothing serious in this special distinction awarded to a writer who, as Miss Bald remarks, has often received less than her deserts, and is therefore subjected to more detailed treatment than any of the others. This essay is the centre of the book, and the summary with which it ends deserves high praise for its excellent comparison of Mrs Gaskell with Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, and George Eliot. Setting people back to back in this way is stigmatised by a character in one of Henry James' stories as 'the infancy of art'; but in the present instance it is needed to bring out qualities in Mrs Gaskell's work, her 'beautiful reticent pathos,' the natural growth of her plots 'like carefully tended flowers,' her breadth of sympathy with human nature, which, though obvious in themselves, acquire greater artistic value when brought into contact with the work of other women. The danger of the process, of which Miss Bald is fond—she brings *Mary Barton* and *North and South* into contrast with Disraeli's and Dickens' contributions to sociological fiction with some effect—is that it generally shows a leaning to one side of the comparison. In spite of Miss Bald's strong appreciation of Jane Austen and her thorough enjoyment of her irony, she seems to miss a certain tenderness of sentiment which, if implied somewhat guardedly in the earlier novels, is allowed to appear in the portrait of Anne Elliot in *Persuasion*. Anne is permitted to indulge

a feeling for natural beauty which had been condemned in Marianne as 'a passion for dead leaves'; and even Elizabeth Bennet could exclaim without satire, 'What are men to rocks and mountains?'; Miss Austen's treatment of Anne Elliot, the nearest counterpart to herself among her heroines, is certainly marked by a gentleness which might be contrasted with George Eliot's severity to herself in the person of Dorothea Brooke. These are points, however, on which it is not necessary to insist; and Miss Bald writes so well about her chosen authors, in a clear and concise style which avoids ambiguity and mere phrase-making, that her book may be welcomed as a genuine contribution to criticism. Her essays upon Mrs Browning and Christina Rossetti are both good, and her appraisement of Mrs Browning's defects and achievements is free from the somewhat excessive blame and praise which her critics and admirers have been known to shower upon her. It is, however, in her discussion of novelists that Miss Bald's capacity is at its best; and, while she gives us pleasure in putting into adequate words ideas that probably have occurred to most intelligent readers, she also gives us new points of view. Nothing in the book is better than her telling use of metaphor; and, in a day when George Eliot's novels are often undervalued by readers of modern fiction, the concluding sentence of her study of George Eliot, suggested by a phrase in *Daniel Deronda*, may well be remembered: 'Though her knowledge may hang about her like a heavy garment, her affections carry the burden with a vivid stately presence.'

A. H. T.

The Poet's Poet, by Elizabeth Atkins (Boston: Marshall Jones Co.), is explained as a series of 'essays on the character and mission of the poet as interpreted in English verse of the last one hundred and fifty years.' The writer is well read in the poetry of her chosen period: she has abundant enthusiasm and some insight, and her frequent quotations are supplemented by foot-notes which are useful guides to the treatment of a large variety of aspects of life by modern poets of widely differing temperaments. This is the actual subject of her book: the views of poets are throughout more in evidence than the quality of their poetry, and there is little discrimination in the method with which these views are presented. In chapters with such sounding titles as 'The Egocentric Circle,' 'The Mortal Coil,' 'The Spark from Heaven,' and 'The Pragmatic Issue,' we expect to find a fair amount of pseudo-scientific writing with a tendency to bathos, but we do not despair of discovering some genuine criticism. Dr Atkins has observed the habits of thought of poets with some shrewdness and writes of them with frequent vivacity; but of the relative value of their ideas and of the test of their real worth in their verse she has less conception. Her final chapter, with its analysis of the conflict between spirit and sense in the poetic imagination, shows a firmer grasp of the things that really matter than the rest of her work, which is more discursive than critical. It is amusing to notice the attitudes of poets towards obesity and leanness as signs of fitness for their vocation, and to compare Burns and Swinburne

with poets who find inspiration in teetotalism; but such reflexions do not take us near the heart of poetry. Dr Atkins does not always reproduce the names of English poets, artists and critics correctly: we observe, among others, Laurence 'Houseman,' T. E. 'Browne,' Benjamin 'Haydn,' Maurice 'Hewlitt,' and—a magnificent error, which is confirmed by the index—, George Augustus 'Scala.' 'Lord Burleigh' and 'A Becket' are odd versions of the titles of two of Tennyson's poems.

A. H. T.

An annotated edition of the *Vita Nuova* has been added to Heath's Modern Language Series (*La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by Kenneth McKenzie. London: Heath, 6*s.*). The text is that now established by Barbi, while the commentary and introduction aim at presenting the reader with the results of the considerable amount of study which has been devoted to the signification of the book. Here and there points seem open to criticism. Professor McKenzie states, somewhat dogmatically, that the sonnet is 'based on a Sicilian popular song with alternating rhymes' (p. xiii); this is a plausible and the more attractive theory, but not that of the majority of Italian scholars. Jacopo Alighieri is confused with his brother Pietro (p. xix). Two of the most important studies of the *dolce stil nuovo*—those of Rossi and Parodi—are ignored in the Bibliography. In the commentary upon chapter IX, it should surely have been mentioned that the general acceptance as Dante's of the sonnet, *Non mi poriano già mai fare ammenda* (*Rime* LI), points to the journey described as having been to Bologna, and the possibility that the river, 'doubtless the Arno' (p. 86), may be, as Torraca has argued, the Sávena. A more serious defect in an edition of this kind is the almost complete absence of notes elucidating points of historical grammar. But, on the whole, it is a sound and scholarly piece of work, a welcome addition to our available class-books in Italian, and one which even professed students of Dante can examine with profit.

E. G. G.

A welcome anticipation of the forthcoming new edition of the Oxford Dante reaches us in the shape of Dr Paget Toynbee's paper, *The Bearing of the 'Cursus' on the Text of Dante's 'De Vulgari Eloquentia'* (from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XI. London: H. Milford, 1923, 1*s.* 6*d.*). Hitherto the *Cursus* has been almost completely ignored by editors and students of the treatise; but Dr Toynbee shows that there are more than fifty passages in which it 'plays an important, if not decisive, part in the settlement of the text.' To take one instance only, its application enables him to propose a highly satisfactory emendation of Dante's definition of poetry: 'fictio rethorica musicaque composita.' Incidentally, Dr Toynbee's researches tend considerably to enhance the authority of the MS. at Berlin, discovered by Dr Bertalot and now published in facsimile (*Il Codice B del 'De Vulgari Eloquentia.'* Florence: Olschki, 1923), for the result of his collation shows that the

rhythmical structure in correspondence with the *Cursus* is far more consistently maintained here than in the previously known manuscripts of the treatise. E. G. G.

Dr Gartner reprints in *Ladinische Wörter aus den Dolomitentälern* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Heft 73. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1923) the words which he had collected at the end of his *Gredner Mundart*, but the additions are very many, and the improvement considerable, for he has made this his special study for some forty years and he has availed himself of the word-collections which Hermes Ferri, a pupil of his, and Hugo von Rossi made, respectively in the higher and in the lower Val di Fassa. Such places are of particular interest, for the Rhaeto-romanic language responds there to external influences of Lombard and Venetian dialects. 'Ladin' dialects have lost much of their purity during the last decades, and a glance at Dr Gartner's work will show how many foreign elements have been absorbed. The process is continuous and particularly noticeable in the sound-changes of German words but recently adopted. Thus the enormous labour which the author has spent on this work provides a most useful record in the development of a dialect which, owing to a variety of causes, is rapidly changing. C. F.

There has been much activity in America in recent years in the rather thankless task of compiling bibliographies and concordances; and both are indispensable aids to literary study. But when, to a work like Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan's very large *Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation* (*Studies in Language and Literature*, XVI. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1922, 708 pp., 2 dol.) is added some critical determination of the value of the items catalogued, it is doubly valuable. Professor Morgan's self-sacrificing labours fill us with admiration; he has certainly achieved his end of producing a work which no literary historian or librarian concerned with these matters can afford to overlook. He might perhaps have been wiser, as he was apparently prevented from pursuing his investigations in this country, frankly to have limited the scope of his work to America. He relies mainly on the Catalogue of the British Museum for his English items, and the Museum, as all of us who have interested ourselves in the subject know, possesses for the earlier nineteenth century far from a complete collection of English translations from the German. Professor Morgan has laboured under the additional disadvantage of having been only able to consult, besides the Catalogue in its original published form, the Supplements, which ceased to appear in 1905. This is responsible for several *lacunae*. I instance the case of Theodor Storm. Translations of only three of Storm's stories are to be found in Professor Morgan's list, while, as a matter of fact, practically all Storm's important later 'chronicle-novels' exist in English translation. Another difficulty which Professor Morgan has had to face is to determine the actual origin, English or American, of particular translations. As the Library

of Congress is his basis, America is apt to get more credit for translating from the German than she deserves; and it has not been always easy to determine whether translations which appeared in both countries, are identical or not. The American point of view is noticeable in the emphasis which Professor Morgan lays in his preface on the catastrophic effect of the Great War on 'the direct study of German literature in English-speaking countries.' He has, I think, rather rashly generalised. The study of and interest in German literature—never, it is true, very robust—were not interfered with here by the War as much as was apparently the case in America. J. G. R.

Freiligraths Entwicklung als politischer Dichter is the title of a helpful monograph by Erwin Gustav Gudde (*Germanische Studien*, xx. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1922), who has already (in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xx, pp. 355 ff.) dealt with the 'Traces of English Influences in Freiligrath's Political and Social Lyrics.' The present work clears up many points left vague by previous investigators in the second half of the poet's career, when he came to be the voice of the aspirations of 1848. The author shows Freiligrath's belated and slow inward evolution from the exoticism of his 'Wüstenpoesie' towards political thought, his temporary cooperation with Marx and the communist movement in pursuit of democratic ideals, and the ultimate parting of their ways during the years of industrial expansion under Bismarck. The salient fact which emerges from the whole study is Freiligrath's dependence on others for the political thought he casts into verse, on brother-poets, on Karl Marx, on leading articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Even where the sincerity and warmth of feeling is undeniable, where the poetry is of permanent literary value, the thought and even turns of phrase are derived from such outside sources.

I. M. M.

At the end of the Introduction to Dr Lambert Armour Shears' *The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane* (*Columbia University Germanic Studies*. New York: Columbia University Press; London, H. Milford, 1922, 7*s.*) one reads: 'The total amount of Fontane's indebtedness to Scott is, to be sure, very small...and is limited largely to subject-matter.' The writer then proceeds to make the most of a not too grateful subject. His eagerness leads him to bring together in Chapter I and the first part of Chapter II much information which has no direct bearing on the central issue. Possibly, instead of attempting to discount the influence of Alexis, it would have been better to work through Alexis to Scott. The most tangible result of the investigation is the exposition of a definite degree of likeness between Hoppenmarieken in *Vor dem Sturm* and Meg Merrilies; but it is surely an exaggeration to say that 'she is hardly conceivable without Scott prototypes.' The monograph serves to emphasize what Fontane himself said of his first novel: 'even the indebtedness to Scott concerns only very general points' (quoted on p. 35). K. H.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June–August, 1923.

GENERAL.

Creizenach, W., Geschichte des neueren Dramas. III. Renaissance und Reformation. 2. Aufl. herausg. von A. Hamel. Halle, M. Niemeyer.

Croce, B., Poesia e non poesia. Note sulla letteratura europea del sec. XIX. Bari, Laterza. L. 25.

Gordon, G., The Discipline of Letters. Inaugural Lecture. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s*.

Gougaud, L., Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity. The Work and Influence of Irish Monks and Saints in continental Europe (VIth to XIIth Cent.). Dublin, M. H. Gill. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Ker, W. P., The Art of Poetry. Seven Lectures. 1920–22. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6*s*.

Krappe, A. H., The Legend of Rodrick, last of the Visigoth Kings, and the Ermanarich Cycle. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 2 M.

Pos, H. J., Kritische Studien über philologische Methode. (Beitr. zur Philosophie, X.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 3 M. 20.

Saurat, D., Les éléments religieux non chrétiens dans la poésie moderne (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 3, July).

Schücking, L. L., Die Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung. (Philosophische Reihe, lxxi.) Munich, Rösl und Co. 2 M. 70.

Serra, R., Scritti inediti. IV. Florence, La Voce. L. 10.

Sperber, H., Einführung in die Bedeutungslehre. Bonn, K. Schroeder. 2 M.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Colarieti-Tosti, A. M., Il romanzo classico-storico-archeologico nel sec. XVIII in Francia e in Italia. Rieti, Trinchi.

Kallin, H., L'Expression syntactique du rapport d'agent dans les Langues romanes. Paris, H. Champion. 18 fr.

Seifert, E., Die Proparoxytona im Galloromanischen. (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil., Beihefte, lxxiv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 4 M.

Italian.

Bellezza, P., Curiosità manzoniane. Milan, Vallardi. L. 9.

Biagi, G., Passatisti. Florence, La Voce. L. 10.

Burchiello, Il, e i Burchielleschi. Pagine scelte da E. Giovannetti. Milan, Treves. L. 10.

Costa, A., Pagine metastasiane. Palermo, Sandron. L. 15.

Courten, C. de, La fortuna del teatro di G. M. Chénier in Italia (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxxii, 1, 2).

Dante Alighieri, Le Opere minori. Trascelte e commentate da D. Guerri. Florence, Perrella. L. 16.

Dante Alighieri, La poesia, il pensiero, la storia. Commemorazione del Centenario dantesco. Padua, Drucker. L. 25.

Dante Alighieri, Il Trattato della Monarchia. Nuovamente tradotto ed annotato da G. B. Siragusa con introduzione di F. Ercole. Palermo, Sandron. L. 7.50.

Dusi, R., Il Classicismo e il Romanticismo nella storia della critica (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxxii, 1, 2).

Fabbrovich, E., Merlin Cocai. Studio critico. Turin, Paravia. L. 10.

Frati, L., I codici danteschi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Florence, Olschki. L. 40.

Frati, L., Il Settecento a Bologna. Palermo, Sandron. L. 15.

Gargàno, G. S., Scapigliatura italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I. Florence, L. Battistelli. L. 8.

Gorio, M., Un poeta milanese del Seicento: C. M. Maggi. Parma, Donati.

Leopardi, G., The Poems of. Ed. with Introduction and notes and a verse translation by G. L. Bickersteth. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 30*s.*

Leopardi, G., Zibaldone. Scelto e annotato, a cura di G. De Robertis. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 25.

Manzoni intimo. 3 vol. A cura di M. Scherillo e G. Gallavresi. Milan, Hoepli. L. 31.50.

Manzoni, A., Le liriche. Commentate da G. Brognoligo. Florence, Perrella. L. 3.80.

Mele, E., Opere del Gracián e d' altri autori spagnuoli fra le mani del p. Casalicchio (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxxii, 1, 2).

Monti, V., Poesie scelte. Illustrate e commentate da A. Bertoldi. Nuova ed. Florence, Sansoni. L. 12.

Naselli, M., La fortuna del Foscolo nell' Ottocento. Florence, Perrella. L. 35.

Natali, G., La vita e le opere di P. Metastasio. Livorno, Giusti. L. 3.

Parodi, E. G., Il dare e l' avere fra i pedanti e i geniali. Florence, Perrella. L. 7.

Parodi, E. G., Poeti antichi e moderni. Studi critici. Florence, Sansoni. L. 12.

Porena, M., Il pessimismo di G. Leopardi. Florence, Perrella. L. 10.

Porta, A., Byronismo italiano. Milan, Cogliati. L. 18.

Prezzolini, G., La coltura italiana. Florence, La Voce. L. 15.

Prieur, L., Dante et l'ordre social. Paris, Perrin. 8 fr.

Rho, E., La lirica di A. Poliziano. I. Turin, Lattes. L. 8.

Verri, P. ed A., Carteggio. I. A cura di A. Giulini e E. Greppi. Milan, Cogliati. L. 100.

Spanish.

Adams, N. B., The Romantic Dramas of García Gutiérrez. New York, Instituto de las Españas. 1 $.

Barto, P. S., The Subterranean Grail Paradise of Cervantes (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Callcott, F., The Supernatural in Early Spanish. New York, Instituto de las Españas. 1 $.

Castillo, C., Acerca de la Fecha y Fuentes 'En la Vida Todo es Verdad y Todo Mentira' (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 4, May).

Castro, A., Unos aranceles de Aduanas del siglo xiii (*Rev. fil. esp.*, x, 2, June).

Grossmann, R., Katalanische Lyrik der Gegenwart. Eine deutsche Auslese. Hamburg, Casa Edit. Fausto. 6 M.

Hatzfeld, H., Meisterwerke der spanischen Literatur. (Führer durch die literarischen Meisterwerke der Romanen, ii.) Munich, M. Hueber.

Holmes, H. A., Martin Fierro, an Epic of the Argentine. New York, Instituto de las Españas. 1 $.

Krüger, F., Vocablos y cosas de Sanabria (*Rev. fil. esp.*, x, 2, June).

Millares Carlo, A., La biblioteca de G. Argote de Molina (*Rev. fil. esp.*, x, 2, June).

Morel-Fatio, A., La Comedia espagnole du xvii^e^ siècle. Leçon d'ouverture. 2^me^ éd. Paris, H. Champion. 3 fr. 50.

Rhaeto-romanic.

Lutta, C. M., Der Dialekt von Bergün und seine Stellung innerhalb der rätoromanischen Mundarten Graubündens. (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil., Beihefte, lxxi.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 10 M.

French.

(*a*) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

Boer, C. de, Essais de syntaxe française moderne. Paris, H. Champion. 12 fr.

Desormeaux, P., Bibliographie méthodique des parlers de Savoie. Langue et littérature. Paris, H. Champion. 20 fr.

Gilliéron, J., Thaumaturgie linguistique. Paris, H. Champion. 12 fr.

Romains, J. et G. Chennevière, Petit traité de versification. Paris, Nouv. Revue franç. 6 fr. 75.

Wartburg, W. von, Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Lief. 3–4. Bonn, K. Schroeder.

Yvon, H., A propos du futur antérieur (*Rev. Phil. franç.*, xxxv, 1).

Zéliqzon, L., Dictionnaire des Patois romans de la Moselle. ii. (F—M.) Strasbourg, Libr. Istra ; London, H. Milford. 5*s*.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Axelsen, A., Supernatural Beings in the French Mediaeval Dramas. Copenhagen, Levin og Munksgard. 4 kr.

Boulenger, J., Les romans de la Table ronde. iv. Le Saint Graal. La Mort d'Artus. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 7 fr.

Guy, H., Essai sur la vie et les œuvres littéraires du trouvère Adam de la Halle. Paris, H. Champion. 22 fr. 50.

Jordan, L., Altfranzösisches Elementarbuch. Bielefeld, Velhagen und Klasing.

Mariage des sept arts, Le. Ed. par A. Långfors. (Classiques français du moyen âge, xxxi.) Paris, H. Champion. 2 fr. 75.

Tobler, A., Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch. Herausg. von E. Lommatzsch. Lief. 6. Berlin, Weidmann. 3 M. 60.

Weston, J. L., The 'Perlesvaus' and the Story of the Coward Knight (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 4, May).

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Barrès, M., L'angoisse de Pascal. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 5 fr.

Bellay, J. Du, Divers jeux rustiques. Éd. critique par H. Chamard. Paris, Hachette. 6 fr.

Borel, P., Œuvres complètes. 3 vols. Paris, Budry. 150 fr.

Bossuet, J. B., Correspondance. xvi. Paris, Hachette. 30 fr.

Brémond, H., Pascal et le 'Mystère de Jésus' (*Rev. de France*, June 15).

Brimont, Baronne de, Lamartine fantaisiste. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 30 fr.

Brunet, G., Pascal poète (*Merc. de France*, June 15).

Busson, H., Charles d'Espinay, évêque de Dol, et son œuvre poétique. Paris, H. Champion. 15 fr.

CAZALS, F. A. et G. LE ROUGE, Les derniers jours de Paul Verlaine. Paris, Mercure de France. 15 fr.

CHAMAILLARD, E., Pascal mondain et amoureux. Paris, Presses universitaires. 10 fr.

CHARBONNIER, F., Pamphlets protestants contre Ronsard. Paris, H. Champion. 5 fr.

COHEN, G., Ronsard, sa vie et son œuvre. (*Rev. des cours et conf.*, May 31.)

COULON, M., Le problème de Rimbaud, poète maudit. Paris, Crès. 10 fr.

CURTIUS, E. R., Balzac. Bonn, F. Cohen. 7 M.

DESCARTES, R., Discours de la Méthode. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 3*d.*

DUINE, F., Essai de bibliographie de F. R. de La Mennais. Paris, Garnier. 5 fr.

ESCOUBE, P., La femme et le sentiment de l'amour chez Rémy de Gourmont. Paris, Mercure de France. 6 fr. 50.

FAGUET, E., Histoire de la poésie française de la Renaissance au romantisme. I. Au temps de Malherbe. Paris, Boivin. 9 fr.

FAŸ, B., L'Amérique et l'esprit scientifique en France à la fin du XVIII^e^ siècle (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 3, July).

FERNESSOLE, F., Bio-bibliographie de la jeunesse de L. Veuillot, 1813–43. Paris, Gigord. 15 fr.

FERNESSOLE, F., Les origines littéraires de L. Veuillot, 1813–43. Paris, Gigord. 15 fr.

FILLEAU DE LA CHAISE, Discours sur les pensées de Pascal. Introd. et notes de V. Giraud. Paris, Bossard. 12 fr.

FRANCHET, H., Le poète et son œuvre d'après Ronsard. Paris, Champion. 35 fr.

FUSIL, C. A., Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 7 fr.

GHIL, R., Les dates et les œuvres. Symbolisme et poésie scientifique. Paris, Crès. 7 fr.

GHIL, R., La tradition de la poésie scientifique. Paris, Soc. litt. de France. 3 fr.

GIRAUD, V., Blaise Pascal (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, June 1–July 15).

GIRAUD, V., Moralistes français. Paris, Hachette. 12 fr.

GREEN, F. C., Realism in the French Novel in the first half of the 18th Century (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii, 6, June).

HATZFELD, H., F. Rabelais. (Philosophische Reihe, lxviii.) Munich, Rösl. 4 M.

HATZFELD, H., Der französische Symbolismus. (Philosophische Reihe, lxxiii.) Munich, Rösl. 3 M. 50.

HAZARD, P., L'Auteur d''Oderahi,' histoire américaine (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 3, July).

IBROVAC, M., J. M. de Hérédia, sa vie, son œuvre. 2 vols. Paris, Les Presses franç. 40 fr.

JACOUBET, H., Le Comte de Tressan et les origines du genre troubadour. Paris, Presses universitaires. 20 fr.

JOVY, E., Pascal n'a pas inventé le Haquet. Paris, H. Champion. 2 fr.

JOVY, E., Pascal et Saint Ignace. Paris, H. Champion. 3 fr. 50.

KLEMPERER, V., Die moderne französische Prosa (1870–1920). Studie und erläuternde Texte. (Philologische Studienbücher.) Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 4 M. 50.

LANGLOIS, C., Renan et l'histoire littéraire de la France (*Rev. de France*, June 1).

LATZARUS, M. T., La littérature enfantine en France dans la seconde moitié du 19e siècle. Paris, Presses universitaires. 10 fr.

LEPELLETIER, E., P. Verlaine, sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, Merc. de France. 15 fr.

LETELLIER, A., Bossuet: notre plus grand écrivain. Paris, Ed. de l'Abeille d'or. 12 fr. 50.

LHÉRITIER, J. et R. GROOS, Charles Maurras. Paris, Nouv. Mercure. 3 fr.

MARTINO, P., L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal (1818) (*Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, lxxxii, 1, 2).

MARTINO, P., La poésie symboliste: Verlaine (*Rev. des cours et conf.*, June 30).

MASSON, G. A., A. France, son œuvre. Paris, Nouv. Rev. critique. 3 fr. 75.

MEUJOT D'ELBENNE, Vcte., Madame de la Sablière. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 20 fr.

MICHAUD, G. L., Luis Vives and Rabelais' Pedagogy (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

MOREAU, P., De Dumas père à Dumas fils (*Rev. d. d. Mondes*, June 1).

PAILLERON, M. L., Les derniers romantiques: F. Buloz et ses amis. Paris, Perrin. 10 fr.

PASCAL, B., Lettres écrites à un Provincial. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1*s.* 3*d.*

PLATTARD, J., G. Budé (1468–1540) et les origines de l'humanisme français. Paris, Les Belles-lettres. 3 fr.

POMMIER, J., Renan. Paris, Perrin. 10 fr.

PROAL, L., La psychologie de J. J. Rousseau. Paris, Alcan. 20 fr.

ROBERTSON, J. G., Sources italiennes des paradoxes dramatiques de La Motte (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 3, July).

RONSARD, P., Œuvres complètes. III. Paris, Garnier. 20 fr.

ROOSBROECK, G. L. VAN, Unpublished Poems of Beaumarchais and his sister (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Satires françaises du XVII^e^ siècle, Les. Publiées par F. Fleuret et L. Perceau. 2 vols. Paris, Garnier. 20 fr.

SOREL, C., La jeunesse de Francion. Introd. et notes de A. Thérive. Paris, Bossard. 12 fr.

STEWART, H. F. and P. DESJARDINS, French Patriotism in the Nineteenth Century, 1814–33. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 8*s.* 6*d.*

STROWSKI, F., A. de Vigny (*Rev. des cours et conf.*, May 31).

TAYLOR, J. S., Montaigne and Medicine. London, H. Milford. 14*s.*

TIEGHEM, P. VAN, Le mouvement romantique. Paris, Vuibert. 7 fr.

TRONCHON, H., Herder et Henri Amiel (*Rev. litt. comp.*, iii, 3, July).

VAISSIÈRE, R. DE LA, Anthologie poétique du XX^e^ siècle. 2 vols. Paris, Crès. 13 fr.

VARILLON, P. et H. RAMBAUD, Enquête sur les maîtres de la jeune littérature. Paris, Bloud et Gay. 12 fr.

VERLAINE, P., Correspondance. II. Notes par A. van Bever. Paris, Messein. 9 fr.

VERLAINE, P., Poésies complètes, IX. Paris, Messein. 66 fr.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM, Œuvres, IV. Paris, Merc. de France. 15 fr.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Scandinavian.

ANDERSSON, N., Svenska låtar. Dalarna, II. Stockholm, Norstedt. 15 kr.

BEYER, H., S. Kierkegaards betydning for norsk aandsliv (*Edda*, xix, 1).

BLICHER, S. S., Samlede Skrifter. Udg. af J. Aakjær og G. Christensen. XI. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 6 kr. 75.

Dahlerup, V., Ordbog over det danske Sprog. v. Flyve—Frette. Copenhagen, Gyldendal.

Farinelli, A., La Tragedia di Ibsen. Quattro discorsi. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 9.50.

Gjellerup, K., Der Dichter und Denker. Sein Leben in Selbstzeugnissen und Briefen. II. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer.

Jensen, H., Neudänische Syntax. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 6 M.

Jóhannesson, A., Grammatik der urnordischen Runeninschriften. (German. Bibl., I, 1, xi.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 3 M. 60.

Lagerlöf, S., Z. Topelius: utveckling och mognad. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 12 kr. 25.

Madsen, V., G. Brandes og dansk Aandsliv. Copenhagen, Den ny Tids Forlag. 5 kr. 50.

Rosendal, H., F. S. Grundtvig. Et Livsbillede. 2. Opl. Copenhagen, Hagerup. 4 kr. 50.

Vries, J. de, Folkevisen om Sigur Svein (*Edda*, xix, 1).

Werin, A., C. J. L. Almquist. Realisten och liberalen. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 9 kr. 50.

Dutch.

Merf, M. J. van, Grammatik der niederländischen Gemeinsprache. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 5 M.

Tielrooy, J., C. B. Huet et la littérature française. Paris, H. Champion. 7 fr. 50.

English.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

Bleibtreu, K., Geschichte der englischen Literatur mit Einschluss der amerikanischen. Bern, E. Bircher. 9 fr.

Dibelius, W., England. 2 Bände. Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt.

Essays by Divers Hands. Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature, New Ser., III. Ed. by F. S. Boas. London, H. Milford. 7*s.*

Huchon, R., Histoire de la Langue anglaise. I. Paris, A. Colin. 20 fr.

Manchon, J., Le Slang. Lexique de l'Anglais familier et vulgaire. Paris, Payot. 12 fr.

New English Dictionary, A. x. Ti—Z. Wash—Wavy by H. Bradley; Wh—Whisking by C. T. Onions. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Each part 5*s.*

Smith, E., The Principles of English Metre. London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

Chaytor, H. J., The Troubadours and England. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6*s.*

Crawford, S. J., The Late Old English Notes of MS. (Brit. Mus.) Cotton Claudius, B. IV (*Anglia*, xlvii, 2, June).

Heptateuch, The Old English Version of the, Aelfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis. Ed. by S. J. Crawford. (Early Engl. Texts Soc., Orig. Ser., clx.) London, H. Milford. 42*s.*

Jost, K., Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik (*Anglia*, xlvii, 2, June).

Langenhove, G. C. van, Cockney *H* in Old and Middle English (*Leuvensche Bijdragen*, xv, 1, 2).

Mandeville's Travels. Transl. from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse. Ed. by P. Hamelius. II. (Early Engl. Texts Soc., Orig. Ser., cliv.) London, H. Milford. 15*s.*

Patzig, H., Zum Beowulf-Text (*Anglia*, xlvii, 2, June).

St Bartholomew's Church in London, The Book of the Foundation of. Ed. by Sir N. Moore. (Early Engl. Texts Soc., Orig. Ser., clxiii.) London, H. Milford. 10*s.*

Tryon, R. W., Miracles of Our Lady in Middle English Verse (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Wright, J. and E. M., An Elementary Old English Grammar. Oxford, Clar. Press. 6*s.*

(*c*) *Modern English.*

Allen, B. S., Analogues of Wordsworth's 'The Borderers' (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Archer, W., The Old Drama and the New. London, Heinemann. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Barbier, P., English Influence on the French Vocabulary. (S. P. E. Tract No. xiii.) Oxford, Clar. Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Beach, J. W., The Technique of Th. Hardy. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press. 2 $ 50.

Beatty, J. M., Lord Jeffrey and Wordsworth (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Bechhofer, C. E., The Literary Renaissance in America. London, Heinemann. 6*s.*

Boswell, J., The Journal of a Tour to Corsica; and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli. Ed. by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6*s.*

Byrne, M. St C., A. Munday's Spelling as a Literary Clue (*Library*, iv, 1, June).

Campbell, K., The Relation of Poe to his Times (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 3, July).

Campbell, L. B., Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 15*s.*

Carpentier, F. I., A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press. 3 $ 50.

Cazamian, M. L., Le Roman et les Idées en Angleterre. Influence de la Science, 1860–90. Strasbourg, Imprim. alsacienne; London, H. Milford. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Cobbett, W., Selections, with Hazlitt's Essay and other Critical Estimates. Ed. by A. M. D. Hughes. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 17*s.* 6*d.*

Cooke, D. G., W. D. Howells. A Critical Study. London, Stanley Paul. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Cooper, Lane, A Concordance of the Latin, Greek and Italian Poems of Milton. Halle, M. Niemeyer.

Defoe, D., The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders. London, Constable. 35*s.*

Dexter, W. The London of Dickens. London, C. Palmer. 6*s.*

Digeon, A., Les Romans de Fielding. Paris, Hachette. 12 fr.

Digeon, A., Le Texte des romans de Fielding. Paris, Hachette. 8 fr.

Dyboski, R., Rise and Fall in Shakespeare's Dramatic Art. (Shakespeare Assoc.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes. 6th ed. Ed. by A. W. Pollard. Oxford, Univ. Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

English Verse and Prose. A new Anthology, ed. by A. T. Strong and R. S. Wallace. Oxford, Univ. Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Erskine, J., Whitman's Prosody (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 3, July).

Foerster, N., Quantity and Quality in Poe's Aesthetic (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 3, July).

Gilbert, A. H., Milton's Textbook of Astronomy (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Gordon, G., Shelley and the Oppressors of Mankind. (Warton Lecture, British Academy.) London, H. Milford. 1*s.*

Graham, W., Contemporary Critics of Coleridge the Poet (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Groot, H. de, Hamlet: its Textual History. Amsterdam, Swets en Zeitlinger.

Hanford, J. H., The Rosenbach Milton Documents (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Hankin, St John, Plays. With Introd. by J. Drinkwater. 2 vols. London, M. Secker. 25*s.*

Hazlitt, W., The Best of. Compiled by P. P. Howe. London, A. Methuen. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Herford, C. H., A Sketch of Recent Shakespearean Investigation. London, Blackie. 6*s.*

Hirn, Y., Dr Johnson och J. Boswell. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup. 6 kr. 50.

Holland, H. H., Shakespeare through Oxford Glasses. London, C. Palmer. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Holloway, E., Whitman as Critic of America (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 3, July).

Jiriczek, O. L., Specimens of Tudor Translation from the Classics. (German. Bibl., I, iii, 6.) Heidelberg, C. Winter.

Johnson, L., The Art of Thomas Hardy. New ed. London, J. Lane. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Lamborn, E. A. G. and G. B. Harrison, Shakespeare: the Man and his Stage. (The World's Manuals.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lang, A., The Poetical Works of. Ed. by Mrs Lang. 4 vols. London, Longmans. 42*s.*

Legouis, E., Wordsworth in a New Light. Cambridge, Mass.; London, H. Milford. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Mackail, J. W., The Alliance of Latin and English Studies. London, J. Murray. 1*s.*

Marvell, A., Miscellaneous Poems. London, Nonesuch Press. 15*s.*

More, P. E., A Note on Poe's Method (*Stud. Phil.*, xx, 3, July).

Nicoll, A., Dryden and his Poetry. London, G. Harrap. 2*s.*

Noble, R., Shakespeare's Use of Song. London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Parrott, T. M., The Problem of Timon of Athens. (Shakespeare Assoc.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

Pendlebury, B. J., Dryden's Heroic Plays: A Study of the Origins. London, Selwyn Blount. 6*s.*

Pollard, A. W., Elizabethan Spelling as a Literary and Bibliographical Clue (*Library*, iv, 1, June).

Quiller-Couch, Sir A., Studies in Literature. First Series. New ed. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 5*s.*

Quiller-Couch, Sir A., On the Art of Writing. New ed. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 5*s.*

Reed, A. W., The Editor of Sir Thomas More's English Works: W. Rastell (*Library*, iv, 1, June).

Richter, H., Shakespeare der Mensch. (Engl. Bibliothek, iii.) Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz.

Robertson, J. M., Hamlet once more. London, R. Cobden-Sanderson. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Robertson, J. W., E. A. Poe: a Psychopathic Study. London, Putnams. 17*s.* 6*d.*

Robinson, L. E., Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters. London, Putnams. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Shackford, M. H., Wordsworth's Italy (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

SHAKESPEARE, W., The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth. Ed. by R. P. Cowl. London, Methuen. 6*s.*

SHAKESPEARE, W., The Merchant of Venice. Ed. by W. L. Phelps. (Yale Shakespeare.) New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 4*s.* 6*d.*

SHEPARD, O., A Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown (*Mod. Phil.*, xx, 4, May).

SHERMAN, S. P., On Contemporary Literature. London, Grant Richards. 7*s.* 6*d.*

SMITH, G. C. MOORE, College Plays performed in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6*s.*

SWAEN, A. E. H., Peter Bell (*Anglia*, xlvii, 2, June).

TURNER, A. M., Wordsworth's Influence on Th. Campbell (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Types of English Drama, 1660–1780. Ed. by D. H. Stevens. London, Ginn. 17*s.* 6*d.*

WORDSWORTH, W., The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of. Ed. by A. F. Pott. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

German.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

ATKINS, H. G., A History of German Versification. London, A. Methuen. 10*s.* 6*d.*

GREFERATH, TH., Studien zu den Mundarten zwischen Köln, Jülich, München-Gladbach und Neuss. (Deutsche Dialektgeographie, xi b.) Marburg, N. G. Elwert.

MARTIN, R., Untersuchungen zur rhein-moselfränkischen Dialektgrenze. (Deutsche Dialektgeographie, xi a.) Marburg, N. G. Elwert.

MITZKA, W., Studien zum baltischen Deutsch. (Deutsche Dialektgeographie, xvii.) Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 3 M. 50.

SEILER, F., Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lehnworts. Halle, Waisenhaus. VI, VII. 3 M. 50; 1 M.

TONNELAT, E., Histoire de la littérature allemande. Paris, Payot. 4 fr.

(*b*) *Old and Middle High German.*

HOWIE, M. D., Studies in the Use of Exempla, with special reference to Middle High German Literature. London, Univ. of London Press. 5*s.*

(*c*) *Modern German.*

ASTER, E. VON, Goethes Faust. (Philosophische Reihe, lxxv.) Munich, Rösl. 2 M. 70.

BORKOWSKY, E., Goethes und Schillers Lyrik. (Führer zur deut. Dicht., iii.) Breslau, F. Hirt. 3 M. 40.

BORNHAUSEN, K., Wandlungen in Goethes Religion. (Comenius-Schriften, v.) Berlin, A. Unger. 2 M. 25.

BÖSS, H., Fischarts Bearbeitung lateinischer Quellen. (Prager deutsche Stud., xxviii.) Reichenberg, F. Kraus. Kč 4.

DEUTSCHLÄNDER, L., Goethe und das Alte Testament. Frankfort, Omonuth Verlag.

FITTBOGEN, G., Die Religion Lessings. (Palaestra, lxi.) Leipzig, Mayer und Müller. 12 M.

FLEMMING, W., Geschichte des Jesuitertheaters in den Landen deutscher Zunge. (Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, xxxii.) Berlin.

HÖLDERLIN, F., Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Berlin, Propyläen Verlag. II, III, VI. 25, 20 and 25 M.

Lersch, P., Der Traum in der deutschen Romantik. Munich, M. Hueber. 1 M. 50.

Lipmann, H., G. Büchner und die Romantik. Munich, M. Hueber. 4 M. 50.

Meyer-Benfey, H., Kleist. (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, 567.) Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 M. 30.

Mohrheim, A., F. Hebbels Sonette. (Hebbel-Forschungen, xi.) Berlin, B. Behr. 2 M. 80.

Nagel, H., F. Hebbels Ahnen. (Hebbel-Forschungen, xii.) Berlin, B. Behr. 1 M.

Reynaud, G., Lenau. Paris, Renaiss. du livre. 4 fr.

Schlegel, F. und Dorothea Schlegel, Briefwechsel, 1818–20. Herausg. von H. Finke. Kempten, J. Kösel. 10 M. 50.

Schnyder, W., Hebbel und Rötscher unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiderseitigen Beziehungen zu Hegel. (Hebbel-Forschungen, x.) Berlin, B. Behr. 3 M.

Shears, L. A., Th. Fontane as a Critic of the Novel (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxviii, 2, June).

Silz, W., H. von Kleist's Conception of the Tragic. (Hesperia, xii.) Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 2 M. 50.

Ulmann, A., Das deutsche Bürgertum in deutschen Tragödien des 18. und 19. Jahrh. Elberfeld, Hofbauer. 1 M.

Vollmers-Schulte, F., G. Hauptmann und die soziale Frage. Dortmund, Lensing. 2 M. 40.

Wolf, H., Versuch einer Geschichte des Geniebegriffs in der deutschen Ästhetik des 18. Jahrh. (Beiträge zur Philosophie, ix.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 4 M. 40.

BULLETIN OF THE
Modern Humanities Research Association

OCTOBER 1923 NUMBER 20

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

SIGNOR BENEDETTO CROCE has honoured the Association by accepting the Presidency for the year 1923–4.

TREASURER'S NOTES

¶ With the arrival of this number the subscription (7*s*. 6*d*.) for 1923–4 falls due and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Professor Mawer, The University, Liverpool.

¶ Members are invited to contribute to the Capital Fund on remitting their subscription.

¶ The Hon. Treasurer has pleasure in acknowledging the following contributions to the Capital Fund: Lt.-Col. J. E. Spingarn, £5. 5*s*.; L. B. Walton, Esq., 10*s*.; Dr H. Smith, 6*s*.; Miss M. Grey Skipworth, 5*s*.; Other small sums, 2*s*. Total: £6. 8*s*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1923

Our third annual *Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, which has just appeared, is, like the second issue, considerably larger than its predecessor, and Miss Paues and her collaborators deserve the congratulations of all members. The 1922 Bibliography had in all 2119 entries; the present issue has 2943, together with an index of authors and a list of periodicals searched. The price of the book is 3*s*. 3*d*. (post free from the Hon. Treasurer only) to members; 6*s*. through any bookseller to non-members. We hope that the sales this year will be equal to those of the last two years put together, and in this connection remind members that they may order the 1921 and 1922 issues together with that for 1923 at the prices of 1*s*. 8*d*. and 3*s*. 2*d*. (post free) respectively.

It would save the Association a great deal of trouble and strengthen its hands for the future if, in ordering their Bibliography for the present year, members would give us a standing order for future years.

EDITORIAL

Death has taken a heavy toll of British scholarship during the last few months, and the ranks of our own members have been sadly depleted. To the loss of Dr Oelsner, of which we wrote last quarter, and of Dr Henry Bradley, of whom a memorial notice appears in this number, we have now to add that of Professor W. P. Ker, President of the Association, 1921–2, who died of heart failure while climbing in Italy on July 17. We publish a tribute to Professor Ker on another page.

***

Professor A. T. Strong, of the University of Adelaide, has been appointed Correspondent of the Association for Adelaide.

***

Dr Ernest Bernbaum writes that he is completing a study in Comparative Literature and will be in London for the purpose of studying in the British Museum during the next few months, and also plans to visit the libraries of Paris, Vienna and Copenhagen. He would like to meet any members of the M.H.R.A. living in these cities. His address in London after August 8th will be c/o Messrs Baring Bros. and Co., 8 Bishopsgate, E.C.

***

Professor R. S. Crane sends us a copy of *Bulletin No.* 3 of the newly-formed Research Group on Literary Tendencies in the later eighteenth century. A fourth Bulletin is to be distributed to members of the Group in October 1923.

***

We learn that Mr James Boyd, B.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.), who has been appointed Professor of German in Cape Town University, will publish his B.Litt. thesis on "Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature" early next year. Another young Oxford Graduate is preparing a dissertation on "Goethe's Knowledge of French and Italian Literature."

***

We remind members that the last day for sending in applications for the publication of their work in our series this year is October 30.

BENEDETTO CROCE

President M.H.R.A., 1923–4.

Benedetto Croce on reaching his fifties sketched his intellectual history for the benefit of a hundred chosen friends. Thanks to the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* (vol. xxvi, 1, Jan. 1919) such a sketch has been rendered accessible to a wide public and it is thus possible to all, not only to study and admire the works of the philosopher of Abbruzzo but to trace the development of his stupendous intellectual activity.

The main points of Croce's idealistic philosophy are so well known through his own works which have been translated into all the principal languages and, nearer home, through the interpretative works of Professor Wildon Carr and Signor Piccoli, that it would be as superfluous as it would be impossible to summarise them here. It is particularly interesting to note how clear and logical Croce's intellectual history has been, and how strikingly the intellectual leadership passed into his hands once he had reached the turning point of his intellectual development.

A born bibliophile, an investigator of literary and historical problems, of restless activity and unfailing lucidity, he acquired an early reputation among scholars who could scarcely keep pace with his rapid acquisition of learning and the range of his literary output. But soon he felt dissatisfied with the

scope and the results of his labours; he felt the need, dimly at first and by degrees more clearly, to probe deeper into the working of his own intellect, to trace the basis of his own judgments, and, after a relatively short but intense period of travail, the seeds which had been sown at first by the reading of De Sanctis and later the study of many philosophical works and profound meditation, bore fruit in his first essay upon *L' estetica come scienza dell' espressione* etc.

This intellectual travail was paralleled by the novelty of his theory; he had thought at first that by writing this philosophical essay he would have satisfied the requirements of his "spirit" and, as he says, "emptied himself of philosophy." He was impelled on the contrary to answer for himself a series of philosophical problems which suggested themselves to him. Even when he had further developed his *Aesthetics* he could not rest until he had framed that first philosophical work in a complete system, and thus gradually, with characteristic tranquillity of progress, he accomplished his self-allotted task with the works which he has grouped under the general title "Filosofia come scienza dello spirito" and the critical monographs by which he exemplified and illustrated his method.

One would say that all the researches of his youth, his dissatisfaction with them, the *tedium vitae* by which he was assailed, the domestic losses which he suffered, all led up to that work of "chiarificazione" which cost him the greatest effort, his *Aesthetics*. All that which came later may be considered a complement, including perhaps even his treatise on the *Theory of historiography* which contains so much that is new and stimulating to thought.

And truly the generation of Italians which grew to intellectual life after 1900 has been mainly influenced by Croce as a critic and a theorist of aesthetics. If one attempted a conspectus of literary studies in Italy before and after 1900 one would have to realize that about 1900 the intellectual atmosphere has changed. There prevailed before that date pure erudition and historical criticism, solid, barren and self-contained, with a few attempts at imitating Carducci; later instead Croce and his aesthetics had full sway. It would be too much to say that all his followers have been worthy of their leader, that they all had the intellectual qualities and philosophic preparation which would have been required, and the ultimate results of so great an innovation will needs have to be evaluated in the years to come; but so much is at any rate certain: within the space of some twenty odd years there took place in Italy a profound intellectual revolution. Philosophy which had been discarded and despised and had at last taken the shape of a rigid positivism, became the principal goal of the study of many, and the mainspring of all forms of literary output: positivism gave way to idealism. And whatever qualifications may be suggested by caution it is certain that the cause and origin of so great a revolution are to be traced to Croce and his works. The change has been so profound that it has left its mark on the dictionary by rendering of common use such words as "intuizione, espressione, superamento, chiarificazione" etc. which were rarely used before or had a far less technical meaning.

It has not been granted to many philosophers to start so rapid and all pervading a revolution in the intellectual outlook of a great people. But more must be credited to Croce. His movement was started from Naples, rapidly reached Florence and soon the whole of Italy; but there are no boundaries in the world of thought. Croce's theories and ideas are now found in works

which have been written in all parts and languages of Europe, America and Asia; they are found in serious books and scientific records, just as echoes may be traced in novels, in short stories, in grave journals and humorous periodicals, in the columns of the *Times* as well as in the pages of *Punch*. The M.H.R.A. could not hope for a more representative President and is proud to have forestalled the oldest University of the Kingdom in paying homage to Benedetto Croce.

F.

HENRY BRADLEY

3 Dec., 1845—23 May, 1923.

In little more than a year English scholarship and letters have suffered three grievous losses. By the death on May 23rd of Dr Henry Bradley we lost not only one of the first scholars of our time, and an authority on the English language who had achieved a position of unique eminence and supremacy, but one of the widest known and most loved of personalities who had made a deep impression on the imagination of all students of English. In spite of his nearly seventy-eight years his death came as an unexpected blow, so much had one come to think of "Bradley" as a monument that would ever tower upon the horizon, living and active yet perennial and unchanged, a mind possessed of a youth and vigour superior to the body's infirmities. Now one more editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, once "New" now old-established though unfinished treasure-house, has laid down the pen in the midst of his work, leaving in its pages his own chief monument and the principal record of those brilliant qualities upon which his fame rests.

Others that knew him longer and better have already written in his praise and to one of the younger generation, that counts itself supremely fortunate in having known something of Bradley's last years of undiminished energy, little remains save to offer a more slender tribute to the name that will rank among the foremost in scholarship and philology in either the nineteenth or the present century.

The Making of English has travelled far and come into some strange hands; long ago it penetrated here and there even into the fastnesses of "classical sides." To one who once knew only this of all his work, and pictured its author as a young enthusiast, there remains a vivid memory of seeing for the first time from far down the hall the grey beard of Bradley at Exeter high-table in the days before Magdalen claimed him. To see him working in the Dictionary Room at the Old Ashmolean and to work for a time under his wise and kindly hand was a privilege not at that time looked for.

It was at the Dictionary Room that one discovered a part of his secret in the wholehearted delight in his work that, when in health, he preserved so fresh beyond the term of seventy years. There it appeared that his delight in the *nugae*, the jests, the minor hunts and *tours-de-force* of English studies, was no chance characteristic unrelated to the whole: all his work seemed to be to him a noble and absorbing game played with all his faculties by one who had a complete control over its technique and a complete knowledge of its complex rules; it seemed that from the beginning he must have played with zest and with consummate ease. To praise of his achievement and self-carven career he objected: "What I have done is to do what I most like doing, and to work at the work I care for." For this reason Bradley who in his own line had been accorded a pedestal, of an eminence that sometimes lifts the idol somewhat out of the reach of the supplicant, was one of the most kindly and

friendly of men to even the merest beginner who in any small degree shared his enthusiasm; willing to talk, to teach and advise; to communicate his delight in discoveries, smaller or greater, of his own or others' making; to jest or cap a jest with enjoyment.

Always desirous of finding matter for his judicious and discriminating praise, praise that was untinged with condescension, he was yet gifted with an uncanny instinct, of which he himself sometimes humorously complained, which led his hawklike eye unerringly, even if sometimes unwillingly, straight to omissions or defects, even the most minute, in work that was submitted to him, whether in a dictionary article for revision, or in manuscript or printed work for his comment. He seemed to have only to open a "complete" glossary to a text to divine the words that had somehow or other escaped record.

On advice and criticism he lavished no little time, and, great as is the body of work that he has left—in the Dictionary; in articles to learned periodicals; in his reviews of books, that took shape in often memorable contributions to the old *Academy* and *Athenæum*, to the *Modern Language Review*, and to other papers—much remains unrecorded, his personal influence, his words and letters of help and counsel that have left many debtors.

The memory of more recent years recalls with a sense of great loss his piled table in the Dictionary Room; and many, whether occasional visitors, or workers in that great dusty workshop, that brownest of brown studies, preserve a picture of him as he sat writing there, glimpses of him momentarily held in thought, with eyes looking into the grey shadows of the roof, pen poised in the air to descend at last and fix a sentence or a paragraph complete and rounded, without blot or erasure, on the paper before him. His figure, with head bowed forward and eyes on the ground, was pleasantly familiar to many as he went northward from the Old Ashmolean, crossing the road as if hurried by some fitful wind over thoroughfares and round corners in defiance of traffic, so that more than one heart missed a beat in fear lest some of the more than usually heedless of the motor-vehicles invading Oxford with noise and evil odour should rob us even earlier of what we have now lost. It was thus in legend that he wrote articles and books walking in thought up the Woodstock Road and in contemplation back. As permanent a feature of Oxford as its works of stone he came to seem, as grey and venerable yet as strong to last as the walls of a college, as learned as its library; and now to some Oxford seems as strangely altered as if one of its chief monuments had been lifted away at night by inexorable hands leaving an emptiness and an unreplenishable blank.

úþwita sceal ealdgesægenum
fród fyrngewritum féolan georne;
hár ond hygegléaw hord scéawian
worda ond reorda, wíde geond eorþan
snyttro sécan, sméaþoncol mon;
wísdóme þéon, wunian on áre,
rúna rædan, rincas láeran,
oþþæt scír metod to gesceap-hwíle
hine ellor aciegþ eard geséean.
Þa felaléof féreþ on fréan wære,
werum bewópen woruldfréondum,
léodwita líþost ond lárgeornost,
démena gedéfost ond déophýdgost.

J. R. R. T.

WILLIAM PATON KER

With the sudden death of Professor William Paton Ker at Macugnaga in the Alps on July 17, the Modern Humanities Research Association has to deplore the loss of its fourth President. Ker was born at Glasgow in 1855, and, after an academic apprenticeship at Cardiff, became Quain Professor of English Literature at University College, London, holding the chair from 1899 to his retiral last year. The University of London owed, in the difficult years of its transition, a deep debt to him; none aided it more steadily and helpfully towards the realisation of its aim to become the great "research" centre of the Empire. In 1920 Oxford put the crown to Ker's academic career by appointing him her Professor of Poetry.

It would be difficult to name another British scholar of our time who had a wider knowledge of European literatures outside his own than Ker; more particularly, his sympathies went out to the literatures of the South of Europe and of the Scandinavian North. At the time of his death he was still Director of the Scandinavian Department of the University of London. Emphatically an open-air scholar, a lover of travel, of moor and mountain, Ker was probably always happiest in the company of unbookish people. His love for the natural and the primitive, for poetry undefiled by over-civilisation, drew him to the ballad—the field where his studies were most fruitful—and to the middle ages. But no mediaevalist could have been less burdened by mere antiquarianism and the philology of the schools than Ker; the philology he loved was she who was wed to Mercury. He had little patience with the myopic kind of researcher, either in language or literature, who cannot see beyond his facts; he never lost an opportunity of insisting that, everywhere and in all times, it is the "Humanities" that matter, not the "Research." But Ker's literary interests knew no barriers; he could be as enlightening and stimulating on the eighteenth century and on modern, indeed, quite modern literature as on the "golden middle age"; and his knowledge here was quite as astonishing in its breadth and accuracy.

It is to be regretted that Ker put so little of his vast stores of learning into writing. His first book, *Epic and Romance*, did not appear until 1899, when he was already over forty; but *Epic and Romance* has long been regarded as a classic. His volumes on *The Dark Ages* (1904) and *English Mediaeval Literature* (1905) are admirable and indispensable surveys of wide fields; but perhaps the cream of his mind is to be found in his less formal studies, essays and lectures, where his caustic wit and fine imagination found freer play. These he collected in *Essays on Mediaeval Literature* (1905), and in the volume entitled *The Art of Poetry*, which appeared a few days after his death. But there is a great deal more of high value scattered through periodicals and societies' transactions. A collection of these papers was to have been one of the first fruits of his leisure. It is to be hoped some other hand will speedily make good this promise.

J. G. R.

MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

PUBLICATION OF THE ORIGINAL WORK OF MEMBERS

The Modern Humanities Research Association proposes every year to publish one or more volumes of a series of Studies involving Original Research to be contributed by its members. It hopes by so doing to aid some who for financial reasons would otherwise be unable to publish the results of their researches: it will be prepared to consider suggestions from members who are willing to contribute a part of the cost as well as from those who are unable to do so.

The following conditions have been drawn up for the session 1923–4:

(1) A preliminary letter must be in every case sent to the Hon. Secretary not later than October 30th, 1923, describing the nature and length of the work in question and enclosing a statement from at least one person acquainted with it as to its scholarly character. No manuscript is to be sent until definite instructions to that effect are given.

(2) The work submitted may be written in any language, and no condition as to its nature is laid down other than that it should come within the aim and scope of the Association.

(3) Only applications from members of the Modern Humanities Research Association will be considered.

(4) All applications will be submitted to the Publications Sub-Committee of the Association.

(5) Such manuscripts as it asks for will be judged by a small committee of experts appointed by the Association.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Edited by Carleton Brown. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, June, 1923.

English Studies. A Journal of English Letters and Philology. Edited by E. Kruisinga, P. J. H. Schut and R. W. Zandvoort Vol. V, Nos. 3–4, June–August, 1923.

NOTE.—Members who will send their subscriptions to the *Modern Language Review* for 1924 (15*s.*) with their annual subscription (7*s.* 6*d.*) will greatly help the Publications Committee and the Treasurer.

J.-J. ROUSSEAU'S LETTERS

GENEVA, *September 5th*, 1923.

To the Editor of the *Bulletin.*

SIR,

I shall be much obliged if I may take advantage of the hospitality of your columns to make it known to the British Public, especially to owners of literary documents and to Librarians, that as Hon. Secretary of the "Société J.-J. Rousseau" (Geneva) and editor of its "Annales" for 15 years, I have been asked by that Society to prepare for the press a complete edition of Rousseau's letters. The work will be published by Hachette in the well-known series "Collection des Grands Ecrivains," and arrangements have been made for it to be completed in twenty octavo volumes.

I need not lay stress upon the interest of the undertaking, nor emphasise the desirability of the publication being as complete as possible. I should therefore be very much obliged for any communication on the subject from those who possess or know of letters of J.-J. Rousseau in Great Britain, and most grateful if the owners and Librarians would be good enough to offer me any suggestion or information as to what steps should be taken to secure authentic copies or preferably photographs of the originals. My friend, Professor G. Rudler, of Oxford University, 18 Bradmore Road, Oxford, is prepared to have copies made at his home, or at the Bodleian or Taylorian Libraries, under his personal supervision. The greatest care would be taken either by him or by me of all papers lent. They would be returned in the shortest possible time and gratefully acknowledged in the edition.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ALEXIS FRANÇOIS,

Docteur ès Lettres, Professor of the University of Geneva,
8 Florissant, Geneva (Switzerland).

AIMS AND WORK OF THE ASSOCIATION

FOUNDATION. The Modern Humanities Research Association was founded at Cambridge on June 1st, 1918, and numbers at present 800 members. Its main object is the encouragement of advanced study in Modern Languages and Literatures by co-operation, through correspondence, personal intercourse, the interchange of information and counsel, and financial support for students engaged in research. The Association aims at improving and facilitating means and methods, and seeks such a co-ordination of isolated effort that those interested or engaged in the same branch of research shall be kept informed of each other's work, and that unnecessary duplication of energy shall be avoided.

MEMBERSHIP. Membership is open to graduates (and persons of the standing of graduate) of all Universities, British and Foreign; to other persons, at the discretion of the Committee; and to approved institutions and associations.

SUBSCRIPTION. The minimum annual subscription is 7*s*. 6*d*. and should be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Professor Allen Mawer, The University, Liverpool. A single payment of £5. 5*s*. entitles to life membership. Perpetual membership (for institutions and associations), £10. 10*s*.

FEDERATED BODIES. The Association is federated to the Modern Language Associations of England and America, and any member may join the latter Association by paying the reduced subscription of 10*s*. 6*d*. through its Hon. Treasurer.

PROSPECTUS. The Hon. Secretary, Professor E. Allison Peers, The University, Liverpool, will be glad to send to any non-member who is interested in Modern Language Research a copy of the prospectus explaining the aims and constitution of the Association.

CAPITAL FUND. It is particularly desired to draw the attention of members to the **Capital Fund**, founded to enable the Association to carry into effect some of its most urgent schemes. **The Committee appeals to all members who have not yet done so to make a special contribution, large or small, to this Fund, preferably a guarantee for five years.**

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY W. LEWIS AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Modern Languages

The Official Organ of the Modern Language Association

A REVIEW OF FOREIGN LETTERS, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS

EDITED BY E. A. CRADDOCK, M.A.

PUBLISHED SIX TIMES A YEAR. PRICE 1/6 NET EACH

SOME RECENT ARTICLES

Vol. IV. *No.* 5. *April* 1923

SHALL WE BEGIN FRENCH IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS? . . . George Sampson

LA VIDA INTELECTUAL ESPAÑOLA . . . Sarmiento Lasuén

ENGLISH AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CULTURE

SOME NOTES ON ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN THE VOCABULARY OF WRITTEN FRENCH . . . . Paul Barbier

FLÂNERIES LITTÉRAIRES . 'Lutetius'

COMPULSORY LATIN; ADVANCED WORK IN MODERN STUDIES (Debate)

Vol. IV. *No.* 6. *June* 1923

MOLIÈRE AND MUSIC . . W. McArthur

MODERN LANGUAGES IN ROUMANIA . . . G. V. Lahan

L'ABBAYE DE PONTIGNY . M. Burns

ERNEST RENAN . . . . M. Soman

CAMBRIDGE NOTES . . H. J. Chaytor

VISIT OF TWELVE ENGLISH HEAD MASTERS TO PARIS . R. C. Lucas

COMPULSORY LATIN AT ABERDEEN

Published for the Modern Language Association by

A. & C. BLACK, LTD., 4, 5, 6, SOHO SQ., LONDON, W. 1

NEW SERIES] OCTOBER, 1923 [VOL. VIII, No. 31

Price 2s net

HISTORY

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: MISS E. JEFFRIES DAVIS, M.A.

Assisted by E. F. JACOB, M.A.

CONTENTS

Articles:

The Jewels lost in the Wash. By Mrs HILARY JENKINSON.

The Recruiting of the Long Parliament, 1645–1647. By R. N. KERSHAW.

The Emancipation of Slaves at the Cape. By A. F. HATTERSLEY.

The Teaching of History in Schools: III, Sherborne. By NOWELL SMITH.

Historical Revision:

Ancient Sparta in the Light of Recent Discoveries. By A. M. WOODWARD.

Notes and News—Correspondence—Reviews—Short Notices—New Books and New Editions.

LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

JUNTA PARA AMPLIACIÓN DE ESTUDIOS

Centro de Estudios Históricos, Calle de Almagro, 26, Madrid

PUBLICACIONES DE LA "REVISTA DE FILOLOGÍA ESPAÑOLA"

ESTA REVISTA SE HA PROPUESTO FORMAR UNA COLECCIÓN DE LIBROS ESCOGIDOS SOBRE LENGUA Y LITERATURA ESPAÑOLAS, DESTINADOS :: A LA ENSEÑANZA CIENTÍFICA Y PRÁCTICA DE ESTAS MATERIAS ::

Acaba de publicarse:

T. NAVARRO TOMÁS

PRONUNCIACIÓN ESPAÑOLA

En esta obra descríbese por primera vez la pronunciación española según el habla corriente en Castilla entre las personas instruídas, yendo indicadas junto a cada forma correcta sus principales variantes dialectales y los defectos más comunes en que los extranjeros suelen incurrir.

Un volumen en 8°, de 240 págs. y 61 figs., encuadernado en tela, 5 pesetas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

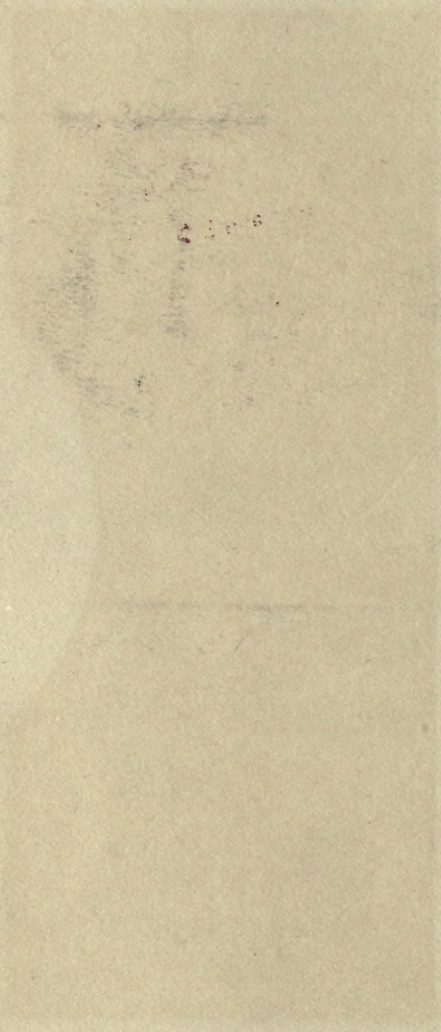
OF

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1923

Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by Dr A. C. PAUES, and comprising all books and articles of interest and value dealing with English Language and Literature, published during 1922.

Members of the Modern Humanities Research Association may obtain their copies of the Bibliography at the rate of 3*s* 3*d*, post free; to other persons the price is 6*s*, through any bookseller. Members should order from Professor A. MAWER, Hon. Treasurer, The University, Liverpool, enclosing remittance.



PB
1
M65
v.18

The Modern language review

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY